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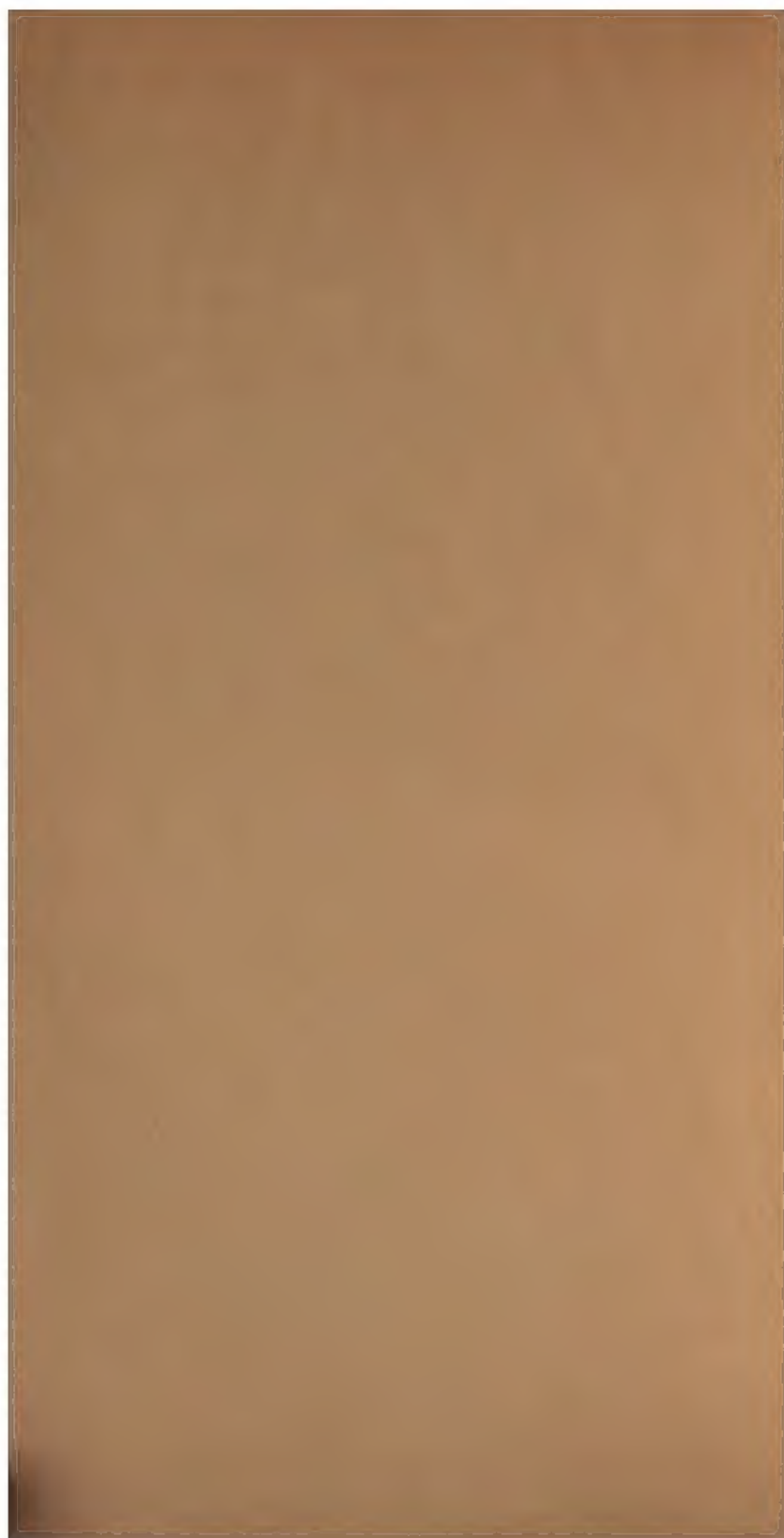


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ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ

Η, Θ, Ι

ΠΟΛΥΜΝΙΑ ΟΥΡΑΝΙΑ ΚΑΛΛΙΟΠΗ



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THE SEVENTH, EIGHTH, & NINTH BOOKS

WITH

INTRODUCTION, TEXT, APPARATUS, COMMENTARY,
APPENDICES, INDICES, MAPS

BY

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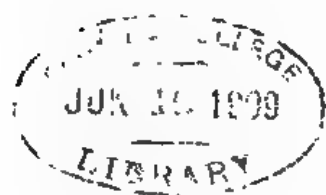
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TRIBUS VIRIS ILLUSTRIBUS

**HENRICO STEIN
HENRICO VAN HERWERDEN
ALUREDO HOLDER**

**HOC VOLUMEN
D.D.D.
EDITORIBUS EDITOR**

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ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ

ΟΥΡΑΝΙΑ

Οἱ δὲ Ἕλλησιν ἐς τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντες ἦσαν 1
οὔτε, Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν νέας παρεχόμενοι ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ

ΟΥΡΑΝΙΑ Η ΑΒ· οὐρανίαι, ἡροδοτοῦ ἱστοριῶν βιβλίου δ 1. 1
οἱ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν δι' οὗτος λέγουσι γινέσθαι· οἱ δὲ τοῖς = tria quod R om
ἐξ V μὲν ταῦτα εἰσὶν αὐτὰ· Ἕλλησιν ἐς α· Ἕλληνες BC || τὸ B 2
καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν B, Holder

1. 1. οἱ δὲ Ἕλλησιν ἐς τ. ν. στ.
ταχθέντες refers us to the colon im-
mediately preceding, ταῦτα μὲν δι' οὗτος
λέγουσι γινέσθαι, and now forming the
sense of the second Book ep. App.
infra. But (v. 17 238) is a late inser-
tion ep. notes ad l., the grammatical
correspondence may have been originally,
and more happily, with the following words
of 7 238 οἱ μὲν δι' οὗτος εἰσὶν αὐτὰ
εὐερετατο πολεῖν. Yet perhaps (c) this
one has correspondence say with the
last sentence of 7 234 οἱ μὲν δι' ἐπὶ
θεμελίῃς Ἕλλησιν οὗτω ἡρμύσαντο,
both themselves appearing, as well as
the word now intervening, being of the
second or third relation. The true
contrast and correspondence lies between
the Hellesiae compared in the naval
forces and the Hellesiae brigaded at
Phrygionia, and the navy-list which
then follows it really carries back to
the army list given above 7. 236. The
transition between Bm. 7 and 8 is,
indeed, abrupt, but the better inference
from the abruptness of the transition is
not with (note 7) to a lacuna (Austrian
in Fests) but to an insertion or to
omission, is the text by author and by
interpolator to boot destructive of the
original continuity. The abruptness
has been at once explained and obviated
by the division into books, made by
some anonymous Alexandrian, naturally
enough, just at this point. The result

has been still further to divorce the
synchronous and inter-related operations
on land and sea, the stories of Hermo-
pylos and of Artemision as narrated by
Lut., on which point see further, Intro-
duction, § 11, Appendix V. Ἕλλησιν is
of course a partitive genitive, ἐς, not
'against' but 'into'; ep. 7. 21 of 24 ἐς
νεῶν εὐερετατο

ἦσαν οὖτε. The sources of the
Greek navy-lists for Artemision there
and Salamis (c. 43-48 *infra*) cannot
be exactly determined; but of Hist.'s
figures are ever to be trusted, it is in
these two cases, the rather in view of
his omission of all details for the fleet
in the following year c. 481 *infra*,
see further, Introduction, § 10, and the
notes on the details below.

2. Ἀθηναῖοι. The order here is
determined by the size of the respective
contingents or perhaps by the Athenian
prevalence of the list (in contrast with
the list of Salamis, c. 43-48 *infra*).
To the 127 ships here specified are to
be added the 63 supplied in c. 44 *infra*,
besides the 20 manned from Chalkis,
just below making a total of 200
bottoms from Athens, on which figure
ep. 7. 244. With the use of the middle
(παρεχόμενοι) for the war ships (*nees*,
manned by the Athenians themselves,
ep. the active *παρεχόμενοι*, just below
for the ships furnished to the use of
Chalkis.

ἐπτά· ὑπὸ δὲ ἀρετῆς τε καὶ προθυμίας Πλαταιῆς, ἀπειρο
τῆς ναυτικῆς εἶντες, συνεπλήρουν τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι τὰς νέας.
5 Κορίνθιοι δὲ τεσσαράκοντα νέας παρείχοντο, Μεγαρές δὲ εἴκοσι.
καὶ Χαλκιδῆες ἐπλήρουν εἴκοσι, Ἀθηναῖον σφί παρεχόντων
τὰς νέας, Αἰγινῆται δὲ ὀκτωκαίδεκα, Σικυώνιοι δὲ δυοκαίδεκα,
Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ δέκα, Ἐπιδαύριοι δὲ ὀκτώ, Ἐρετριεῖς δὲ
ἐπτά, Τροιζήνιοι δὲ πέντε, Στυρίες δὲ δύο, καὶ Κῆιοι δύο τε

5 τεσσαράκοντα A 6 χαλκιδῆες B || παρεχόντων σφί BPe
7 δυνάδεκα B 9 στυρίες B: τυρίες δ || Κῆιοι Bicin: κῆιοι A: κῆιοι B

3. ἐπὶ δὲ ἀρετῆς τε καὶ προθυμίας. casual, and of psychological causality; cp. 1. 85 ὑπὸ δῖος τε λόγῳ καὶ ἐρηξῆ φωνῆς (where the causal is explicit). The notice of Platæan valour and zeal is remarkable, and more generous than the recognition of their service at Marathon, 6. 108, 9. 57.

Πλαταιῆς. συνεπλήρουν. Blakeley argues that the verb implies more than merely 'supply' as ἐπιδόω. His contention is borne out by the remark ἀπείροι σφί συνεπλήρουν (so, τέλει) εἶντες, which would be almost pointless if referred to ἐπιδόω alone. Cp. also ἐπλήρουν, 1st below.

5 Κορίνθιοι supply but 40 ships, but are also represented by 400 hoplites at Thermopylae, 7. 202. Cp. also c. 43 *infra*.

Μεγαρές supplying 20 ships still rank apparently as the fourth naval power in the confederacy.

6. Χαλκιδῆες. Are these Athenian 'Kerai' (5. 37, 6. 100)? or natives of Chalkis or both combined? Blakeley acutely remarks that 4000 men represent just the complement for 20 triremes; and it is possible that there is a relation between the 20 here and the 4000 there (*l.c.*). But if so, the 4000 is probably an inference from the 20, and this passage is the older of the two whether Hdt. himself or his authorities made the combination and drew the inference. This observation further strengthens the suspicion with which the figure 4000 is to be viewed (cp. my note to 5. 77), except that here the crews of these triremes may well have been natives of Chalkis and the Athenian Kleruchs serving merely, or mainly, as *ἐπιδόω* (=600. If the real number of Kleruchs was only 400, the story in 6. 100 would be more intelligible).

7. Αἰγινῆται. That Aiginæ sends only 18 ships to Artemision is curious. Does the item include the ship of Leonides captured at Skuthos (7. 181)? The Aiginetan figure for Salamis is also perplexing; cp. c. 46 *infra*.

Σικυώνιοι are below their full strength with 12 ships, cp. c. 45.

8. Λακεδαιμόνιοι. means, of course, the Spartan state. Absences the crews were composed of Helots, or at best Perioikoi; and perhaps there were few, if any, Spartan on board, except the Epibatai and officers. The Lakædæmonian contingent looks miserably small for the hegemonic power, but the service at Thermopylae is concomitant. Even at Salamis the Lakædæmonians number only 16 ships, if c. 43 is to be trusted.

Ἐπιδαύριοι, represented at Thermopylae, raise their contingent from 8 to 10 for Salamis (c. 43), and send only 400 Hoplites to Platæa, 9. 26. Their best days were past (cp. 7. 99), or in the future, when the lapse of Achaia was to rise into geographical significance (cp. K. Laban, *The Temples and Ritual of the Dorians*, Cambridge 1890).

Ἐρετριεῖς. After their experience in 490 B.C. (c. 6. 101, 119) it is surprising to find men of Eretria in a position to supply even 7 ships in 480 B.C. Either the destruction had not been so complete as Hdt. asserts, or the place had been reconquered and reformed.

9. Τροιζήνιοι. Troizen was a small place, supplying but 5 ships (cp. c. 43); it ranked as the metropolis of the Argænes (7. 99., and appears to have been at this time on especially good terms with Athens; cp. c. 41 *infra*).

Στυρίες. The men of Styra in Eubœa supply 2 triremes. In the Athenian tribute-lists Styra is assessed at 100 drachmai.

ἡς καὶ πεντηκοντέρους δύο· Λοκροὶ δὲ σφι οἱ Ὀπούντιοι το
ἐπεβοήθειαν πεντηκοντέρους ἔχοντες ἑπτά.

Ἦσαι μὲν ἂν οἱτοὶ οἱ στρατευόμενοι ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον. 2
ἄρται δὲ μοι καὶ ὡς τὸ πλῆθος ἕκαστοι τῶν νεῶν παρεί-
χοντο. ὑβρισὶς δὲ τῶν συλλεχθεισῶν νεῶν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον
ἦν. πᾶρες τῶν πεντηκοντέρων, διηκόσια καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ
μία. τὸν δὲ στρατηγὸν τὸν τὸ μέγιστον κρίτας ἔχοντα 5

10 ἦσαι 8 11 ἐπεβοήθειαν 8. van H 2 1 οἶν 8. om. 8
2 ἦσαι τὸν ὅσον τὸ Κεῖκα ὅσον τι Schaefer. quot ὅσας Valla. verba
ἄρται . . . παρείχοντο σιστοῖα habet van H. 2, 3 ἡνὲν (lis 8
4 μία καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα 8. ὁ γὰρ οἶν 8. Holder 5 τὸ om. 8
ἄρται 8.

Κῆρος. The island of Keos appears in the list at least as assumed for 400 B.C., though in 480 B.C. it furnished but 2 pentekonters beyond the Myraean contingent. The assessment probably represents the resources of Keos better than the contingent. The island was the birth place of Demosthenes, the poet laureate of the war (cp. l. 228).

10 Λοκροὶ . . . Ὀπούντιοι. cp. l. 203. As they were leaving Paros at Thurium as it is a wonder to find them represented at Artemision, even by 7 pentekonters.

σφι might naturally be referred to Keos just before, as σφι up above certainly refer to Χάλιδες immediately preceding. But the general sense of the passage suggests a reference here to the fleet as a whole. All the contingents enumerated above, or more vaguely still, cp. l. 198. The verb (ἐπεβοήθειαν) is varied from the ἔσθαι and παρεῖχοντο previously mentioned in the personal object expressed or understood.

2 ὡς ἔργας δὲ μοι καὶ ὡς. As the reference is to the immediate context, and as we appear to be used in a doubtful sense, this whole sentence is naturally suspect. The verb παρεῖχοντο, etc., is unfortunate, repeated, as it is, just below. Yet the μοι makes for authenticity, and there is a sufficient reason for the introduction of the sentence, the purpose of which is evidently to justify the order in which the contingents have been given, as corresponding to the relative strength of the respective contingents. A. H. Lind in *Class. Lat. Rev.* 1904, p. 11 suggests, on the analogy of an Ionic inscription circa 450 B.C. that Her. might have

intended ἔργας (= ἔργατα) as a noun, a *contingent* might seem the simpler alternative. The difficulty in the sentence appears to arise less from the use of *οἶν* to signify the order of the list than from the presence of *καὶ* and *το* (τῶν). The sentence would certainly be easier if it ran *ἐπεβοήθειαν δὲ μοι ὡς καὶ τοῖς πλεονεκτημένοις τῶν νεῶν παρεῖχοντο*. The article, however, may be referred in the first place to the particular contingent(s), taken severally and in the second place to the total fleet, but the words *καὶ ὡς*, especially in that strict, appear suspicious.

3 ἀριθμός. The total 211 agrees with the items. *Πεντήκοντα* 11 12 gives 265 as the total, including, apparently, the 9 pentekonters.

4 πᾶρες τῶν πεντηκοντέρων. It is apparently to be understood that the only pentekonters were the two from Keos and the seven from Ojuntian. Iakris enumerated above. There were some still smaller and lighter boats in commission (cp. a 21 *οἶν*), though not included in the navy list.

5 οὖν 5) στρατηγόν. Each of the distinct contingents enumerated above was presumably under an *ἐπικράτης*, *strategos*, the person, by which the *ἐπικράτης* (naval [to Λοκροὶ] came to be commander-in-chief of the whole fleet is not quite clearly established by Hdt. The word *ἐπικράτης* may have temporal & the sense of a place first, and the next instant, not to say the very necessity of the case, will show that the question of the hegemony by sea and by land had been raised and determined before any operations at all were undertaken, probably at the Isthmus

παρείχοντο Σπαρτιῆται Εὐρυβιάδην Εὐρυκλείδω· οἱ γὰρ
 σύμμαχοι οὐκ ἔφασαν, ἢν μὴ ὁ Λάκων ἡγμονεύῃ. Ἀθηναῖοις·
 ἔφθεσθαι ἡγεομένοισι, ἀλλὰ λύσειν τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι στρα-
 3 τευμα. ἐγένετο γὰρ κατ' ἀρχὰς λόγος, πρὶν ἢ καὶ εἰς Σικελίην
 πέμπειν ἐπὶ συμμαχίην, ὥς τὸ ναυτικὸν Ἀθηναῖοις χρεὼν εἶναι
 ἐπιτρέπειν. ἀντιβάντων δὲ τῶν συμμάχων εἶκον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι
 μέγα πεπονημένοι περιῆναι τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ γνόντες, εἰ

6 εὐρυβιάδην SV εὐρυβιάδην R | τὴν Εὐρυκλείδω 2, edd. plures | γὰρ
 δε R 7 Ἀθηναῖοις. ἄλλοις Naber 3. 1 καταρχὰς Pz
 2 ἐπὶ τὴν 8: τῆς ἐπὶ συμμαχίῃ Kullenberg 3 ἐπιτρέπειν add.
 4 μέγα τε ποιεῖν οὐκ. Stein, adm. van H.

in the previous year. Cp. further Appendix III. § 6, and v. 3 *infra*.

6. Σπαρτιῆται: the navarch was probably elected in the Spartan *Apella* to hold office for a year, beginning about the autumnal equinox (p. II. v. 6 36 1). This *Εὐρυβιάδης* son of *Εὐρυκλείδης* is the first Spartan navarch whose name has reached us, we are not justified in assuming that the office itself came into existence for and with him. It may have been of long standing, though of little importance, before the Persian war (cp. 3. 32). *Εὐρυβιάδης* was not perhaps elected in view of the Persian war, but in the ordinary course of business; he succeeded, by tradition, with little aptitude for the post, and in the two ensuing naval campaigns the command is entrusted to men of royal standing, *Leutychidas*, *Pausanias*.

7 ἢν μὴ ὁ Λάκων ἡγμονεύῃ: this sentence, or some the words *Ἀθηναῖοις ἡγεομένοισι*, may be regarded as superfluous, the two conjuncts are, indeed, logically inconsistent. What the allies demanded was that a they would abandon the whole undertaking if the Athenians were to have the command, (b) that they would join in the undertaking if the Spartans had the lead. Two further points may be remarked. (1) The question of sending is not necessarily confined to the naval operations; τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι στρατευμα has a more extended reference, actual or potential. (2) That being so ὁ Λάκων need not be referred specifically to *Eurybiades*, or even to the Spartan navarch (whenever he was, or was to be), but should be taken to refer generally to 'the Lakonian,' the man of Lakonianism.

8 λύσειν τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι στρατευμα: the two fore, if not triple, future

must place the declaration of the *Symmachoi* well before the despatch of the forces to Thermopylae. *Ἀρτεμισίου στρατευμα* is used by Hdt. both for 'expedition' e.g. 2. 49 *στρατεία* and 'forces' (= *στρατός* 7. 48). Whichever sense he here preferred, the application need not, and indeed cannot, be restricted to the navy, for the defence of Thermopylae and Artemision is a single undertaking, a *στρατήριον*.

3. 1 κατ' ἀρχὰς: theating *anotonta* precise, even with the additional indication τὴν ἡ καὶ τὴν Σπάρτην στρατῶν. The question of the *Hegemonia* was doubtless one of the first to be decided, but it can hardly have been intercalated between the mission to Argos, 7. 148 (where, by the way, the Argives demand ἡγεσθαι κατὰ τὸ δῆμον), and the mission to Sicily, 7. 153ff. The disputes with the Athenians must have preceded both the other disputes, the stories of which imply that the hegemony is treated as *quarta*. The λόγος here recorded, whether speech, demand, or argument, must have taken place ἐγένετο at the first meeting of the allies at the fall meet, in the autumn or early winter of 481 B.C. The Athenians themselves (*Thermotaktes*), or some state friendly to Athens (if any at all), must have been its authors. The opposition of the allies here recorded must be identical with the opposition of the allies just above recorded in c. 2.

4. μέγα πεπονημένοι: the whole passage, down to the second εἶκον *ἐκείνῳ*, introduces some obscurity to the argument or narrative, but is in itself clear enough, the subject of Ἀθηναῖοι being carried over or resumed apparently, at least as far as the second εἶκον.

The passive form *πεπονημένοι* is remarkable as the perfect or pluperfect

σπασίανται περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίης, ὥς ἀπολεσται ἡ Ἑλλάς, ὁρῶντες
καί τε· στάσις γὰρ ἔμφυλος πολέμου ὁμοφρονέοντος τοσούτου
κακίου ἐστὶ ὅσην πόλεμος εἰρήνης. ἐπιστάμενοι δὲ αὐτὸ τοῦτο
οἷα αὐτέτεινον ἄλλ' εἰκόν, μέχρι δὲ σὺν καρτὰ ἔδεοντο αὐτῶν,
ὥς δαΐδεξαι· ὥς γὰρ δὴ ὠσιέμενοι τὸν Πέρσῃ περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου

δ σπασίανται B 6 νοήοντες B | στάσις . . εἰρήνης dachl. Blakealey
| περὶ τοῦτο B 8 μέχριν οὐ BP : μέχρι οὐ : 9 ὃν ὠσιέμενοι :
δασυέμενοι Bekker, van H | περὶ τοῦτο B :

of *σπασίανται*. The tense does not appear to have a mere γ temporal force. Xen's specification would spoil this aspect of the word.

δ ὁρῶντες νοήοντες Hds. apparently appraises the patriotic modesty of the Athenians, and adds a stock *gratuité* of but doubtful application to the case in question unless, indeed, the Athenians had been contemplating actual γ coming to blows over the question. The ground was hard γ moist in the first instance to be applied to the case of an alliance or confederacy. 'Civil war' (*πολεμὸς ἐμφύλος*) is in war conducted by a state at war with itself (*πολεμὸς ὁμοφρονέων*) as war is to peace *εἰρήνη*. The phrase does not cover the still darker evil of *στάσις* and *πόλεμος* combined up Thuc. 1. 122. The notion *καί τε* is observable.

ἀ μὲντοι δὲ σὺν καρτὰ· so *χρόνῳ* but the phrase might still mean either *dum vivo*, so long as or *dum vivit* the point when. The exact rendering must depend upon the sense in which the words *καί τε* and *σὺν* are taken.

καρτὰ ἔδεοντο αὐτῶν. What is the object of *ἐδεοντο* and to whom does the word *αὐτῶν* refer? The exact meaning of *ἐδεοντο* may also be in question. If there is no change of subject, if the subject of all the final verbs *εἶδον*, *ἐδεοντο*, *ἐπέσταν* (*ἐπείσταν*, *ἐπέσταν*) is 'the Athenians,' then the passage means that the Athenians, in their position the conduct of Athens, therefore conducting not merely with the general Athenians of Hdt., but with the immediate context, wherein their patriotism, their pro-Hellenism has been commended.

The Athenians, however, made these observations only so long as they were under the need of them (the allies) or the Lakedaemonians in reference to the latter, for as soon as they had repulsed the Persian and were carrying the war into the enemy's country, they ignored the Lakedaemonians of the lead on pre-

text of the violence of Paucaniza. But there is something to be said for a change of subject. The repulse of the Persian, and the war in Ionia or Thrace, were not simply the doing of the Athenians. *ἐπεσταν*, *ἐπείσταν*, *ἐπέσταν* should hardly be referred exclusively to the Athenians, but rather to 'the allies,' or 'the Hellenes'; in which case *αὐτῶν* w.l. refer to 'the Athenians,' and the meaning will be, 'the Athenians gave war and yielded, until such time as they (the allies, the Greeks) had sore need of them (or possibly 'positioned them'), as they showed for the Greeks after repulsing the Persian, etc.' The words in *διεβόη* are in any case against the alternative rendering of *ἐδεοντο*, for it would be intolerably harsh to take 'the Greeks' as the subject of *ἐδεοντο* and *ἐπείσταν*, but certainly 'the Athenians' as the subject of *ἐπείσταν* *διεβόη*. If however, the subject of *ἐδεοντο* is of *ἐπείσταν* there is some confusion of thought in the passage, as the allies, or Hellenes, who deprived the Lakedaemonians of the naval hegemony at Byzantium in 477 B.C. were quite different persons and states from the allies who refused naval hegemony to the Athenians in 421 B.C. The story of the transfer is told, from an Athenian point of view, Thucyd. 1. 95 (Lindor 11 44, Birtarch, *Antiquit.* 23, etc. (Cp. G. F. Hill, *Sources*, i. 144).

The passage has a bearing on the question of the composition, plan, and completion of the work of Herodotus. He could hardly have expressed himself as here, or concluded this prospective episode with the summary *καὶ οὕτως αὐτῶν ἐπεσταν*, had he been intending to carry his narrative below the point where it now terminates, viz. the siege of Sestos in 479 B.C. In other words, this passage supports the view that the work of Hdt., as we have it, is finished and complete, according to

10 ἤδη τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐποιεῖντο, πρόφασιν τὴν Πausanίῳ ἔβρι
 προισχόμενοι ἀπειλάντο τὴν ἡγεμονίην τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους.
 ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον ἐγένετο.

4 Τότε δὲ οὗτοι οἱ καὶ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον Ἑλλήνων ἀπικομενοὶ
 ὥς εἶδον νέας τε πολλὰς καταχθείσας ἐς τὰς Ἀφείτας καὶ

10 ἐποιοῦντο B

12 ἐγένοντο C

4. 2 νέας B || ἐς τοὺς B

the author's own idea. (cp. Introduction § 6.

10. τὴν Πausanίῳ ἔβρι is a remarkable expression, which might point to this passage being an insertion, cp. 9. 10 infra; but the phrase may be a current one, descriptive of the proceedings recorded more fully by Thuc. 1. 93, 95, and touched by Hdt. himself 6. 32.

4. 1. τότε, in contradistinction to the *before* just above, or to the *ear* ἀρχάς, c. 3 *and* *and*; but the precise date is still in question, and is to be inferred, or extracted, from the words in many following. The term *ἐπὶ* . . . ἀπικομενοὶ denotes undoubtedly the same object as *ἐπὶ στρατηγούμενοι* ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον of c. 2, or again of *ἐπὶ τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ἐκλήμενοι* of c. 1; but the νέες, the *στρατῆς*, the *ἀνὰ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον*, are successive epochs in the operations of the fleet, the last of which is here more precisely denoted by the sight of the enemy's fleet already in position at Aphetai, what whatever the occupation of Artemision by the Greeks here involved previous or successive the occupation of Aphetai by the Persians is not quite clearly indicated in this context. A problem at once arises as to the relation of this narrative to the narrative in bk. 7. There the occupation, or first occupation, of Artemision by the Greeks precedes by some time the appearance of the Persian ships at Aphetai (cp. 7. 157, 158, 166). The Greek fleet, in fact, apparently occupies Artemision before the Persian fleet has quitted Thermopylae, and actually retreats from Artemision to Unaiis upon news of the Persian advance signalled from Skion (7. 183). But the three days' storm detains the Persian fleet *en voyage*, and not until the fourth and last day of the storm (7. 187), that is, the fifth day after leaving Thermopylae, at earliest, could the Persian fleet have steamed into Aphetai (7. 193). The Greeks have already resumed their station at Artemision on the third (or fourth) day of the storm (7. 192) and conse-

quent y it is the Persians on their way to Aphetai who lose fifteen ships to the Greeks already at once, for the second time, at Artemision (7. 194). To harmonize this passage with that it must be inferred that the *ἐπὶ ἐπὶ* ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον here to question is the second occupation of Artemision by the Greek fleet which in bk. 7 precedes, not merely the arrival of the Persian ships at Aphetai, but apparently even their departure from the Argivean strand. This harmony, indeed, Hdt. himself has apparently attempted. Stein has a proof of this in the otherwise superfluous καὶ in this passage, a still clearer proof lies in the sentence *ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς παρὰ δοξάν κτλ.*, which clearly resumes the statement in 7. 192 *ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλγος εἶναι ἐπὶ ἀφείταις*. The attempt is clear; not so the harmony itself. For (1) the Greeks here on arriving at Artemision (for the second time) apparently discover the Persians before them at Aphetai. (2) the Greeks at once project a second retreat. But such a retreat at this point is out of the question, as inconsistent with the whole plan of defence for Thermopylae-Artemision, and also inconsistent with the brilliant success they have just achieved (acceding to 7. 194) in the capture of fifteen of the king's vessels. The conclusions are forced upon us that the two passages are in the main from different sources (the one here probably of European, the other, that in bk. 7 of Asiatic origin), and that Hdt. has been ill-advised in his attempt to harmonize them, especially in his duplication of the retirement, or supposed retirement, of the Greek fleet from Artemision. The doubling of his sources has also apparently complicated the storm, and complicated other episodes in the naval operations, for the question of which to the simpler issues are further, Appendix V.

2. καταχθείσας ἀναγόμεναι is the proper word for putting into land; cp. 6. 147 *ἀναγόμεναι ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα τὰς νῆας ὁρμίσας αὐτάς*.

διδούς. ὡς δὲ οἱ οὗτος ἀνεπέπειστο, Ἀδεύμαντος γὰρ ὁ Ὀκύντου ὁ Κορίνθιος στρατηγὸς τῶν λοιπῶν ἡσπαίρει μούνος, φάμενος ἀποπλεύσεσθαι τε ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου καὶ οὐ παραμενέιν, πρὸς δὲ τούτον εἶπε ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπομόσας "οὐ σύ γε ἡμᾶς ἀπολείψεις, ἐπεὶ τοι ἐγὼ μέζω δῶρα δώσω ἢ βασιλεὺς ἂν τοι ὁ Μήδων πέμψει ἀπολιπόντι τοὺς συμμάχους." ταῦτά 10 τε ἅμα ἡγόρευε καὶ πέμπει ἐπὶ τῇ νῆα τὴν Ἀδεύμαντος τάλαυτα ἀργυρίου τρία. οὗτοί τε δὴ πληγέντες δώροισι ἅμα.

ὁ δὲ Κορίνθιος δειδωμένος ἡσπαίρειν cum v.l. Κορινθίων: κόρινθος C: κορίνθιος ceteri. Κορινθίων Schaefer, van H. | τῶν λοιπῶν om. B. 'furtivum aut clandestinum' van H. | ἀποπλεύσεσθαι B, van H. 10 νῆα B | τὴν αἰσθῆναι τοῖς αἰ 11 πληγέντες B, Holder, van H., Stein: πάντες α, Stein¹⁷

own devising, as though they were his own, a. 58 infra.

ὁ ἀνεπέπειστος: the pluralist here has its full temporal force; but a shade of ill-fortune hangs below, in ἀνεπείσμενος ἦσας and ἐπεπείσμενος.

Ἀδεύμαντος . . . ὁ Ὀκύντου. cp. 7. 137 and f., a passage which in part might explain the hostility of Athens to the memory of Aristides, were it not that the stories to the discredit of Aristides are surely far older than the exploits of Aristides his son. The account of the bribery of Adeimantos by Themistokles at Artemision is, indeed, not merely absurd in view of the strategic necessities of the position, and obviously 'pragmatic'—to the discredit of Themistokles too, but it is flagrantly inconsistent with the stories of the relations between Themistokles and the Corinthian admiral just before the battle of Salamis. It is thus doubly significant that the version of the story followed by Plutarch, *Themist.* 7 omits Adeimantos altogether. If there is any truth in the tradition of the employment of money by Themistokles to procure a halt to promote a battle, the scene must be laid at Salamis, not at Artemision, where the Peloponnesians could no more have thought of retreating than the Athenians themselves, so long as Leonidas was holding Thermopylae. The name and patronymic of the Corinthian strategos are here given, as they would show, cf. c. 58 infra, Alcetas, son of Okytos, a Corinthian, appears among the signatories of the treaty of Iachem in 421 B.C., Thuc. 4. 119. 2. This second Okytos

might well be a son of Adeimantos, the name is presumably connected with ὄνως.

δ. ἡσπαίρει: like a fish out of water, cp. 9. 120 or a babe new-born, cp. 1. 111, or the stem ἡσπαίρειν, but without a reference to a bird in the hand of a seafarer.

9. Μήδων. Did Themistokles, as the Athenians of his generation, speak of the 'Mede' rather than of the 'Persian' as Aristotle Thuc. The general colour of the stories of Artemision is decidedly Attic. Hdt. and the Ionians for at least a generation before him could clearly distinguish between Mede and Persian.

ταῦτά τε ἅμα φέρονται καὶ πᾶσι: the anaphoric παρατάξις and the historic tense are observable; 'the words were hardly out of his mouth before he sends to the Corinthian admiral's flag-ship three talents of silver.'

11. πληγέντες. The reading of the second class for *πάντες* (cp. App. Crit.), adopted by Bleekley and Boeckh, from Wesseling, and now by Stein, on the ground that *πάντες* is inadmissible for *δύο*. Boeckh compares Plutarch, *Themist.* 21 *πληγῶν ὑπὸ τῇ διαβολῇ*, and other Plutarchean more remote; Stein at II makes of *πληγῶν*, and *ἐκ* Hornum, *Chd.* 3. 13 *muneri munus ducens nūm quāntū ducens*. It is easier to understand *πάντες* as a corruption of *πληγῶν* ex *liberariarum quāntū valentium ducens munus ingens* (Wesseling) than to suggest or one might be tempted to see in *πάντες* a hint of a story of still more far reaching corruption than that just related; at any rate, the corruption was intended to cover 'all three.'

ἔδωκε αὐτοῖς ἰδόντες, πρὸς θυμοὶ ἦσαν ἐπιχειρεῖν, εἰ κως ἔλοιον αὐτάς. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς ἀντίης προσπλέειν οὐ καὶ σφί ἐδόκεε τῷδε εἶνεκα, μή κως ἰδόντες οἱ Ἕλληνες προσπλέοντας ἐς φυγὴν ὁρμήσειαν φεύγοντας τε εὐφρόνη καταλαμβάνη· καὶ ἐμελλον δίδου φεύξεσθαι, ἔδει δὲ μηδὲ πυρφόρου τῷ ἐκείνων λόγῳ ἐκφυγόντα περιγενέσθαι. πρὸς ταῦτα ὧν τῷδε ἐμ-

β προσπλῖναι B, van H.

γ εἶνεκε R | κως τ' τως α' om B |

προσπλῖναι B, van H.

δ καταλαβή B καταλαβῶι P; κατα-

λαμβανει d

9 φεύξεσθαι Stein²¹, van H. ἐκφείξεσθαι 10

λόγῳ B

7. 1 ἐμχυνόντο Stein²², Holder. ἐμχυνόντο d· ἐμ-

χυνόντο ceteri, Stein¹, van H.

the second time, before the arrival of the Persians at Aphetai; but if so, why did not the Greeks advance upon the Persians (especially if Aphetai should be placed within the entrance of the gulf of Pagasæ? The Persians do not advance at once for a frontal attack upon the Greeks (as the ἀντίη προσπλῖναι) for fear the Greeks should sail away and escape, through the Euripos, under cover of night, a squadron of 200 sail is detached to circumnavigate the island and take the Greeks in the rear, who the fleet from Aphetai will attack ἐξ ὁπισθεν when the time arrives. The expression of the plan ignores the bearing of the naval manoeuvre upon the situation at Thermopylæ, had the Greek fleet desired, and been allowed, to 'fly' from Artemision, Leonidas and his men were at the mercy of the Persians. The squadron detached to circumnavigate Eubœa may have been directed rather against Thermopylæ than against Artemision.

8. εὐφρόνη καταλαβάνη. The noun is a poetic word for 'night,' cp. 7. 12. The verb is used in a favourable, or at least a neutral sense, cp. 2. 139.

9. ἐμελλον δίδου φεύξεσθαι seems to be not the writer's own opinion, but an idea spread among the Persians; the tone of the passage, therefore, hardly accords with the account of the Greek panic in c. 4 *supra*. (ἐκφείξεσθαι is of course hardly sound, but would accord better with referring the utterance wholly to the author.)

ἔδει δὲ μηδὲ πυρφόρου τῷ ἐκείνων λόγῳ ἐκφυγόντα περιγενέσθαι. ἐκείνων must refer to the Persians, for τῷ ἐκείνων λόγῳ cannot be intended to ascribe to Persian origin the obviously Greek or Laconic proverb. The *five denarii* was

a Spartan official, but not perhaps to be found only at Sparta; cp. *Λακωνισμὸς*, *Lacon.* *τῆς*, 18. 2 θοὰ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον οἶσιν ὦν (sc. ὁ βασιλεὺς) καὶ οἱ ἐν αὐτῷ ἦν δὲ ἐνταῦθα καλλιερῆς, λαβὼν δὲ πυρφόρος πῦρ ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ προσηγεται ἐπὶ τὰ θύρα τῆς χωρᾶς· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐθιγὰ δαὶ καὶ Ἀθηναί. ἔταν δι' ἡμῶν τοῦτον τὸν οἶον καλλιερῆς, τότε διαβαίνει τὰ θύρα τῆς χωρᾶς· καὶ τὸ πῦρ μὲν ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν ἰερῶν προσηγεται ὅσπερ ἀποσπινόμενον σφάγια δὲ παντὶα πέται. Cp. *Εὐκλείας* sub v. who says, ἐν τοῖς οἰν πολέμοις ἐκείνος τῶν ἰερῶν οἱ νεκροὶ κοτεὶ φιδεσθαι. This might be true of Greeks, but would not hold good for 'Ionians.' Canon Blakeley, however, denies the sanctity of the πυρφόρος, and supposes only that he would be more likely than the fighting men to escape.

7. 1 πρὸς ταῦτα αὐτὸς plausible. The subject of ἐμχυνόντο is understood, sc. οἱ στρατηγοὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ· cp. the (naïve mouth) conversation previously recorded 7. 234. This device (μηχανή), of detaching a squadron (200 strong) to circumnavigate Eubœa, and take the Greeks at Artemision (or Thermopylæ) in the rear, is here apparently dated after the arrival of the Persians at Aphetai. But (1) the direct αὐτὸς καὶ ἐκείνων Σειδῶν; (2) the previous knowledge of the Ionians concerning the positions occupied by the Greeks; (3) the curious introduction of the word ἀπασιν—i.e. 'while the ships were still in full force'; (4) the improbability of the Ionians dividing their fleet, if they had just suffered the colossal losses recorded at Marathon; (5) the probability that the story has been duplicated to Hist. 9. 92. 1, 2, and the Persian losses thereby increased; (6) and last, not least the whole strategic development of the

χαλόντο· τῶν νεῶν ἀπασάνων ἀπακρίναυτες διηκασίας περιέ-
 τερπον ἔβωθεν Σκιάθου, ὡς ἂν μὴ ὀφθείησαν ὑπὸ τῶν πολέμιον
 περιπλύνουσαι Εἰβοίαν κατὰ τε Καφηρέα καὶ περὶ Γεραιστὸν
 ἐν τὸν Εἰρεποι, ἵνα δὴ περιλαβοῖεν οἱ μὲν ταύτῃ ἀπικύμενοι,
 καὶ φράξαντες αὐτῶν τὴν ὀπίσω φέρουσιν ὁδόν, σφεῖς δὲ
 επισπόμενοι ἐξ ἐναντίας. ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι ἀπέπεμπον
 τῶν νεῶν τὰς ταχθείσας, αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἐν νύφῃ ἔχοντες ταύτης
 τῆς ἡμέρας τοίσι Ἰάλλῃσι ἐπιθήσεσθαι, οὐδὲ πρότερον ἢ τὸ

2 ἡγῶν B | ἀπασάνων B | πασάνων AV: πασῶν B || περιέπεμψαι ἔβω
 3 ὀφθείησαν V) B, van H. 4 περιπλύνουσαι B, van H. || περὶ οἱπ. B
 van H | γεραιστὸν B 5 μὲν δὲ B 7 ἐξενεστήσῃ B | ἐξ ἀπίας
 milit van H. 8 ἡγῶν B 9 ἐπιθήσεσθαι d

operations, well as absolutely con-
 veyed by Hitt., make it probable that
 the squadron commissioned to circum-
 navigate Euboea was detached from the
 Persian fleet not at Aphidna as Hitt.
 here seems to imply, but off the Mag-
 neasian coast, if not already, still earlier,
 at the start from Thessaly.

3. ἔβωθεν Σκιάθου, the island formed
 a cordon with the Magnesian main, cp.
 7. 176, 183, and was the objective of the
 Persian navy from Thessaly 7. 179 and
 followed the station of the three Hellenic
 squadrons on the outlet, *ibid.*, c. 52 *infra*,
 and a telegraph station, 7. 182. But
 from Aphidna, or from Artemision, to
 sail round Skiathe would be to sail
 northward between Skiathe and
 Penesthe, a mysterious, not to say
 impossible manœuvre, which would be
 far in view of the Greeks at Artemision.
 ὡς ἂν μὴ ὀφθείησαν. There is no
 need to quarrel with Thucydides van H.,
 and others the *et ὀφθείησαν* as Hitt.
 uses the *omitted*, with *dr.* after *ἀναλ.*,
van H., rather freely (cp. *Herzogshausen*,
op. cit., *ibid.*, *van H.*, 2. 35).

4. κατὰ τε Καφηρέα καὶ περὶ Γεραι-
 στὸν. Kaphtera and Geraieta are the
 two headlands at the south-east end of
 Euboea, Kaphtera being the northern
 one, Geraieta the southern. Geraieta
 mentioned again 9. 105, as the burial
 place of the Althraian pankratiast
 Herakleides son of Kallimachos the hero
 of Myrae who fell unhappily in the
 war with the Argians. The variation
 of the pronunciation is observable you
 will see *κατὰ Καφῆρα* and even *κατὰ*
Καφῆρα without getting round Euboea
 into the Boeopos but cp. App. Crit.
 The variation here treats all these places

as notorious, perhaps with a touch of
 Atticism 7. 183, L. 77 suggest that
 the term Kaphtera is restricted to the
 straits at Chalkis, though the other
 passages where the term occurs in Hitt.
 admit of a more extended reference.

5. ταύτῃ. *sc. ἐν τῷ ἔβωθεν*.
 6. αὐτῶν; the Greeks, that is, the
 Greek fleet, for Hitt. treats the con-
 tinuance throughout as directed against
 Artemision.

τὴν ὁδὸν φέρουσιν ὁδόν: by sea,
 not by land. *τὴν ὁδὸν ὁδόν* in quite
 a different connection, 2. 87.

7. ἐπισπόμενοι ἐξ ἐναντίας: the Greek
 fleet being assumed to have taken to
 flight, *ἐξ ἐναντίας* signifies not so much
 a 'frontal attack' on the Greeks as an
 'advance to meet' their own squadron.

8. ταχθείσας, *sc.* the two hundred.
αὐτοί, *sc.* the remainder, or rather
 the main fleet; if Hitt.'s figures were
 to be trusted, it would still have num-
 bered upwards of 600 vessels.

ταύτῃ τῆς ἡμέρης: the day of
 their arrival at Aphidna, and, as after-
 wards appears, c. 15 *infra*, the day
 upon which the frontal attack upon
 Thermopylae had begun, 7. 210, the
 first of the great *Pyrrhus*; cp. c. 15
infra, App. Crit. V § 4.

9. οὐδὲ πρότερον ἢ τὸ σύνθημα σφῆ-
 they might have some time to wait for
 the signal that the circumnavigating
 squadron had arrived (in the Eurymen-
 or where?), but where was such a
 signal to come from? No part or point
 of Euboea was as yet in Persian hands.
 The signal was to be given from the
 mainland — an unconscious indication
 that the circumnavigating squadron was
 directed rather against Thermopylae than

10 σύνθημά σφι ἐμελλε φανήσθαι παρὰ τῶν περιπλεόντων ὡς ἡκούτων. ταύτας μὲν δὴ περιέπεμπον, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν νεῶν ἐν τῇσι Ἀφείτῃσι ἐποιεῦντο ἀριθμόν.

8 Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐν ᾧ οὗτοι ἀριθμὸν ἐποιεῦντο τῶν νεῶν, ἦν γὰρ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τούτῳ Σκυλλίης Σκιωναῖος δῦτης τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων ἀριστος, ὃς καὶ ἐν τῇ ναυηγίᾳ τῇ κατὰ Πήλειον γενομένη πολλὰ μὲν ἔσωσε τῶν χρημάτων τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς περιεβάλετο, οὗτος ὁ Σκυλλίης ἐν νύφῃ μὲν εἶχε ἄρα καὶ πρότερον αὐτομολήσειν ἐκ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ οἱ παρέσχε ἕως τότε. ὅτερ μὲν δὴ τράπη τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἐτι ἀπίκετο ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, οὐκ ἔχω

10 περιπλεόντων B, van H

11 λοιπῶν B | νηῶν ἐπὶ τῇσιν V

ἀφείτῃσιν B 12 ἐποιεῦντο B || τὸν ἀριθμὸν z 8. 1 τοῖσιν om C |

ἐν ᾧ ἐν τῷ ed. I. nonnulli: ἐν ᾧ, νεῶν eccl. van H. || ἐποιεῦντο B 2

νηῶν B 3 ναυηγίᾳ d 4 κατὰ τὴν d 5 τῇσι Bz | περι-

εβάλετο AR· περιεβαλλετο BSV 6 αὐτομολήσειν οἱ om. B

7 ἐκ τοῦ Codol, van H, Steind: ὡς

against Artemision. The conclusion supports the theory that 200 ships were detached from the Persian fleet off the Megarian coast—or earlier. The voyage from Skathos to the Euripos, round Karphura and Geirasos, would not be less than 200 (E.) miles, and at night and day, under favourable circumstances, the squadron could hardly arrive at Chalkis, not to say at Thermopylae, in less than thirty-six hours (cp. 4. 86, where a ship is supposed to perform 1300 stades in a *εἰς ἡμέραν*), but we have here 200 ships to move together, and a difficult channel to negotiate. It was, perhaps, hoped that the flying squadron would arrive in the rear of Themistocles in the course of the third day (assuming it to have been detached in the afternoon or evening of the first day).

10 *ἐμελλε φανήσθαι* is rather curious, for they must have been intending to await a definite signal, not merely to wait until a signal was about to be displayed. The future seems to be purely relative to their intentions at the moment of dispatch, not on the eve of arrival.

12 *ἐν τῇσι Ἀφείτῃσι ἐποιεῦντο ἀριθμόν*. As has been done at Dorikos, 7. 59, 89, 100. Their losses by the storm were to be computed (cp. 7. 100). It is possible that some reorganization of the fleet was now attempted. Documents may have resulted from this

name-list, but there is little to suggest that Hdt. or his authorities made use of them.

8. 2 Σκυλλίης Σκιωναῖος Skyllias (cp. Σκόλλα Σκυλλή of Skione, the city on Euboea, 7. 121).

3. *δύτης τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων ἀριστος*. Hdt. Hdt. believed the anecdotes which he proceeds to relate he would perhaps have employed the *οἱ σὺν αὐτῶν τῶν ἡμεῖς ὁμῶν ἀριστοί* (the *σὺν ἀνθρώπων* is introduced perhaps because the water is not *οἱ σὺν αὐτῶν* as in the element).

τῇ ναυηγίᾳ τῇ κατὰ Πήλειον γενομένη—cp. 7. 128-31, and the tick of *ἀποστολῆς*, 7. 150. *περιεβάλετο*, *abul.* *ἦν γὰρ* . . . *ὅντος* shows a slight anacoluthon: the whole anecdote rings with the *was time*: so *ἄρα* ('as he afterwards explained'), *ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ οἱ ἀντ.*

6. *καὶ πρότερον*, 'even before this'; cp. c. 6 *ἔμπροσθεν*.

7. *παρέσχε* is neither *ἀνέσχε* just below, or of course personal but intransitive. cp. *1st* 5. 520 *οὐδ' ἐδυνάσθη Αἴψο μάλ' ἀσχεθεῖν* *μεγάλῃ* *νύκτι* *κατασχεθεῖν*.

8. *τὸ θεοῖσιν*, coming just after *νύκτι*, might appear to be spatial rather than temporal; but if taken with *ἐτι* must be vaguely expressed to *καὶ πρότερον* just before. *ἐτι* may be related (with *τετα*) to the man's previous unsuccessful attempt to (not that any are recorded), or more generally, with *κατασχεθεῖν*, to the period of

δε λαχθέντων ἐνῖκα τὴν ἡμέρην ἐκείνην αὐτοῦ μείναντάς τε
καὶ ἀνίσχοντας, μετέπειτα νύκτα μέσσην παρέντας πορεύεσθαι
5 καὶ ἀπαντᾶν τῇσι περιπλεούσῃσι τῶν νεῶν. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο,
ὥς οὐδεὶς σφί ἐπέπλεε, δειλὴν ὄψιν γινομένην τῆς ἡμέρης

9 δ περιπλεούσῃσι B τούτο δελ. ναυ H. 8 ἐπέπλεε B, ναυ H
|| τῆς ἡμέρης γινομένην S

the consistent with itself, and unintelligible. The Greeks debate various alternatives not stated; they decide upon one, and that one an emergency, a strategic impossibility; and they proceed to act in defiance of their decision. For obvious reasons the Greeks at Artemision could not abandon that position, so long as Thermopylae was held by Leonidas; they cannot have determined at this point to retreat. Nor was any such move demanded by the Persian *periplous* of Bubon, a few ships would be sufficient to hold the narrow channel at Chalkis, and, if that were held, the fleet at Artemision, the army at Thermopylae, had little to fear from the *periplous*. But a real source of anxiety may have lain in a doubt as to the true objective of the Persian flying squadron. What if the 200 vessels were making not for Chalkis but for Croton, for Phaleron, for the lattermost? The storm may have reassured the Greeks, convinced that a squadron on the high sea could not weather it even if Skylitas had reported only the despatch of the Persian vessels. The actual resolution taken by the Greeks is to be inferred from their action. They must have decided to remain, and to attack the Persian fleet, or perhaps the rear-guard thereof. Possibly too a secret note of the fighting on the first day, resulting in the capture of thirty ships, is an unconscious emblem of the account given in § 194 of the capture of the fifteen ships, that coming from an Asiatic, this from a European source; Xylander is concerned in both stories, and it is extremely hard to know otherwise, in the narrative here for the episode there recorded (p. Appendix V § 4).

8. *ἔβλεα*. of a deliberative decision, § 101. This decision might be identical with the one reported in c. 4 *εἰρηυ*; cp. next note.

τὴν ἡμέρην ἐκείνην *prima facie* this day witnesses (1) the arrival of the Persian fleet at Aphelatai, (2) the arrival of Skylitas at Artemision, (3) the council

of war. (4) the first engagement at sea, whether this be, or be not, identical with (5) the capture of the fifteen ships described in § 194; to these events must apparently be added (6) the first day's fighting at Thermopylae, and, as Herodotus would have us believe, (7) the despatch of the squadron to circumnavigate Bubon. It is, however, possible that these events are unduly accumulated. The despatch of the squadron to circumnavigate Bubon (as above shown) is to be dated before the Persian fleet passes Sicotus and the *mesonion*, that is, before the storm. The interval *ἐν δὲ τοσούτῳ χρόνῳ* c. 8 *εἰρηυ* between the despatch of the squadron and the arrival of Skylitas at Artemision may have comprised not hours, but days; or again, his arrival at Artemision may have anticipated the Persian arrival at Aphelatai by some days, and yet, as apparent, implied by Herodotus, have succeeded it by some hours. Again the further chronological indication not below (*μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο*) is of little or no value, the interval being extremely vague. If Skylitas arrived in the Greek camp before the storm, before the Persians had passed Sicotus, in fact days before the capture of the fifteen Persian vessels, or the last engagements at Artemision and Thermopylae, then, indeed, the Greek admirals may have derived from the strength of his information, to which a portion of their own fleet (cp. c. 14 *εἰρηυ*) is joined, as to reinforce the already engaged, the *ἑκπλεῖα* claimed, which the *εἰρηυ* remaining on the spot (*αὐτοῦ*), as a matter of course, with the larger part, to cover Thermopylae and the northern channel of Croton) from the advance of the Persian navy.

8. δειλὴν ὄψιν γινομένην τῆς ἡμέρης: *prima facie* this chronological reference carries back not merely to τὴν ἡμέρην *εἰρηυ* just above, but to the δειλὴν ὄψιν γινομένην of c. 4 *εἰρηυ* the hour of the arrival of the Persians at Aphelatai. It is, however, possible that these early and late occurrences are not on the same day. The arrival of the Persian fleet at

φυλάξαντες αὐτοὶ ἐπανεπλεον ἐπὶ τοῖς βαρβάρους, ὑπὸ πτερον
αὐτῶν ποικίλας βουλόμενοι τῆς τε μάχης καὶ τοῦ διεκπλεον,
ὁρῶντες δὲ σφίας οἱ τε ἄλλοι στρατιῶται οἱ Ξέρξῃ καὶ οἱ 10
στρατηγοὶ ἐπιτλεόντας ἡνυσι ὀλίγησι, πάγχυ σφί μαίην
ἐπεκίκαντες ἄνγρον καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς ἰέας, ἐλπίσαντες σφείας
ὑπὸ πτερον αἰρήσειν, οἰκῶτα κάρτα ἐλπίσαντες, τὰς μὲν γε τῶν
Πελοπόννησος ὁρῶντες ὀλίγων νέων, τὰς δὲ ἐωυτῶν πλήθει τε 5
πολλὰ πλεονῶν καὶ ἄμεινον πλεονύσας καταφρονήσαντες ταῦτα
ἐκτελούντο αὐτοὺς ἐς μέσον. ὅσοι μὲν νυν τῶν Ἰώνων ἦσαν

7 ἐκτελούντων B, van H 8 διεκπλεον B 10, 1 ὁρῶντες
C ὁρῶντες R, Stein, van H ὁρῶντες V 2 ἐπιπλεόντας B, van H
3 ἐπιπλεόντας B ἐλπίσαντες σφείας Stein 5 ὁρῶντες C ὁρῶντες B,
Stein, van H 6 πολλὰ πλεονῶν BCP: || πλεονύσας B, van H.

a battle to say nothing of the successful
outcome was not to be accomplished
in the twinkling of an eye, the only
exception to which we may thing
with reasonable certainty is the con-
clusion of the three days' fighting at
Artemision and at Thermopylae, this
being grounded, though not absolutely,
on the statement of the ancient historians of
the case. The use of φυλάξαντες is made
clear in 11. 10.

It is clear moreover that the Greeks
found their men eager to have the work
done for them in the eyes of the enemy's
commanders. If so, Herodotus will re-
cord further testimony for Artemision, if
not for Thermopylae.

7 ἐπανεπλεον αὐτῶν ποικίλας βου-
λόμενοι very a curious curiosity! That Herodotus should solemnly record a
decision to retreat and that the Persians,
cp. c. 4 infra, 1. 107 and immediately
thereafter an assumption of the offensive
by the would-be fugitives, and that out-
come of a sentimental curiosity, is fairly
characteristic of his military motivation.
We must be sober to see the Persian
commanders enforce the such a kind of
character of physical and psychological
pressure, with considerable success.

8 τὰς τε μάχης καὶ τοῦ διεκπλεον:
with a few minutes of fighting, cp. c.
10 infra. The decision was, perhaps,
an instant decision; cp. my note to 11. 12
and c. 1. 107.

10, 1 ὁρῶντες δὲ πηλ. There is a
clear coincidence between the
language of the sentiment and of the
action and the description of the
battle at Marathon. 6. 112 of 61
cp. 1. 107 and c. 1. 107.

αὐτοὺς τε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐπέφερον
αὐτοὺς πάγχυ ὀλίγη, ὁρῶντες αὐτοὺς ὀλίγων
καὶ τοὺς περὶ δυνάμει τοῦτον. If then a
conclusion is correct, the Atticism of the
passage—the earlier in order of composi-
tion if my theory Introduction, 11. 1, 8
holds—is the more pronounced: as is
natural, on that theory.

4, οἰκῶτα κάρτα ἐλπίσαντες for two
reasons, the Persians being more numerous
and better armed ἀμεινον πλεονύσας, a
notable admission, perhaps not free from
exaggeration especially under the circum-
stances, the Persian ships having been
so long in the water, even if the storm
had not already occurred to damage them.
They had however, perhaps been care-
fully overhauled at Artemision, and at
Thermopylae.

6, καταφρονήσαντες ταῦτα the verb
has not yet acquired its dysphoric force,
cp. 1. 50, 68.

7, ἐκτελούντο αὐτοὺς ἐς μέσον, they
attempted to surround them in a circle,
cp. c. 55 infra, and were apparently
in the first instance unsuccessful. This
was a weakness of another sort to that
conducted by τοὺς περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τῶν ἰώνων
above: could it be that there is some
confusion up above in the report of the
resolution of the Greeks ἀπορῶντες τοὺς
περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν to fight, or attack, the
ships which were surrounding them?

ὅσοι μὲν νυν τῶν Ἰώνων, there
were, then, some of the Ionians in the
Persian ranks well disposed loyal soldiers,
to the 'Hellenic' cause: an important
admission, and indicating a weakness
with which the Persian admiral just
before have failed to reckon, cp. 1. 61.

πρῶτοι τοῖσι βαρβάροις γεγόμενοι ἐς τὸ μέσον τὰς πρῶτας
συνήγαγον, δεύτερα δὲ σημήναντος ἔργου εἶχοντο ἐν ὀλίγῳ
περὶ ἰπολαμφθέντες καὶ κατὰ στόμα. ἐνθαῦτα τριήκοντα νῆας
πύρρουνσι τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ τὸν Γόργου τοῦ Σαλαμινίου
βασιλῆος ἀδελφεὸν Φιλάονα τὸν Χέρσιος, λίγχιμον εὐντα ἐν
τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἄνδρα. πρῶτος δὲ Ἑλλήνων νῆα τῶν πολεμίων
εἶλε ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος Λυκομήδης Λίσχραιος, καὶ τὸ ἄριστήριον

2 γεγόμενοι BFz 3 εἰσήγαγον C 4 νῆας B 5 τῶν
βαρβάρων om. B, Holder 6 βισιλέως C || εν om C 7 ἄνδρα
om. B, Holder 8 νῆα B: μετὰ C 8 αἰσχραίου αἰσV. αἰσχροί R et
tel. om. A. Aischraius Brixew, Holder, van H.

while they rowing round and round the
ships in the attempt to compress them
into a small space? In the first of the two
arrangements, afterwards so corrected,
between Phormion and the Iolopon
squad, about 129 B.C., the Athenian
admiral, with but twenty ships, suc-
ceeded in towing all round a fleet of
47 and which the incompetent Eucles
had drawn up in a hollow circle, their
own outward, round their anchors and
masts. If the Phormionean ships
on that occasion *εἶχοντο ἐν ὀλίγῳ*
περὶ ἰπολαμφθέντες, they might have
towed Phormion's ships, but not *κατὰ*
στόμα. Now to tow, but much more
extraordinarily, *αἰσχροί* or *breastide*.
As it was, the result of Phormion's
manoeuvre was to compress the fleet of
Eucles into an ever-narrowing space,
and finally to throw it into complete
confusion (Thucyd. 2. 43f.) But the
row here is different. A vastly superior
force is engaging an inferior number:
what in this case the ships attempted
was *αἰσχροί* row to row, about compassing
the enemy's fleet was not likely to result
in a close victory. Hence the surprise
is that there is something connected
and associate to it a description of
the engagement, the capture of the
twenty ships by the Greeks certainly
evidence with surprising rapidity. If
these thirty ships were cut off in some
way from the main fleet, the result would
be more intelligible. And again, if the
only 71 of the capture of fifteen
ships, owing to a misunderstanding by
the Asiatic division of this last engage-
ment we have to seek for a *breastide* row,
because that account, which features the
engagement to a more contemporary, and
less accurate, which magnifies it into a

pitched battle and a glorious victory, as
the real event.

4. *κατὰ στόμα*: *ex adverso*, *a fronte*,
Baehr; *Eug gegen Bug*, Stein which
seems better than his first idea, and
near *aut ton ton*.

τριήκοντα just twice as many as
the Asiatic tradition (7. 145) allows.

6. *Φιλάονα*: on Paphos and his family
cp. note to 7. 95. In the fifteen ships
was captured the Paphian Family
7. 145, as well as Sarcotes and
Aticles.

7. *στρατοπέδῳ*. *laible* the fleet,
or naval force; cp. e. 16 supra.

8. *Λυκομήδης Λίσχραιος*: Plutarch
Themi. 15 translates the exploit to
Salamis, which contradicts c. 34 *infra*,
but at any rate suggests other possible
translations. *πρῶτος μὲν οὖν λαβὼν*,
καὶ Λυκομήδης ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος τριή-
ρχος, ἦν τὰ παράστημα περιέχον, ἀν-
έστηκε Ἀνέλλωνι δορυρτήρῳ Φίλων.
The last word may be a gloss (cp. *Later*,
Plutarch Themiadica, 1884, p. 56),
but was not Lycomeides a member of
the clan *γενος* of the Lykomides, to
which Thucydides certainly belonged
(cp. Plutarch *op. cit.* 1). The name
Λίσχραιος, *Λίσχραιος*, *Λίσχραιος* are all
onomatopoeically attested in Attica (cp.
May Vasswa, 1. 1063 f., while *Λί-*
σχραιος appears 3. 26 as the name of a
ship in Salamis. A Lycomeides of Piraeus
appears on an inscription of 418-7 B.C.
Ἰ. τριήρχος, Ἰ. τριήρχος, 34, Hicks, *Monum.*,
70 [63]. He must be grandson of the
one here in the text.

τὸ ἄριστήριον *λαβε* *οὐδὲς*. The
ἀριστήριον is a *left to award* (cp. e. 23,
p. 71, 185), and this notice may be
historical, yet in view of Plutarch's
statement, touching τὸ παράστημα, a sub-

- ἔλαβε οὗτος. τοὺς δ' ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ταύτῃ ἑτεραλκῶς
 10 ἀγωνιζομένους καὶ ἐπέλθοῦσα διέλυσε. οἱ μὲν δὲ Ἑλλήνες ἐπὶ
 τῷ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἀπέπλεον, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἐν τὰς Ἀφίτας.
 πολλὸν παρὰ δόξαν ἀγωνισάμενοι. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ
 Ἀντιδωρος Λήμιος μόνος τῶν συν βασιλείῃ Ἑλλήνων εὐντων
 αὐτομολοῖ ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διὰ τοῦτο το
 15 ἔργον ἔδοσαν αὐτῷ χάρον ἐν Σαλαμῖνι.
 12 Ὡς δὲ εὐφρόνη ἐγεγόνεε, ἦν μὲν τῆς ὥρης μέσον θέρους.
 ἐγίνετο δὲ ὕδωρ τε ἄπλετον διὰ πάσης τῆς νυκτός καὶ σκληραὶ
 βρονταὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πηλίου· οἱ δὲ νεκροὶ καὶ τὰ ναυήγια ἐξέφεροντο

9 τοὺς δὲ CR, ἐν om. U 10 διέλυσε C 11 ἀπέπλεον B
 van H. 15 αὐτῷ om. B, H dler, van H. | χάρον B 12 2
 ἀπλετὸν τε B βρονταὶ σκληραὶ P d 3 ναυήγια B ἐξέφεροντο
 Holder, van H.

probably and not carry with it full citizenship. The word αἰῶνος here would have been less satisfactory.

9. ἑτεραλκῶς ἀγωνιζόμενοι: cp. 9. 104 we εἶδον αὐτοὺς κατ' ἀρχαίαν γονομένην ἐπὶ τῇ μάχῃ. The word is taken in its mean in Il. 6. "dualistic" ἀντιπρὸς ἄλλη, though it is an Homeric word, and the Homeric meaning is "to oppose." An engagement in which one side loses thirty triremes to the other is hardly indecisive, or of doubtful issue; and the latter result is to Ἀθηναῖοι πολλὸν παρὰ δόξαν ἀγωνισάμενοι.

10. νύξ, simply precise and deprecatory. The movements resulting in the engagement had started late in the afternoon; cp. c 10 supra.

12. Ἀντιδωρος Λήμιος. The name Antidoros is epigraphically attested for Athens in the 5th century B.C. (Muller-Wisniewski, l. 2307 where the Lesbian does not appear at all). The island of Lemnos was claimed for Athens in virtue of the act of M. Mades (cp. 6. 137-140), and as the Athenians recovered possession within a few years (cp. Herod. *Str. Geog.* III i 414 f.) it is perhaps doubly remarkable that they settled this 'Lemnian' in Salamis rather than in his native place. His exact status in Lemnos, in Salamis and in Athens, is not quite clear. Was he an Athenian citizen? Had he won so all a king? Had he been a citizen and forfeited his rights? Salamis was not a 'deme,' and never appears as such. The Athenian settlers were technically 'metics,' but they were doubtless native also, and the possession of a χάρος ἐν Σαλαμῖνι

probably did not carry with it full citizenship. The word αἰῶνος here would have been less satisfactory.

12. 1 εὐφρόνη: cp. a 8 supra; the word ἡμεῖς is to be read without any eulogistic attention. The imperfect, ἐγεγόνεε, is used perhaps to avoid dealing with ἔγχετο just below. ἦν μὲν, 'though it was evening (ἦν) was midsummer yet' (84). With the date cp. 7 and 8 πλεόν, as in l. 14 χροῖος: 4 13 dler. 6. 53 (οὐρανῷ, εὐρ., οὐρανόθεν, no end of, 'καὶ οὐρα' σκληραὶ αὐαί of the storm denote perhaps the sharp rattle of thunder in close proximity; L & d cp. Vergil's *ardens fregetur*, G. 1. 587 f. ἀπὸ τοῦ Πηλίου (a from the north, behind them the scene of the great storm in Bk. 7. 188 ff., if, indeed, the two storms be not at once. But in the phrase here purely locative or quite void of a suggestion of causality and general on 'cp. τὸ ἀπὸ ἑσπέρου αὐτὸ ἔλαβε.

τὰ ναυήγια. a c three weeks with the corpses, the product of the storm itself or of the antecedent battle?

ἐξέφεροντο is vds Ἀφίτας. The wreckage and corpses were thrown ashore on the strand at Aphetai: how was that, if the storm was from Pelion? Was it the result of the tide and the current, or were they carried by a wind moving against the thunderstorm? In any case it is hardly safe to press this statement into a proof that there was a great storm from the south immediately in succession to the three days' storm from the north or north-east in Bk. 7,

ἐν τῇς Ἀφείτας, καὶ περὶ τὰς πρόφρων τῶν νεῶν εἰλέοντο καὶ
ἐτάρασσον τοὺς ταρασσὺς τῶν κωπέων. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται οἱ
ταύτῃ ἀκούοντες ταῦτα ἐς φόβον κατιστάετο, ἐλπίζοντες πύγχει
ἀπολέσθαι ἐς ὅλα κακὰ ἦκου· πρὶν γὰρ ἢ καὶ ἀναπνεῖσαι
σφίνας ἐκ τῆς ναυηγίης καὶ τοῦ χειμῶνος τοῦ γενομένου
κατὰ Πήλιον, ὑπέλαβε ναυμαχίᾳ καρτερή, ἐκ δὲ τῆς ναυμαχίης
ὄμβρος τε λίβρος καὶ βεῖματα ἰσχυρὰ ἐν θαλάσσαν ὀρημένα
ῥροταὶ τε σκληραὶ. καὶ τοῦτο· σὶ μὲν τοιαύτῃ ἢ ρυξ ἐγένετο. 13
τοῖσι δὲ ταχθεῖσι αὐτῶν περιπλέειν Εὐβοίαν ἢ αὐτῇ περ εὐόσα
μὲν πολλὸν ἦν ἐπὶ ἀγριωτέρῃ, τοσοῦτω ὅσω ἐν πελάγει φερο

4 κερραὶ van H., Sicil², volgo mas i eaber. καὶ τῶν B εἰλέοντο
van H. Sicil²: εἰλέοντο 5 ἐτάρασσον Επιμετρία van H. 7
ἀπολέσθαι B ἀπολέσθαι van H., α. m. C || ὅ, om, R 8 γινώσκον B
9 καρτερῇ B: καρτερῇ ceteri 10 γε om. B || λίβρος α: λίβρος
C καρτερῇ B ἐν, κατά C: ὀρημένα C: Pa. 13. 1 < ἢ > ρυξ
S. h. e. f. e. t. e. t. e. 2 αὐτῶν α περὶ αὐτῶν B, van H.

a somewhat impious de seip. acc. H. t.
says nothing here about the wind which
first makes its appearance on the 'high
sea,' in the next chapter, as though
the men at Aphetae had not been ex-
posed to it. In this chapter what the
Persians suffer from is sea, thunder
and earthquake, and as that at night.
The sea is agitated, were not bound
but in the water, otherwise the waves
could hardly have been rolling over
round the rocks which now y more
towards the mass of water and lead
not in which we have seen interfering
with the motion of the waves round
the rocks. The description, indeed,
suggests rather the position off the
Xanthos coast, where the ships spent
the night at sea, than the situation at
Aphetae to which the Persians have
retired in the previous chapter.

6 οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται οἱ ταύτῃ: a rather
peculiar designation, who are 'the
soldiers, or fighting men, in the place'
the last translation of the text. Are
they the Persians? Ma is? Are they
a corps of Persians sent in Tenedos,
and in more immediate touch with the
fleet? Whichever they are, they seem to
be men, who for ships and the
weather are ill-fitted.

7 ἀκούοντες ταῦτα: hearing what?
words of the disaster? Or more directly,
the sailors and the crew? The wreck
was and the engines? Or is ἀκούοντες
used like ταῦτα in a vaguer and more

extended reference = perceiving? The
unhappiment of the day πολλὸν παρα-
έως ἀγριωτέρῃ c. 11: is followed by
a clause a point at night when they
experienced to be destroyed actually.
ὅτι ἐν ταύτῃ καὶ ἔκαστος, which was the
end, light would not help them.

7. ἀναπνεῖσαι, to recover breath,
i.e. out of, after. The attitude here
indicated a hardy courage out with the
waves and atmospheric action to them
in c. 10 super.

8 ὑπέλαβε ναυμαχίᾳ καρτερῇ so
much for the Greek character of c. 9.
The adjective has become a superlative
υπολαβὴν, to suppose, to come on, to
overtake, generally of islands; cp. 6
27 the latter καὶ αὐτῇ.

10 ὀρημένα is noticed in the verb
being seldom used in a transitive
sense, and more y than in a transitive.

13. 1 τοῖσι μὲν: rather vague
having to be referred simply to οἱ
στρατιῶται οἱ ταύτῃ above rather more
generally to the whole στρατός at
Aphetae; still more general is the αὐτῶν
immediately following, cp. notes.

2 τοῖσι δὲ ταχθεῖσι. cp. c. 7 super.

ἢ αὐτῇ περ εὐόσα μὲν πολλὸν ἦν
ἐπὶ ἀγριωτέρῃ, a somewhat quaint and
highly-sounding especially followed by
σκληραὶ, and too there is εὐόσα does not
appear to be personified. For ἀγριω-
cp. 7. 10, etc. πλάγος is less of great
significance, cp. next two notes.

μίνοισι ἐπέπιπτε, καὶ τὸ τέλος σφί ἐγένετο ἄχαρι. ὥς γὰρ
 5 δὴ πλέουσι αὐτοῖσι χειμῶν τε καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπεγίνετο ἐοῦσι
 κατὰ τὰ Κοῖλα τῆς Εὐβοίης, φερόμενοι τῷ πνεύματι καὶ οὐκ
 εἰδότες τῇ ἐφέροντο ἐξέπιπτον πρὸς τὰς πέτρας· ἐποιετό τε
 πᾶν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ὅπως ἂν ἐξισωθείη τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ τὸ

4 τὸ οὐκ. B || ἐγένετο B, Holder
 ὁ > χειμῶν van H. || τὸ οὐκ, d
 τοῦ οὐκ. = || ἐξισωθείη C || τὸ περιεὶν B, Valla

5 πλώουσιν V) B, van H. "
 7 ἐξέφέροντο B || ἐς τὰς B(V) B

5 χειμῶν τε καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ: the latter is that already described in c. 13 the thunder is apparently not within hearing, but a 'storm' (χειμῶν, πνεῦμα, is blowing on the high sea).

6 κατὰ τὰ Κοῖλα τῆς Εὐβοίης. 'off the Hel Peninsula of Euboea'; on next chapter, when the ships are dashed ashore, and cf. c. 7 supra. As Kallimachos remarks, it is not perfectly certain what part each of Euboean coast is denoted by 'the Hollows'. Strabo, 445, makes it the tract between Gerastion and the Euripos: τῆς Εὐβοίας τὰ Κοῖλα λέγουσι τὰ μεταξὺ Ἀχίλλος καὶ τῶν περὶ Γεραστιοῦ τῶν καλῶνται γὰρ παραλία. The statement would have been more convincing if the reason had not been added, for the outer coast of Euboea, facing the high sea, is also hollowed (in contrast, for example with the Magnesian coast), even if not sculptured into such a remarkable series of bays as the Paros from Gerastion to Thakia. The Eritomator of Strabo places the Hollows between Gerastion and Kaphereia, a location preferred by Leake (*Leake* 217); but the absence of the requisite physical features to justify such a nomenclature is fatal to this identification. Not so the extension of the term to the Paros between Kaphereia and the promontory Chersonnesus—a coast the general trend of which is more truly concave than the line of coast west of Gerastion, which is in fact a convex, broken by a series of superficial promontories or coves. Possibly the term 'Hollows' was applied to the whole of the southern semicircular section of Euboea, and so ships wrecked on either side might be said to have come to grief on or off the Hollows. But if Strabo is right in restricting the term as above explained, and that not merely for his own day, in that case Hdt. is almost certainly wrong in making the Persian ships pass

Gerastion. They would hardly then have been ἐπελάγει and to wreck them there we must conjure up an improbable storm from the south or west in the teeth of the Hellespontians and Boreas which have been raging (at most a day or two before, cf. Pelion). The ships in Hdt. (pace Strabo) must have been wrecked long before they rounded Gerastion, or even Kaphereia, for they are wrecked during the night following the day upon which they have been despatched. As above shown the squadron of 200 sail, detached to reconnoitre Euboea, was really detached from the main fleet off the Magnesian coast on the day or evening before the great storm, and passing 'outside Skutina' towed south a whole quiet undisturbed night (7 148) before being overtaken by the great storm. Hdt. has apparently duplicated the storm, the more easily in the stories there and here are from different sources: his chronology, as well as the causal sequence, being dislocated thereby.

7. ἐποιετό τε πᾶν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, everything was being done by the god—of thunder, sea, and wind—probably Zeus, rather than Boreas, to whom the Atsians and prayed (7 149), or the Ammon, or Ammon, invoked by the Helonians (7 178).

8. ὅπως ἂν ἐξισωθείη. For the construction see, as ἂν μὴ ἐξισωθείη v. 7 supra. The intention of the god was not, however, effected, if we are to credit Hdt. himself, c. 66 infra; in other words, that at different moments, in different contexts, following different sources, thinks nothing of such self-contradictions or inconsistencies. The further protest emerges: were the members of the Persian fleet at Artemision, at Salamis, after all very much in excess of the Greek? Perhaps not—as seems hinted, admitted, in this curious passage, even though Herodotus

Περσικὸν μὴδὲ πολλὰ πλείον εἶη. οἷται μὲν γυν περὶ τὰ 14
 Κοῖλα τῆς Εὐβοίης διεφθείροντο· οἱ δ' ἐν Ἀφेत्रοῖς βάρβαροι.
 ὥς σφι ὁσμένοισι ἡμερῇ ἐπέλαμψε, ἀτρέμας τε εἶχον τὰς
 νῆας καὶ σφι ἀπεχρᾶτο κακῶς πρήσσουσι ἡσυχίην ἀγεῖν ἐν
 τῷ παριόντι τοῖσι δὲ Ἕλλησι ἐπεβοήθειον νέες πεντήκοντα 5
 καὶ τρεῖς Ἀττικάι. αὐταὶ τε δι' ὅσφας ἐπέρρωσαν ἀπικό-
 μναι καὶ ὁμοῦ ἀγγελὴ ἐλθοῦσα, ὥς τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ περι-
 πλύντες τὴν Εὐβοίαν πάντες εἶσαν διεφθαρμένοι ὑπὸ τοῦ
 γενομένου χειμῶνος. φυλάξαντες δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ὥρην, πλύντες
 ἐπέπεσον νηυσὶ Κιλίσσησι· ταύτας δὲ διαφθεύραντες, ὥς εὐφρόνῃ 10
 ἰγίνετο, ἀπέπλων ὀπίσω ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον.

14. 2 εἰ δὲ B, Holder 3 ἀτρέμας B: ἀτρέμας τὰς νῆας abesse
 velum 4 ἀπεχρᾶτο B: ἀπεχρᾶτο εἰσι 5 ἐπεβοήθειον B, van H
 ἦσαν B | τρεῖς καὶ πεντήκοντα B, Holder, Dittenb², van H. 7 περι-
 πλύντες B van H. 9 εἰ α | πλύντες B, van H. 10 ἐπὶ σφῶν R
 11 ἰγίνετο B, Dittenb¹ | ἀπέπλων B, van H

himself retreats to the admission in c. 16. The *ἡμέρα ἐκαστή* here something of a sporting character, is for making it a fair match with Greek and Persian! Verily, a trivial Providence. Hist lacks here, whether that of piety or that of pessimism, and is rather very decent not to mind. Cato, the Stole, went as far as any man in another direction when he accused his opposition to the motion for a *supplicatio* in Cicero's words: such a conspiracy would seem to imply was that Mark's victory was more Heaven's doing than his own: a simple vote of thanks puts the human hero in his proper place, Cicero, *Arr.* c. 16. 5

14. 3 ὁσμένοισι ἡμέρῃ ἐπέλαμψε on the constitution ep. c. 10 supra. This may be the 'second' of the *traditum*—say Monday. The present in *κακῶς πρήσσουσι* is a little remarkable, but may signify the efforts of the fleet on the previous day, and the inconvenience and fatigues of the just fight.

5 ἐπεβοήθειον νέες Ἀττικάι With these 50 ships the Attic squadron is named to 124, or even 200 sail. It is natural to suppose that this detachment has been bringing the Persians, whether sent there by the main fleet on its way north or sent back to bar the channel, to the result of decisive actions at Artemision. c. 4 supra. Nor need we suppose that Salamis was left entirely without guardships, perhaps the twenty vessels

named by the Chalcidians (c. 1 supra) were there at the time.

7. ὁμοῦ ἀγγελὴ ἐλθοῦσα. the adverb *quod ibi* *ἐπέρρωσαν* rather than *ἄθρονα*: Hist. in any case does not suggest that just the Attic reinforcement brought the good news from Chalcis, or *Constantia* to Artemision. Nor could it have done so, if the Persian arm had been wrecked on the south west coast of Euboea the night before: the news could hardly have travelled so far and fast. Hist. marks a coincidence—the arrival of this message so early confirms the view that the Persian squadron of 200 had been wrecked off the east coast of Euboea. But is the message correctly dated? Was it on the second day of the fighting that the Greeks learnt of this fresh disaster to the Persians? Had not the wreck occurred three days ago? Had Skylax already brought the news? Cp. c. 8 supra.

* ἐπὶ τοῦ γενομένου χειμῶνος Though Hist. speaks, or seems to speak, in ? 192 of the storm off the Massurian coast as *ὁ χειμῶν οὗ πικρῶς, ἡμετέραν* speaks of the storm off Euboea as *ὁ χειμῶν ὁ δεινέρος*. But cp. note ad l. c.

9 φυλάξαντες δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ὥρην ep. c. 9 supra *ὁμοῦ ὁμοῦ γινώσκοντες τὴν αὐτὴν φυλάξαντες*. The use of the *ἡμέρη* here comes very near to our 'hour', not as *τῇ ὥρῃ* c. 12 supra. But why the Greeks reinforced and encouraged after a victory too the previous day,

- 15 Τρίτη δὲ ἡμέρῃ δεικὸν τι ποιησάμενοι οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων νέας οὕτω σφί δόλγας λιμαίνεσθαι, καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ Ξέρξῃς δειμαίνοντες, οὐκ ἀνέμειναν ἐτι τοὺς Ἕλληνας μάχης ἀρξάι, ἀλλὰ παρακελευσάμενοι κατὰ μέσον ἡμέρης ἀνήγον τὰς νῆας. συνίπιπτε δε ὥστε τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας τὰς τε ναυμαχίας γίνεσθαι ταύτας καὶ τὰς πεζομαχίας τὰς ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι. ἦν δὲ πᾶς ὁ ἀγὼν τοῖσι κατὰ θαλάσσαν περὶ τοῦ Ἑυρίπου, ὥσπερ τοῖσι ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην τὴν ἐσβολὴν φυλάσσειν. οἱ μὲν δὲ παρεκλείοντο ὅπως μὴ παρήσουσι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τοὺς

15. 1 τι: τι¹ Kallenberg 3 νῆας B || σφίας B 4 παρα-
σκευσάμενοι B | ἀνήγαγον τὰς νῆας B 5 τὰς αὐτὰς τούτας ἡμέρας R,
Stein | B. τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας R, Steinf., ταῖς αὐταῖς ἡμέραις B, eik. probante
Cobet || τε om. α 3 Λεωνίδῃς BP 2 παρήσουσιν V) B

should have waited again: until late afternoon before intervening in attack, is not clear. Possibly the 'Halkians' means 100 strong only, say, 7-91, or which they 'lost,' were only now coming to Arphelais for the first time.

15. 1. τρίτη δὲ ἡμέρῃ, 'on the third day' (say Tuesday), the article omitted with the plural. δεικὸν ποιησάμενοι, cp. 7. 1 τι, if correct: ἀπεσπέντες δεικόν

οἱ στρατηγοὶ: ἀνασπέντες, ἀνα-
βήσαντες, Προχάρης, Μεγακλῆς: cp. 7. 27, 28, but who was in command of the flying squadron?

2. τὸ ἀπὸ Ξέρξῃς: an admirable expression, involving the Persian with all the more words in parenthesis. But they were probably acting under the king's orders.

3. ἦν: any further as on the two days previous, when the Greeks had been left to take the initiative, a fact which supports the view that the real action on Thermopylae was postponed till the third day; and that the two engagements at sea, on the first and on the second afternoons, were little more than manoeuvres, by which the Greeks cut off strong rearguard squadrons of the Persian fleet. With the news of the wreck of the 200 vessels off Ereos the Persian admirals were driven to attempt a frontal attack. They opened, about the time when Hydarnes was descending the mountain, upon 'the Middle Gate' at Thermopylae: cp. 7. 226.

4. Ὁν μέσον ἡμέρης cp. α. 23 ἐν/α.

5. συνίπιπτε δὲ ὥστε κτλ. But, apparently treats this essential syn-
chronism as purely fortuitous. He

follows up this oversight by the misconception that the waste and so on object of the Greek fleet was to defend the harbour as tent of Leonidas to meet the pass. Every one can now see that the Greeks at Artemision were covering Leonidas, and that Leonidas was making it possible, yes, necessary, for the fleet to remain at Artemision. On which of the two correlated points the Greeks desired the more stress to be laid is a further question, less easy of solution, perhaps they were not quite at one on this matter. So much is clear, that a really decisive victory off Artemision might have saved Thermopylae and Athens to boot. On the first two days, according to their own account the Greek sea-dogs assumed the offensive (though late in the afternoon!), and won two victories; but on the third day when the Persian admirals are earlier on the move, it is the turn of the Greeks ἀρξάμενοι ἔχειν. The manoeuvres of this day reproduce to a great extent the manoeuvres reported of all parts of the first engagement (ναυμαχίᾳ ἀσπέρῃ), or, more probably, the really severe engagement on the third day has been recounted and transferred, in *πολλοὺς χρόνους* Athenianism, to the first.

9. παρεκλείοντο, there is a παρα-
κλείω in each word, making this day a
engagement as to climate and the chief
battle. In a last speech (παρηγορία or
more casual exhortation) to be under-
stood.

ὅπως μὴ παρήσουσι seems rather
to introduce the purpose or result of
the speech than that a final contents
or substance, which the initiative (with

βαρβάρους, οἳ δ' ὅπως τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν στρατεῦμα διαφθίραντες το
 τοῦ πόρου κρατήσουσι. αὐτὰρ δὲ ταξάμενοι οἱ Ξέρξης ἐπέπλεον. 16
 οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀτρέμας εἶχον πρὸς τῷ Ἀρτεμισίῳ. οἳ δὲ
 βάρβαροι μπισοειδὲς ποιήσαντες τῶν νεῶν ἐκυκλοῦντο, ὥς
 περιλαβόντων αὐτοὺς. ἐνθούτεν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπανεπλόον τε καὶ
 συνήμισον. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ παραπλήσιοι ἀλλήλοισι 5
 ἔμμεντο. ὁ γὰρ Ξέρξης στρατὸς ὑπὸ μεγάλῃς τε καὶ πλεθροῦς
 αὐτοῦς ὑπ' ἰωυτοῦ ἐπιπτε, παρασσομενέων τε τῶν νεῶν καὶ
 περιπεκτουσέων περὶ ἀλλήλας. ὅμως μέντοι ἀντείχε καὶ οὐκ
 εἴκε. δεινὸν γὰρ χρῆμα ἐποιεῖντο ὑπο νεῶν ὀλαγέων ἐς φυγὴν
 τράπασθαι. πολλαὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νέες διαφθείροντο 10
 πολλοὶ δὲ ἄνδρες, πολλῶ δ' ἔτι πλευνες νέες τε τῶν βαρβάρων
 καὶ ἄνδρες. οἷσιν δὲ ἡγεμισζόμενοι διέστησαν χωρὶς ἑκάτεροι.
 ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν τῶν Ξέρξεω στρατιωτικῶν 17

13 ἡ θ 11 κρατήσουσι P. κρατήσουσιν τεληα. 16. 1 ἐπι
 πλέον B: 3 νηῶν B ἐκυκλοῦντο Stein², van H ἐκυκλοῦντο Kaiske
 Stein, Holder ἐκυκλοῦντο B: ἐκυκλοῦντο a etc. 5 συναρμόγιον A
 6 ἔμμεντο B. 7 πυρρὸν μένων Ad. παραπλήσιοι B || νηῶν B
 9 χρῆμα del. van H ἐπιδόοντο B² ὀλαγέων cold. z. H Kler, van H.
 αἰγέων R 13 τριπασθῆαι cold z. νέες om. A¹ νηῆς B 11
 αἰ τε B 12 ἡγεμισζόμενοι Schweighauser, van H.

and the two corresponding expressions;
 see App. Crit. Must men have κρατή-
 σουσι / τε.

11. τοῦ πόρου here clearly means the
 strait, waterway, cp. 2. 36.

14. 1 νηῶν, 'having put them
 on in the array,' of Ξέρξης
 (personally) suggests the presence of
 the Persian, who thus presides in this,
 as in the previous chapter, the eastern
 power and command.

14. 1 ἡγεμισζόμενοι ἐκυκλοῦντο: cp. c 1)
 οὐρα ἐκυκλοῦντο αὐτοὶ ἐς ἄστρον. The
 expression is apparently identical.

14. 1 ἐπανεπλόον just as on the first day
 of the battle, after all, without waiting
 to be actually attacked, cp. c. 11 supra.

15. παραπλήσιοι ἀλλήλοισι ἔμμεντο.
 This phrase cannot mean that the Greeks
 and Persians had equal losses engaged
 (as a result of the efforts of the Dios ex-
 emplars of c. 13 supra, for Hdt. goes
 on at once to state that *μεγάλης* and
εὐλαίας were both expenditures on the
 side of the Persians fleet (στρατὸς). But
 if the losses were still unequal 'they
 came to be on an equality' because the
 Persians and the others turned rather
 to the disadvantage of the barbarians,
 as Hdt. explains. The obvious sen-

teness of the passage is apologetic and
 apologetic in the Greek context, for in
 view of their defeat & death of the two
 previous days (and, it might be added,
 in view of the action at Salamis), surely
 a crowning victory was now to have
 been expected. No such victory could
 be claimed for Artemision; but, with
 great subtlety the argument is converted
 into an explanation of the failure of the
 larger and more numerous force to defeat
 the comparatively inferior one of the same day.
 This view seems better than to see in
 this passage the intention of an Asiatic
 narrator to claim the failure of the larger
 fleet.

15. αὐτοὶ ὑπ' ἰωυτοῦ ἐπιπτε: a formula
 afterwards enlarged and converted into
 the chief rationale of the Persian failure
 in the whole war, cp. Thucy. 1. 69. 6.

16. ἀντείχε καὶ οὐκ εἴκε: an unfortun-
 ate, inglorious. δεινὸν χρῆμα ἐποιεῖντο, cp.
 c. 15 supra. The plain truth is that
 the Persian fleet did not give way,
 notwithstanding its enormous size and
 numbers, but inflicted very heavy losses
 upon the Greek. The term in *ἡγεμισ-
 ζόμενοι* is remarkable: cp. *ἡγεμισζόμενοι* in c.
 14, and App. Crit. *ἡγεμισζόμενοι* in c. 17.

17. 1 Αἰγύπτιοι. It is curious that

ἤριστευσαν, οἳ ἄλλα τε μεγάλα ἔργα ἀπεδείξαντο καὶ νέαν αὐτοῖσι ἀνδράσι εἶλον Ἑλληνίδας πέντε, τῶν δὲ Ἑλλήνων κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην ἤριστευσαν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Ἀθηναίων Κλεινὴς ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδew, δις δαπάνην οἰκίην παρεχόμενος ἐστρατεύετο ἀνδράσι τε διηκοσίαισι καὶ οἰκίῃ νηί.

18 Ὡς δὲ διέστησαν, ἄσμενοι ἑκάτεροι ἐξ ὅρμον ἠπείλυντο.

17 2 ἔργα μεγάλα B, Holder, van H. || νέας B
οἰκίην C 18. 1 οἳ δὲ ὡς διέστησαν B

5 κλεινίας α ||

the 'Egyptians' of all peoples should most have distinguished themselves in a sea fight: perhaps the Egyptian *Αἰγυπία* was a compliment to their Pers. an admiral Arakimenes (cp. 7. 235, or that special account was taken of their prejudices and inexperience! Diodorus 11. 14. 2 awards the prize with more probability, to the Sicilians (perhaps from Hist. 7. 44).

στρατιωτῶν cp. c. 12 supra. The five ships taken, men and all (αὐτοὶ δαδράναι), were presumably not Athenians, notwithstanding c. 10 supra, or the Athenians could hardly have obtained the *ἀμύρα* on that day among the Greeks. Cp. *Plutarch de malig. Hist.* 34—*Mor.* 867 ὁ μὲν Πενδογός, οὗς ὡς συμμάχου πόλεως, ἀλλὰ μηδ' αὖτε αἰτίαν ἔχουσι, θυμὸς τοῦ Ἀρτεμίδου μετῴθετος ἐπιπεφύνηκεν ἀπὸ παιδὸς Ἀθαλάου ἐβόλοντο φασινὰς ἀρετὰς ἐλευθερίας. There are three other citations of the same Πενδογός laud in Plutarch's works, viz. *Thémist.* 8, *de glor. Ath.* 7 = *Mor.* 350; *de a. num.* c. 6 = *Mor.* 652.

ὁ Κλεινὴς ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδew. This Kleinas, son of Alkibiades, is, of course, the father of that better known Alkibiades, the pupil of Sokrates, and the cause of so much war to Athens from 427 B.C. onwards. The name 'Alkibiades' is probably rather a Spartan than an Athenian favourite (cp. Thuc. 8. 6. 3, and the older Alkibiades, a member of the great clan of the Εὐρυκλείδαι (Poterius, *Hist. Ant.* Ath. 1886, p. 126), or rather of the Εὐκλείδαι (cp. *Isophr.*, *Aléxarche Hémérolog.*, 1889, pp. 115 ff.), had been at one time Spartan *πρόξενος* in Athens, but had renounced the office Thuc. 5. 43. 2, perhaps in consequence of his relations with Kleisthenes and the Alkmaeonidae, a daughter of which house, Demarete by name, he espoused. Alkibiades the younger, thus offspring, being thus related to Pericles

the son of Agastis (5. 131) on the spindle side. The older Alkibiades had probably (with Aristides, Xanthippos and others) opposed the naval policy of Themistokles, and had suffered ostracism (see Appendix III. § 4, but, if still alive, would have returned with Aristides (cp. c. 79 infra), that his son Kleinias here defrays the expenses, and more than all the expenses of a *τρηγάρχεια* seems to show that the father was no longer alive in 480 B.C. (or that the son had an independent fortune?). A further question arises whether the son Kleinias was alive or dead when this passage was written by Hist. But alas! this passage is consistent with either alternative, and cannot be used as conclusive of the date of composition. Kleinias fell in the disastrous battle of Koronoeia in 447 B.C. (Plutarch, *Aléxch.* 1), and the fact that his death is not here mentioned might be taken to prove that this passage was originally written during his lifetime (cp. per contra the case of Sophaanes 9. 76; but, on the other hand, (a) this record might well have been taken from a sepulchral monument: or the disaster at Koronoeia might better be passed over in silence; or, Hist. might easily have inserted a reference, had he wished to do so, in the final revision of his work; (v.) he has not always recorded the deaths of eminent men, his *dramatis personae*, e.g. Aristides, Themistokles, Xanthippos, and others.

δαπάνην οἰκίην· οἰκίῃ νηί. cp. 5. 4* for a parallel instance. At Athens, in Hist.'s time, the state provided the 'trierarch' with the hull, mast, pay and rations for the crew. On the trierarchy see Appendix III § 4.

18. 1. διέστησαν without the superfluous *χωρὶς* of c. 17 supra. This day had been as it ends, with joy on both sides! cp. c. 15 supra. Stein cps.

οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ὡς διακριθέντες ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίας ἀπὸ-
λαχθήσαν, τῶν μὲν νεκρῶν καὶ τῶν ναυηγίων ἐπεκράτεον,
τρηχίως δὲ περιφθέντες, καὶ οὐκ ἥκιστα Ἀθηναῖοι τῶν αἰ-
ήμιστοι τῶν κῶν τετραμέναι ἦσαν, δρησμον δὲ ἐβούλευον;
ἔσω ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, νοῦν δὲ λαβὼν ὁ Θερμοστοκλής ὡς εἰ 19

3 ἀπαλλάχθησαι? van H. 3 ναυγίων R ναυηγίων S ναυη-
γίων T 4 τρηχίως R τρήχως V 5 ἡμίταιι ε: ἡμίταιι
old ἡμίται C ἡμίταιι B | νῆων RSV | ἐβουλεύοντο Od, van H.
19. 1 5 om. B, Holder

as 9 621 ἔσαν δι' ἑαυτῶν πλοῦνται
διακριθέντες ἦσαν, Ἀσμεῖα ἐκ θαλάσσης,
πλοῦνται ἀναστὰς ἐταρῶν.

2 διακριθέντες. The verb διακρίνειν
is used of the physical separation of
combatants in all three voices Homer;
cp. also Thuc. 1 105. ἡ ἀρχὴ γενομένη
ποροῦνται . . διακρίσαντες αὐτ' ἀλλήλων.
So in 3. 11. 2 of voluntary separation,
μετακρίσαντες (of allies.)

3 τῶν μὲν νεκρῶν καὶ τῶν ναυηγίων
ἐπεκράτεον has a suggestion of victory
about it, but probably is to be explained
by the fact of the tide cp. c. 12 *supra*.
(Was it to be assumed that they buried
the dead?)

4 τρηχίως δὲ περιφθέντες: p. 5 1
It is admitted that the Greeks had
been very roughly handled in this
engagement, and perhaps the Athenians
to whom the prizes were awarded,
and borne the brunt of the loss; but
that "the half of their ships" (rough and
slovenly) were damaged must not be
an exaggeration, in view of their sub-
sequent conduct at Salamis. True,
they may have had further vessels in
reserve and they had more time to retreat
before Salamis; but how possibly the
vessels were of every variety and the
type of the ships were only "mums or
lams" damaged. τετραμέναι ἦσαν seems
to give a somewhat different feeling
to εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα the fleet not being a mere
expedient, the ships were there also,
in a damaged condition (τετρα-
μέναι οἱ πλοῖα Thuc. 4 10)

5 δρησμον δὲ ἐβούλευον this would
be for the third time if we could trust
c. 4 *supra* and 7. 182. Placed here the
statement amounts to a confession of
defeat, but it is even yet hardly cre-
dible before the arrival of the fleet, news
from Themistocles, after all, a defeat,
there was no further room for debate or
delay, cp. c. 21 *infra*.

19 1 νόον δὲ λαβὼν the native may

be instrumental' or even 'locative'; the
verb νόειν denotes physical action (2.
22, 112 etc.), may also denote a psycho-
logical act; cp. 9. 10 6 187 4 *infra*.

6 Θερμοστοκλής. The article may
be taken to refer back to the occurrence
of the name in c. 4 *supra*; cp. also c. 5.
The Greek anecdote is less discreditable
but hardly more credible, at least in its
details and surroundings, than the other.
Themistocles here assumes an initiative
which belongs to Eurymedon (cp. c. 2
supra). Moreover he summons the
Strategoi to a council, when a council is
already sitting (εβουλεύοντο just above,
cp. c. 21 *infra*). Further, he treats the
question of retreat as settled, though
that is just the question at issue; or
rather, we may say, though Themistocles
cannot have dreamt of retreat, so long
as Leonidas held out nor as it likely
that Eurymedon and the Peloponnesian
army had committed themselves blindly
to Themistocles. In the speech put
into the Athenian's mouth two or three
different devices with different objects
are confused or combined, and there is
a suggestion of forest and ascription
now imparted to the words and acts of
Themistocles, quite in the style of the
partisan legend. But that there is
something historical at the back of this
anecdote is not a very small thing. After retreat
became inevitable, the misthioles and the
Athenians perhaps volunteered or were
detained to cover the retreat cp. c.
21. All among Themistocles and the
Athenians will have been hoping and
planning to rescue the Helians from the
Sagittariorum perhaps to smother a new
Ionian 'Revolt'; and Themistocles
may have urged or left implied, addressed
to the Athenians, helped him at Artemision
(cp. c. 22 *infra*). The treatment of the
Greeks and their boats requires no
justification; but the facts were not,
we may suppose, merely accidental or

ἀπορραγελή ἀπὸ τοῦ βαρβαρον τό τε Ἴωνικόν [φύλον] καὶ τὸ
Καρικόν, οἳ τε εἶσαν <ἀν> τῶν λοιπῶν κατ' ὕπερθε γενέσθαι,
ἐλαυνόντων τῶν Εὐβυέων πρόβατα ἐπὶ τὴν θύλασσαν ταύτην,
5 συλλέξας τοὺς στρατηγούς ἐλεγέ σφι ὥς δοκεῖ ἔχειν τινὰ
παλάμην, τῇ ἐπίξοι τῶν βασιλέως συμμάχων ἀποστήσειν
τοὺς ἀρίστους. ταῦτα μὲν νῦν ἐς τοσοῦτο παρεγύμνου, ἐπὶ

2 βαρβαρικῶς || φύλον see! Stein¹: post Καρικόν παρελ. = 3
ἦσαν C || ἄν acc. Waser, Stein² γένεσθαι α, Stein¹ 4 cf. comment.
infra || θύλασσαν, τοῦτ' B, Valla, Holder, edd. plerique τ. ταύτην del. van H.
6 ἐπὶ ξοί Pz: βασιλέως C: βασιλῆος: 7 τοσούτων B

ultra, but intended to decrease the
Persians into the belief that the Greeks
were still encamped at Artemision long
after they had cleared up a common
stratagem (p. Lxy 22, 13 G).

2 τοῦ βαρβαρον Baehr takes as
misreading an i-stem to the king. But
more easily as neuter, while admitting
that the Attic form would be βαρβαρον,
which is not so easily read, as ἄν (cf.
τὸ το Ἴωνικόν φύλον) καὶ τὸ
Καρικόν, meaning doubtless the
Ionians in Asia, and the neighbouring
islands, whom however Hdt. does not
expressly. When Themistocles is re-
presented as calling the Ionio-karian
contingent τῶν βαρβαρῶν ἀμύγων τοῦ
ἀριστοῦ, he is made to use language
which represents neither the Persian nor
the Hellenic view: cf. below.

3 τῶν λοιπῶν κατ' ὕπερθε γινέσθαι
the two latter words = *superior*, cf. ex.
du 75 136 etc. The Greek contingent
in the Persian fleet is counted at 120 to
some 400-427 vessels, according to the
sums set in Ph. 7, 89 f.; the Ionia-
karian (= Ionian) in the stricter sense
approximately 200. Aristocracy was normal
of that era, but whether the Ionio-
karian division of τῶν βαρβαρῶν ἀμύγων
to it or may be questioned. In either
case the detachment of these contingents,
especially after the loss of the king's
fleet in the storm, or storm, would be
a very serious blow. Baehr remarks
that ἄν is not necessary in this expression.

4 ἐλαυνόντων τῶν Εὐβυέων πρόβατα,
as usual, but what the practice, or the
purpose, as to say to the context here
is anything but obvious. The fate of
the sheep has nothing to do with the
Ionian question, or the Persian de-
taching the recruits from the king's fleet.
Is it possible that the whole story is a

more gloss, which has made its way into
the text, and at an abstruse point? It
would come in more logically after ἐλεγέ
σφι or ἐπὶ ξοί, or after ἐπὶ ξοί in l. 8.

5 συλλέξας τοὺς στρατηγούς Themis-
tokles said, not at that, and they
were already collected in council. Hdt.
has apparently contaminated two or
three different anecdotes: (1) the appeal
to the Ionians (2) the persuading of
the fleet at the expense of the Euboeians;
(3) the time by which the Persians were
led to believe that the Greek fleet was
at it at its moorings, and the soldiers
at Salamis at Artemision.

6, παλάμην = *τύχη*, *Sin dan mid* v.
The word is Homeric, but not in that
meaning, which is, however, frequent
in Pindar; cf. Ol. 13, 12 Σισυφώ-
μας περικύβητος παλάμῃσι δὲ βέλε. Cf.
Aristophanes. *Παρεν* 634 f. *ὅτι δὲ οὐ*
παράσας πάλαν ἐν ἀντοφίᾳ παλάμῃ.
The word is especially appropriate on
the lips of Themistocles a veritable
Palmist.

συμμάχων . τοὺς ἀρίστους they
are involuntary *συνμαχοί*, but the word
is used, perhaps, even in the derivative
sense, of allies, then in the literal sense,
of co-fighters, 'the most valiant they
could secure he truly called among the
king's fighting men have not the
Egyptians just passed, the *Ἀπυρρί* c.
17 supra? perhaps there is a slight
Herodotean irony in the use of the term
here.

7, ἐς τοσοῦτο παρεγύμνου, 'so much,
and no more, he reached' of the plan: cf.
5, 50, 7, 99. With *παρεγύμνου* cf.
1, 128 δὲ Κύροι *παρεγύμνου* τὸν πάντα
ἄνθρωπον.

ἐπὶ τοῖς καθέκαστ' πρήμασι.
pro praeceptis prout aliam, Baehr. Cf.
2, 45.

ἐποίησαντο σφίσι αὐτοὶ τὰ πρήγματα. Βάνιδι γὰρ ὧδε ἔχει
5 περὶ τούτων ὁ χρησμός.

φράζο, βαρβαρόφωνος ὅταν ζυγὸν εἰς ἅλα βάλλῃ
βύβλινον. Εὐβοίῃς ἀπέχειν πολυμηκάδας αἰγας.

τούτοις οὐδὲν τοῖς ἔπεισι χρησαμένοις ἐν τοῖς τότε παρεούσι
τε καὶ προσδοκίμοις κακοῖσι παρὴν σφί συμφορὴ χρᾶσθαι
10 πρὸς τὰ μέγιστα.

21 Οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἔπρασαν, παρὴν δὲ ὁ ἐκ Τρηχίνος
κατάσκοπος. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῃ κατάσκοπος Πολύας,
γένος Ἀντικυρεὺς, τῷ προστετέτακτο, καὶ εἶχε πλοῖον κατήρες
ἑτοιμον, εἰ παλίσειε ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατός, σημαίνειν τοῖς ἐν

4 αὐτοὶ δειν': αὐτοῖς 6 βαρβαρόφωνος Valla (barbaricus):
βαρβαρόφωνον ὅτ' ἂν ἰσταν B | ἄλλα 6 7 βύβλινον B πολὺ
μηκάδας SV, van H. 8 τούτοις δὲ B, Stein', Holzer: 'αὐ τοῖς τοῖς
δη I' van H. 9 χρᾶσθαι 10 πρὸς: ἐς van H. 21. 4
ἑτοιμον Cl'z, van H. del. Bekker παλίσειε B: παλαίσειεν C, ἀπελάσειε
Valla (dianatant): τι πτωσειε Valckenner

περιπέτεια τι ἐποίησαντο τὰ
πρήγματα and τὰς τὰς ἐπὶ τὰς ἐπὶ τὰς ἐπὶ
ἐπὶ τὰς ἐπὶ τὰς ἐπὶ τὰς ἐπὶ τὰς ἐπὶ τὰς ἐπὶ
by Boeckh. περιπέτεια is used literally of
falling round or upon an object or,
Soph. *Ant.* 907, *And.* 1223, in a figurative
sense, of 'falling in with one or mis-
fortune. It may be used here with the
further suggestion of a sudden change
or reverse of fortune, but that seems
unnecessary. Rather the word here
appears to come short of its full force,
inasmuch as danger rather than actual
disaster appears indicated. At any rate
(as Stein observes), except for the lack
of Hesiodic *κατασκοπος*, the Euboians
are not recorded to have suffered as
much from their friends as from their
enemies.

6. ὅταν ζυγὸν εἰς ἅλα βάλλῃ βύβλινον
appears to be a clear reference to the
bringing of the sea Hecateon; cf. 7.
25, 34, 36 though it might conceivably
refer merely to the employment of
bucina horns for signaling or
actual purposes. Cf. c. 77 *infra*.

7. πολυμηκάς appears to be an *ἀπαι-
λεγ*.

8. τούτοις οὐδὲν τοῖς ἔπεισι χρη-
σαμένοις οὐδὲν χρησαμένοις means
'after utterly neglecting, neglecting',
cf. 5 72 τῇ ἀληθείᾳ οὐδὲν χρησαμένοις.
The personal subject is supplied by σφί.

This short sentence is a clumsy and
inelegant one; there are ten words in
the dative in four different constructions:
τούτοις might be masculine, but for the
belated σφί, χρησαμένοις followed by
χρᾶσθαι and πορεύοις followed by παρῇ,
and παρῇ again by παρῇ in the next
line (c. 21), are stylistic shortcomings; in
short, with the very setting of the
chapter, and other peculiarities, doubts
as to its authenticity are legitimate.

21. 1 ἔπρασαν Stein takes = *ἐπράσαν*
(cf. 4. 45), Sittler = *ἐπράσαν* (sic). It
refers back to τὰς ἡμέρας σφί πρᾶσαν
3. 19 *supra*. The *μεν* and *δε* here amount
to constitute a parenthesis.

ὁ ἐκ Τρηχίνος κατάσκοπος: the
article is explained by what follows.
That the agent, or *adieu-ant*, is
described as ἐκ Τρηχίνος, a place ap-
parently in the hands of Xerxes, is
observable, but may be explained by
7. 176, where ἐκ Τρηχίνος ἐπὶ τοῖς
ἀντικυρεῖς used for the name of Τριχί-
νη though it probably should have
denoted a different one; cf. note ad c.

2. Πολύας γένος Ἀντικυρεὺς. The
man's name seems to be unique. Cf.
Antikyrean op. 7. 164, 214. Polyas was
presumably from the Maseian city.

3. πλοῖον κατήρες, a boat fitted, or
well-fitted with oars: κατήρες *perihore*
= *κατήρη*. The same stem is seen in
κατήρες etc. Cf. note to 7 36.

4. παλίσειε apparently from a verb
παλίειν, the Ionic form of παλαίω (πάλη).

ἐντάμνων ἐν τοῖσι λίθοις γράμματα, τὰ Ἴωνες ἐπελθόντες τῇ ὑστεραίῃ [ἡμέρῃ] ἐπὶ το Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐπελέξαντο. τὰ δὲ γράμματα τάδε ἔλεγε. "ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, οὐ ποιεῖτε δίκαια ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας στρατευόμενοι καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καταδουλοῦμενοι. ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν πρὸς ἡμέων γίνεσθε· εἰ δὲ ὑμῖν ἐστι τοῦτο μὴ δυνατὸν ποιῆσαι, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐτι καὶ νῦν ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἡμῖν ἔξεσθε καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ τῶν Καρῶν δέεσθε τὰ αὐτὰ ὑμῖν ποιεῖν. εἰ δὲ μηδὲτερον τούτων οἷόν τε γίνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἰπ' ἀναγκῆς μέζονος κατέζευχθε ἢ ὥστε ἀπίστασθαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ, ἐπεὶν συμμίσγωνμεν, ἐβелоκακίετε, μεμνημένοι ὅτι ἀπ' ἡμέων

3-5 τὰ . . γράμματα οὐκ. B 4 ἡμέρῃ δαμν. ναν H, Sten.²
5 τάδε ἔλεγε· λεγόντα τάδε B 7 γινεσθαι α, 'ingen recte' van H.
8 ἡμέας BP: 9 ἔξωθε malit van H.: ἔσωθε Bα || δέεσθαι B || ταῦτα R:
ταῦτα SV) 10 ἀνάγκης μείζονος α 11 ὥστε μὴ ἀπίστασθαι B ||
δὲ γ. BP, Holder 12 συμμίσγων d

15 supra); then, according to Hdt., a council was held—the account of which is obscure. Then the news of the disaster at Thermopylae is brought by Artabanos, and retreat becomes at once inevitable; but Themistokles now proposes to carry out his projected plan. How many the springs, or fountains, to which the device was applied if it does not say

3. ἐντάμνων ἐν τοῖσι λίθοις γράμματα. We are to understand that these inscriptions were incised (and coloured?) in the living rocks, or in some cases in the stones, marble with which the temples, or temples, were fenced and built. These inscriptions were read by the Ionians on the very next day; cp. c 23 supra: were they ever read by any other mortals thereafter? How many times the inscription was reproduced by Themistokles Hdt. does not specify, but he gives the *praxis* *verba*, what 'at the meeting,' for argument and rhetoric in the presence a veritable 'session in stones', had Hdt. copied the story? Did 'Ionians remember and report them at home? Is the anecdote an Attic invention? The story reads in any case more like a letter or an oral address than like a lastly cut inscription, and that in duplicate. There was no need to cut these inscriptions; they might as well have been simply written or painted up.

4 τὰ δὲ γράμματα τάδε ἔλεγε: a conclusive proof of the use of λέγειν,

λέγειν, cf. sup. for ἀπὸ. The order of the words τάδε ἔλεγε is unusual, but occurs also 2. 126 in a less abrupt form.

5 ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας: cp. 7. 61, where the same point and the same matter are urged by Artabanos.

7 μάλιστα μὲν . . α δὲ . . μὴ: perhaps the earliest instance of the employment of this tactical formula; cp. Thuc. 1. 40. 4, Plato *Rep.* 500 n, etc.

8. ὅπως δέ: a genuine *de in praesentia*; the construction is repeated immediately below; cp. 7. 50, and *loc.*

ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἡμῖν ἔξεσθε, 'examine a neutral position'; cp. 4. 118 ὅπως δὲ μὴ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ μέσου ἀπὸ τοῦ μέσου ἀπὸ τοῦ μέσου ἀπὸ τοῦ μέσου. Also 3. 83 and c 23 supra. *ἡμῖν δὲ, ἐκ τῆς, 'we pray you'.*

9. τὸν Καρὸν δέεσθαι: cp. α. 19 supra; and for δέεσθαι α. 3, 4 supra.

10 αὐτὰ δὲ μηδὲτερον τούτων. These courses are open to the Ionians, more or less consistent with their duty to their 'fathers' (i.) μάλιστα μὲν to desert the Persian and join the Greeks (πρὸς Ἑλλήνων γίνεσθαι), (ii.) αὐτὰ δὲ μὴ, to leave the Persian and assume a neutral position (ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἔξωθαι, κατεσθαι); (iii.) to play too Persian false in the hour of battle (ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ δολοκακίαν).

11. μέζονος . . ἢ ὥστε ἀπίστασθαι. The conjunction ὥστε is not *de causatione* in this construction of the infinitive after a comparative, but is certainly in place. cp. *Maty g.* 7. 8. 110 c.

γόνυατε καὶ ὅτι ἀρχήθεν ἢ ἐχθρῇ πρὸς τον Βάρβαρον ἀπ' ἑνὸς ἡμῖν γέγονε." Θημιστοκλῆς δὲ ταῦτα ἔγραφε, δοκίειν ἰμοί. ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρω νοίον, ἵνα ἢ λαθόντα τὰ γραμματα βασιλεία 15 Ἴωνας ποιήσῃ μεταβαλεῖν καὶ γενέσθαι πρὸς ἐαυτῶν, ἢ ἐπειτε ἀντιπληθῇ καὶ διασπληθῇ πρὸς Ξέρην, ἀπίστους ποιήσῃ τους Ἴωνας καὶ τῶν ναυμαχιῶν αὐτοὺς ἀποσχη.

Θημιστοκλῆς μὲν ταῦτα ἐνέγραψε. τοῖσι δὲ βαρβαροῖσι 23 οὕτως μετὰ ταῦτα πλοῖον ἦλθε ἀνὴρ Ἰστιαίους ἀγγέλλων τὸν ὄρησμον τὸν ἀπ' Ἀρτεμισίου τῶν Ἑλλήνων. οἱ δ' ἐπ' ἀπιστίῃ τὸν μὲν ἀγγέλλοντα εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ, νέας δὲ ταχίας ἀπίστευαν προκατοφόμεναι· ἀπαγγελλάντων δὲ τούτων τὰ ἦν, 5 οὕτω δὲ ἄρα ἦλθ' σκιδναμένῳ πάσα ἡ στρατιὴ ἐπέπλεε ἀλῆς ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμισίον. ἐπισχύντες δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ μεχρι

13 ἀρχήθεν post ἐχθρῇ d | ἢ em. B 74 οἱ om. B | ἔγραψε B, 16, 17 ποιήσῃ (τιν) B || μετα- βαλεῖν B || ἐπειτε: ἐπειδὴ Krieger, van H. | ἀντιπληθῇ AB || ξέρην B | 15 σπληθῇ 2 23. 2 ἰστιαῖς Pd. ἰστιαῖς C: ἰστιαῖς 2 3 24 B 4 νέας B2 || ταχίας exdd. 2 5 τοιούτων 2 6 οὕτως B || 27 C P 2 || ἐπλεε P, Holder ἐπλεον V) B2, van H. || ἀλῆς α: ἀλλῆς B

13. ἀρχήθεν ἢ ἐχθρῇ: a parol of argu- ment is advanced in the Athenians by the Spartans, 142 infra. The reference here is, of course, to the Ionian revolt and the part taken by Athens therein, but, as Her. 5 72, 98, 97 clearly shows, the animosity between Athens and Persia was already in existence before Athens concerned the cause of the Ionians, and the participation in the Ionian revolt was the effect and not the cause of the Athenian enmity with Sardes and with Persia.

14 δοκίειν ἰμοί, ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρω νοίον: was this very obvious design really a discovery of Herodotus, or was the doubt- fulness of Themistocles other than commendable?

16 μεταβαλεῖν, intransitive, 7, 82.

17 καὶ διασπληθῇ, so τὰ γράμματα, a curious phrase, though the meaning of διασπληθῇ cannot be doubtful, cp. 5 20-27 etc. But the sentence is rather faulty, τὰ γράμματα as the subject of πλοῖον and of ἀνὴρ being harsh.

ἀπίστους, p. 142; 9 49

23 ὁ ἄνθρωπος μετὰ ταῦτα: still at large?

πλοῖον the size of this boat is not specified was the man of Herodotus alone in it? And why is not his proper name

given? The remark is a δρηγός is that the man's word, or Hist. 21

9 ἐπ' ἀπιστίας: the man evidently went to Athens, if the Persian admiral actually disbelieved his report, they can hardly have heard as yet of the capture of Thermopylae, εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ, kept under arrest.

5 τούτων, masculine, of the men on the ships; cp. 7, 179. 4 supra. τὰ ἦν, the true state of the case, the facts.

6 ἄρα ἦλθ' σκιδναμένῳ, dawn of the fourth day (ay Wednesday), the phrase is peculiar: σκιδναμένῳ, cp. 7 141 σκιδναμένη Δημόκριτος, here means to refer to the dispersion of light, the diffusion of rays by the sun. I acknowledge cp. Milton's 'Morn sowing two earth with orient pearl.' Cp. also Aeschyl. Pers. 202 πρὸ σκιδναμένης ἡμέρας Ἀρτιάς. Also Pers. 97 1 (R. V.) Light is sown for the righteous.

πᾶσα ἡ στρατιή, so ἡ ναυαρχία.

ἀλῆς without struggle and with out detaching any boats, etc. in mass.

7 ἐπισχύντες . . . μέχρι μέσου ἡμέρας: the hour at which they had moved out to battle on the previous day, cp. 15 supra, which also shows that μέσον here is nautical. The loose omission of

μέσου ἡμέρης, τὰ ἀπὸ τούτου ἐπλεον ἐς Ἰστιαίην ἀπικόμενυ
 δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἔσχον τῶν Ἰστιαίων, καὶ τῆς Ἑλλοπίνης μοίρης
 10 γῆς δὲ τῆς Ἰστιαϊώτιδος τὰς παραθαλασσίας κώμας πάσας
 ἐπέδραμον.

24 Ἐνθαῦτα δὲ τούτων ἰόντων, Εἰρξῆς ἐτοιμασάμενος τὰ περὶ
 τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐπέμπε ἐς τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν κήρυκα, προετοι-
 μάσατο δὲ τάδε· ὅσοι τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ ἐαυτοῦ ἦσαν νεκροὶ
 ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι (ἦσαν δὲ καὶ δύο μυριάδες), ὑπολιπόμενοι

ὁ ἔπλεον βα. van H. || Ἰστιαίην Cd 9 Ἰστιαίων δ: Ἰστιαίων |
 ἑλλαγίμης β 10 Ἰστιαϊώτιδος Cd: Ἰστιαϊώτιδος β || τὰς om. β
 24. 1 τὰ om β 2 στρατὸν om. β || προετοιμάσατο α 3 τοῦ
 post στρατοῦ om. U 4 καί: ὡς Naber || ὑπολιπόμενοι C (superser) d:
 υπολιπόμενοι α

the article may be easily understood as
 a collocation. There is no exigency
 to pursue the Greek fleet; cp. α. 10 supra.
 τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου appears to be temporal.

9 τὴν πόλιν ἔσχον cp. 7. 164 for
 the strong ἔχω. They seem to have
 had no resistance to encounter. Ἰστιαία
 (17) suffered afterwards a worse fate from
 the Athenians in 418 B.C., Ἐστιαῖα δὲ
 ἐξολοκίσθησαν αὐτοὶ τὴν γῆν ἔσχον. Thuc.
 1. 114. 2; cp. Hicks, *Monum.*,² p. 85,
 though there is no reference to that
 catastrophe here. It hardly seems likely
 that Histiaia was no more and its place
 taken by Orosia (the name which yet
 prevails, when Hdt. wrote this passage,
 in other words, the first draft of his
 history is appreciably older than the
 thirty years' truce, cp. Introduction, § 9.

τῆς Ἑλλοπίνης μοίρης γῆς δὲ τῆς
 Ἰστιαϊώτιδος commentators (so Rawlin-
 son, Becht) have misunderstood the
 relation of these terms, and made ὃ
 Ἑλλοπίνη μοίρη a part of Histiaiotis; as
 Becht rightly points out, γῆς δὲ is a
 'second closer definition,' according to
 a regular use of δὲ, cp. 1. 114. The
 Persians did not over-run Euboea, but
 only E Ionia, or Hellonia, nor all Hellonia,
 but only Histiaiotis, not yet quite all
 Histiaiotis, but only τὰς παραθαλασσίας
 κώμας—though not one of those they
 spared passed. The Persians did not
 venture far from their ships. Herodotus
 is no doubt the laud of the Ἑλλοπίνης,
 an interesting and surely primitive folk,
 as some of their cognomina Δροπῆς,
 Δολοπῆς, Κερκοπῆς Κεαρποπῆς, Κεαλοπῆς
 (Κεαλοπῆς, Ἰελοπῆς (Hellepidae) and
 others like. Perhaps Ἑλλοπίνης is not
 far removed from Ἑλλοπῆς itself; Strabo

445 gives Ἑλλοπία as a name for Euboea,
 ἀπὸ Ἑλλοπίας τοῦ Ἰωνος. Elsewhere (329)
 he quotes Philochorus as saying τὸν περὶ
 Δωδωνῆν τόπον, ὡς περὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν,
 Ἑλλοπίαν ἀλεθθῆσαι (on the authority of
 Herodotus and certainly Ἑλλοπῆς (Σέλλοι)
 and Ἑλλοπῆς).

24. 1. τὰ περὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς, the title
 of this anecdote, which seems quite
 independent of the record in 7. 335.

4 καὶ δύο μυριάδες, 'about (even)
 twenty thousand': of these the king
 buried 12,000 and left 1000 unburied,
 as a preparation for the ensuing comedy.
 The figures and the facts are alike in
 creation: 20,000 men cannot have fallen
 at Thermopylae, still less could 12,000
 have been so speedily interred; nor is
 it, by any means certain that the Persian
 king would have caused them to be in-
 terred at all, exposure being perhaps
 the Persian custom, cp. 7. 117—though
 doubtless he would have permitted the
 various nations concerned each to follow
 its own rite. Nor, had the king
 attempted such a fraud, could he have
 hoped to silence men's tongues, or beset
 their eyes. It is likely enough that a
 good many of the slain had been interred
 before the visitors from the fleet made
 their appearance at Thermopylae, for
 the rest, the anecdote seems to be part
 of the comic Nemesis which Greek
 anecdote-mongers inflicted upon Xerxes
 cp. Introduction, § 11. It forms in
 any case a contrast to the Spartan review
 of the Persian dead, at Marathon, 9. 120
 —a truly dignified proceeding. Perhaps
 ὡς χιλίους represents about the numbers
 of the Persian slain in the third engage-
 ment.

τούτων ὥς χιλίους, τοὺς λοιποὺς τάφρους ὀρεξάμενος ἴδαναι, 5
 φυλλαδα τὴν ἐπιβαλὼν καὶ γῆν ἐπαμνησάμενος, ἵνα μὴ ὀφθῇσιν
 ὑπὸ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ. ὥς δὲ διέβη εἰς τὴν Ἰσθμίην ὁ
 εἰρηξ, σίλλογον ποιησάμενος πάντος τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔλεγε
 τῷδε. "ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης τῷ βουλομένῳ ὑμῶν
 παραδίδωσι ἐκλιπόντα τὴν τάξιν καὶ ἐλθόντα θεήσασθαι ὅπως 10
 μίχεται πρὸς τοὺς ἀνοήτους τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οἱ ἡλίπισιν τὴν
 βασιλείαν δύνανται ὑπερβαλέσθαι." ταῦτα ἐπαγγεिलाμένου, 25
 μετὰ ταῦτα οὐδὲν ἐγένετο πλοίων σπανιώτερον· οὕτω πολλοὶ
 ἤθελον θεήσασθαι. διαπειρωθέντες δὲ ἐθνεύντο διεξιόντες τοὺς
 νεκρούς· πάντες δὲ ἠπιστάτο τοὺς κειμένους εἶναι πάντας
 Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Θεσπίας, ὄρωντες καὶ τοὺς εἰλωτας. οὐ 5

6 φυλλαδα A¹: φυλλάδας B || ἐπιβάλλων B 7 Ἰσθμίην C²
 2 ἑ-μαχοι 1 10 καὶ im. B, Holder | θεησασθαι Auk. 12
 βασιλεως C βασιλος 2 | υπερβαλέσθαι B: υπερβαλέσθαι van H.
 25. 2 ἐγένετο CP 3 θεήσασθαι 1 | ἐθνεύντο SV: ἐθνεύτο . . δι om.
 R 4 πάντες πάντας C²et | πάντας cel. ilem 5 καὶ Θεσπίας
 ημετα mhi || ὄρωντες α. ὄρωντες C. ὄρωντες B, etc., Stein¹

5 τάφρους ὀρεξάμενος: cp. τάφρον
 ἀρελιν ὀρεξασθαι c. 28. 6/7. The king
 did not work with his own hands,
 ὑπεβαλὼν notwithstanding.

6 φυλλαδα τὴν ἐπιβαλὼν καὶ γῆν
 ἐπαμνησάμενος: Hdt. takes φ. ἐπ.β. as
 a dative with γῆν, ἐπαμ. The
 latter would best be filled in: heard up
 (ἐπαμνησάμενος), and the latter then
 served to conceal the digging. φυλλάς,
 parchment, also leaves, cards, papers.

ἵνα μὴ ὀφθῇσιν: sc. αὶ τάφροι
 rather than αὶ νεκροί. With this
 cp. c. 7. 21/22.

7 σίλλογον ποιησάμενος: cp. c. 53
 12/13.

πάντος τοῦ στρατοπέδου: sc. τοῦ
 στρατοῦ. He would avoid an interpretation,
 as that of a number of interpreters, to
 wit: the whole army.

9 σύμμαχοι is polite; cp. c. 10 supra.

10 παραδίδωσι, 'permits, gives leave';
 in c. 104, with a slightly different sug-
 gestion, the victor Miltiades παραδίδωσι
 ἡλικασσάτω ἀναστρεφόμενος.

11. ὑπερβαλέσθαι. narrative, 7. 39,
 163.

25 1. ἐπαγγεilaμένου: the king,
 through his herald. On the word cp.
 1.

2. οὐδὲν ἐγένετο πλοίων σπανιώτερον.
 They were none in small boats, and
 the supply was soon exhausted. Their

own ships were still perhaps at Aghesai,
 and only the local stock available. Some
 of these might make the passage
 more than once: it must have been a
 busy scene, the straits alive with small
 craft. But there is a suspicion of persi-
 flage about Hdt.'s expression.

3. διεξιόντες, between the Greek on
 the one hand and the Persian on the
 other, or perhaps, more generally,
 passing right through the Greek camp;
 cp. 7. 39. It is not clear that the
 1000 were lying about, sea land whome,
 as *Agamemnon*, they had fallen.)

4. ἠπιστάτο, 'were firmly convinced'
 though utterly mistaken. The word
 with Hdt. carries no implication of
 want of or accurate knowledge, but can
 scarcely be a mere synonym for *πιστός*.
 If *καὶ Θεσπίας* (cp. 7. 222) be not a
 gloss, it is explained by the next words.
 Or should it follow *ὄρωντες*?

5. ὄρωντες καὶ τοὺς εἰλωτας. The
 argument is not clear, for Helots were
 in a sense *Λακεδαιμονίαι*; did the
 sight-seers mistake Helots for The-
 sspians? But cp. previous note. Except
 for 7. 249, this is the only express
 indication of the presence of Helots at
 Thermopylae. Though the sight-seers
 fell into this error about the Greek camp
 (a strange error, with the Greeks from
 the king's army among them), they

μὲν οὐδ' ἐλάνθανε τοὺς διαβεβηκότας Ξέρξης ταῦτα πρήξας
 παρὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ γελοῖον ἦν·
 τῶν μὲν χίλιοι ἐφαίνοντο [νεκροὶ] κείμενοι, οἱ δὲ πάντες ἐκέατο
 ἄλλες συγκεκομισμένοι ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ χωρίον, τέσσαρες χιλιάδες.
 10 ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην πρὸς θέην ἐτράποντο, τῇ δ' ὕστεραι
 οἱ μὲν ἀπέπλεον ἐς Ἰστιαίην ἐπὶ τὰς νῆας, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ξέρξην
 ἐς ὁδὸν ὀρέεατο.

26 Ἦκον δὲ σφι αὐτόμολοι ἄνδρες ὅπ' Ἀρκαδίας ὀλίγοι τινές,

8 ξέρξης δὲ 8 8 νεκροὶ acc. 3^{ου} 9 τέσσαρες Cl: τέσσαρες
 χιλιάδες del. Hermon, Holder: (χιλιάδες van H. combinator. 10 οἱ 8
 11 ἀπέπλεον 8 | Ἰστιαίην d || νῆας 8e || ξέρξης 8 12 ὀρέεατο Rd.

were not taken in by the (supposed) trick devised by the king, as above described, in relation to the dead bodies of his own warriors.

7. καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ γελοῖον ἦν. the comic Nemesis proceeds.

8. τῶν μὲν . . . κείμενοι: of the Persian side a thousand were to be seen lying (about on the field), just where they had fallen; meantime 12,000 had been collected and buried!

οἱ 81 . . . τέσσαρες χιλιάδες. Hdt. apparently means that the king had caused all the Greek bodies to be collected in one place. It is possible that something of the kind has been done; in any case the *χωρίον*, the spot where the Greek dead would be thickest piled, was no doubt the hill on which the last stand had been made; 7 225 ff. Around the hill in pit well be lying the corpses of the king's men, where they had fought and fallen. Stein thinks the object of the king or the story-teller was to make it appear that 4000 Greeks had been slain by 1000 Persians, 4 Greeks by each Persian (*je tue non cent*); but, really, neither Hdt. nor in the last resort Xerxes can well have expected any one to believe that the 4000 dead Greeks had been slain wholly and solely by the dead Persians! The trick was devised, or supposed to have been devised, to exhibit the proportional losses on each side. The figure 4000 for the Greek dead comes no doubt from a multiplication of the epigram in 7 274, which gives 4000 as the number of *Πελοποννησίων* who fought, not the number of Greeks who fell, at Thermopylae. Stein here seems to overlook *ἐν Πελοποννησῶν* there and makes the 4000 include Thebans and Thespians. 8100 Persian-

asian Hoplites are accounted for in 7 202; but there were probably 1000 'Lakedaimonians' to boot, even not including the Helots, or the 4000 might less probably be made up of 3100 + 900 Helots, 8 for each Spartan. The actual number of Greek fighting men at Thermopylae, first and last, far exceeded 4000: must there may not all have been posted at Thermopylae proper; cp. *loc.*

10. ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην: there has been no clear indication of a change of day since the dawn of the *ὑστεραί* (cp. cc. 22, 23 *supra*) of the battle, but it seems more natural, considering all that has taken place in the interval, to reckon 'this day' here as a different one, i.e. at least the 'fifth' day of the memorable week: τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ would then be the sixth. The story and journal of the fleet is here dropped, not to be renewed till c. 66 *infra*.

26. 1. ἦκον: i.e. before the Persians left Thermopylae. These Arkadian medizers, or metemizers, were long ago traced to Karyai *vide* Schweighauser in *loc.* on the strength of Valerius 1. 1, who, in explaining the origin of Caryatides (in architecture), mentioned that Carys had joined the Persians against Greece. A medizing metemizer in Arkadia might help, with the attitude of Argos, to explain a good deal in the policy of the Peloponnesians during the war; but does this anecdote go beyond a mercenary adventure? Even so, it is significant of the miserable lack of pan-Hellenic sentiment or loyalty in the peninsula; almost three very men have a word to say concerning the Olympiad, a celebration which existed to emphasize the 'Unity of Hellas'; cp.

βίου τε δαίμονοι καὶ ἐνεργοὶ βουλόμενοι εἶναι. ἄγοιτες δὲ ταύτους ἐς ὅψιν τὴν βασιλέος ἐπυνθάνοντο οἱ Πέρσαι περὶ τῶς Ἑλλήνων τί ποιοίει· εἰς δὲ τις πρὸ πάντων ἦν ὁ εἰρωτῶν αὐτοὺς ταῦτα. οἱ δὲ σφί ἔλεγον ὡς Ὀλύμπια ἄγουσι, καὶ θεωροῖεν ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν καὶ ἵππικόν. ὃ δὲ ἐπέερετο ὃ

26. 2 ἀγαθότες CPdx, van H. 3 τὴν βασιλῆως C. τὴν βασιλῆος
e. τῷ βασιλεὶ d Paris 1694. τῷ βασιλεὶ ἐν ὅψιν Paris. 2933 4 τί.
τὰ B. van H. 5 εἰρωτῶν αὐτ. διωτῶν² B. εἰρωτῶν B. Stier¹. ἵρωτῶν
C. ἵρωτῶν P: ερωτῶν a | ἄγοιεν B. Holder, van H: δαίγουσι e 6
θεωροῖεν B | καὶ αὐτ.: τε καὶ frag. vul. Paris. | ἐπύρνοντο ibid.

5. 22. But this whole anecdote is open to suspicion; it is 'ghosted' it is said for the sake of an *εὖρος εἰς τὴν μέσην*, such as Hitz. loves to close a section of his narrative withal (cp. my notes to 5. 143 f.), as here, the story of Themistocles' Artemision, and the chronological implication, strictly interpreted, is neither in itself quite consistent nor quite consistent with 7. 20-21.

2. βίου τε δαίμονοι, *inatus egentes*, the word *εργός* may mean simply employed, not necessarily 'employed for him, though the word *εργάσθαι* in 1. 18 certainly connotes military labour, and the 'art' here may be taken for general. The use of the word in Thuc. 8. 17 does not help us, as the passage is in every way doubtful; but the use of *ἐργάσθαι* in 1. 18 shows that the word does not necessarily connote warfare. Was this Artemision embassy a political move (cf. 7. 14-15), or simply a necessary adventure?

1. εἰς δὲ τις πρὸ πάντων this circumstance would hardly belong to Hist.'s main method at this stage of the story if he had not found it in his source; natural to the isolated anecdote, it is hardly called for in the body of a work, which has narrated many interviews with the Persian king already. The 'one' in question was presumably 'the son of Aristagoras,' named below: πρὸς βασιλῆα, cf. 7. 106.

5. Ὀλύμπια ἄγουσι: the general synchronism of the invasion with an Olympiad is indubitable, and a cornerstone for the chronology of the war; but the exact coincidence of the festival, or say of its first 7 days (Pindar, *Ol.* 2. 6, with the defence of Thermopylae 7. 208), or with the Arkadian application to the king, is very doubtful, all the more as these two supposed synchron-

isms conflict with each other! Stein's note, however, on this passage still remains as written under the exploited hypothesis that the Olympiad coincided with the first full moon after the summer solstice, the last day of the festival in 480 B.C. being June 25. He therefore transfers the scene of the Arkadian reception to Thermopylae, maintaining its synchronism with the Olympiad, while slightly dating the defence of Thermopylae to the end of August or beginning of September. But if the synchronism of the Olympiad with the defence of Thermopylae is to be abandoned as an anachronism, why is the Olympiad in this anecdote to be maintained as good chronology? It is surely much more probable that the Arkadian application (assuming the anecdote to have any truth in it) is correctly located at Thermopylae, and correctly dated after the Spartan fiasco there, than that the very substance of the conversation, including the Olympiad synchronism, is precisely and exactly reproduced. However that may be, and not to press the distance from Arkadia to Macedonia, the revised calculation for the Olympiad celebrations (Unger, *Index*. 30, 1874, 247 ff., A. Monmison, *Über die Zeit der Olympien*, 1891, cp. Boeckh, *u. s.* 708) makes the approximate synchronism of O. 45, with the scene laid at Thermopylae, a sufficiently reasonable yet concise date to cover both cases. Cp. Appendix V. § 4.

6. καὶ θεωροῖεν ἀγῶνα γ. καὶ ἱ.: a similar change of moods (*ἀγορεύει θεωροῖεν*) is a question it exemplified 5. 13 lines . . . ἐπὶ . . . καὶ ἡ . . . ἡμετέρα ἔδωκεν, with somewhat less abruptness than in the answer here. The Olympian festival was purely athletic and 'hippy'—not including a 'musical' element (as did the Pythian)

τι [τὸ ἀέθλον] εἴη σφί κείμενον, περὶ ὅτεν ἀγωνίζονται· οἱ δ' εἶπον τῆς ἐλαίης τὸν διδόμενον στέφανον. ἐνθαῦτα εἶπας γνώμην γενναιοτάτην Τιγράνης ὁ Ἀρταξάνου δεξιὴν ὤφλε 10 πρὸς βασιλέος. πυνθανόμενος γὰρ τὸ ἀέθλον εἶδν στέφανον ἀλλ' οὐ χρήματα, οὔτε ἡμέσχετο σιγῶν εἰπέ τε ἐς πάντας τάδε. "παπαὶ Μαρδόνιε, κοίους ἐπ' ἀνδρας ἤγαγες μαχησομένους ἡμέας, αἱ οἱ περὶ χρημάτων τὸν ἀγῶνα ποικεύνται ἀλλὰ περὶ ἀρετῆς." τοῦτ' μὲν δὴ ταῦτα εἶρητο.

7 τὸ ἀέθλον τοῖς. Stein²: "multum artibus utitur est" van H. || προκειμένου 2 || ὅτεν R. ὅτεν SV (sc. ὅτεν, cf. Gaisford at 7. 57 supra) B
οἱ B | εἶπον: εἶπαν van H. διδόμενον: ῥιζόμενον Valckenauer: ἀοίδιμον Naber
8 τριτανταίχμη B, Holder, van H. | ὤφλε B 10
βασιλέως C: βασιλῆος 2 | πυνθόμενος BP: | τὸν ἀέθλον ἰδὼτα B 11
τε: δε B 12 τάδε B 13 τὸν om. B | ἀλλ' ἀρετῆς B, Holder
14 ἤμετο C: εἶρητο d

8. τῆς ἐλαίης τὸν διδόμενον στέφανον: cf. κείσθαι or εἶναι, the article (his and the present participle mark the notoriety and the publicity of this proud yet paltry prize; but the Arkadians presumably did not use exactly this phrase, but simply ἐλαίη or ἑστίνος στέφανον. Cp. Pausanias 6. 16. 3 κατὰ δὲ τὸν ἐπισθόδομον μαχίστα ἔστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἑστίνος· καλεῖται δὲ ἐλαία καλλιστέφανος, αἱ τοῖς πρῶτοι τὰ Ὀλύμπια αὐτὴν ἔσταν· ἐκ αὐτῆς δίδωσθαι τοῖς στέφανους.

The value of a win in such touch under-rated and under-estimated by this anecdote in the interests of the prize an Olympian victor obtained substantial rewards and advantages from his own city; cp. K. F. Hermann, *gottesdienst Altgriech.* ii, 56, with ref. (e.g. Plutarch, *Solon* 23, Plato, *Ap.* 36 b, *Rep.* 465 c; Thuc. 4. 121, etc.)

9. γνώμην γενναιοτάτην: hardly no doubt the key to the fable, which exists for the sake of the moral, as fables always do. These poor men of Arkadia are come to read the proud Persians a lesson on the connection between *πεινὴ* and *ἀρετή*; cp. 7. 102. The moralist has, however, nothing to say on the amazing spectacle of a nation amusing itself at Olympia with the enemy at its very gates; the religious associations prohibit that but cp. 9. 11; nor, again, of the immorality of such spectacles and athleticisms for purposes of war, it was left to the Macedonian age to discover the inferiority of athletes to soldiers; cp. Plutarch, *Alex.* 4, *Philop.* 3.

Τιγράνης δ' Ἀρταξάνου. The

variant Τριτανταίχμη many have preferred on the ground, given by Wesseling, that Tigranes, though well known, is nowhere (else) described as a son of Artabanus. But he is described as an Artabanid 7. 62, cp. 8. 26, which is enough. Hdt. follows his sources with out fully co-ordinating, harmonizing, and relating them. The patronymic here for Tigranes is in itself a valuable evidence for the independence of this anecdote, and of the gnomic source to which it must be referred; cp. Introduction, § 10.

Δεξιὴν ὤφλε: cp. *πλοχίονος ὀφλεῖν* Thuc. 5. 101. This well-known Atticism does not occur elsewhere in Hdt. (nor indeed in Thucydides either).

11. οὐτε ἡμέσχετο σιγῶν: the participial construction is noticeable, cp. 5. 19 ἀνέχετο ὅσον τὰ ποτίζεμενα, and the parallel in 1. 208. On the other hand, 7. 139 καταμεινάρτες ἀνέχοντο τὸν ἐπὶ οὐρα ἐνὶ τῇν χώρῃ διψῶντα is obviously a different construction.

δε πάντας: certain omitters (Baehre) = *ἐς μέσσην*.

13. οὐ περὶ χρημάτων. ἀλλὰ περὶ ἀρετῆς. *χρήματα* and *ἀρετή* are not to co-ordinate in this passage, the slight inconsequence only sharpens the gnomic, *περὶ ἀρετῆς*—*τοὶ καλὸν εἶλεν*. Such chances that the speaker utters a thoroughly Greek sentiment: Stein adds, one wistfully of his *ἀρετή* ("spricht ganz im Geiste seines Vaters"). Such observations, however, go to illustrate not so much the spread of Hellenic culture and ethos among the Asiatics as the literary

5 Θεσσαλοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι αὐτῶν ἐς τοὺς Φωκίας, οὐ πολλοῖσι
ἔτεσι πρότερον ταύτης τῆς βασιλείας στρατηγισίης, ἐσπιάθησαν

6 βασιλείας C: βασιλῆος: || ἐσπιάθησαν B

ἀσάφιστα βολέματα ἀπὸντα ὑπὸ Ἑλλή-
νων ἐσπιάτουν Φωκίαν. The Phokiana
march out under two generals, an
Aetolian named Rhoeos and Daiphantos
of Hyampolis, the former in command
of the infantry, the latter of the horse.
This expedition is accompanied by Leilius
of Elik, on whom the hopes of the
Phokians were fixed. The result of their
desperate contest was a brilliant victory,
and the oracle was justified, but where
exactly the battle took place, and what
service on the occasion Leilius performed,
is not specified. The same story is
told, with some important additions, by
Plutarch *Mor.* 244, see notes to c. 26
infra. (iv.) Subsequently, when the
two armies were engaged opposite each
other, *πρὶς τῆν δὲ τῆς Φωκίας ἐσπιάτην*,
the stratagem of Tellos came off. Tak-
ing advantage of a full moon, 500 picked
men, their arms and persons whitened
with chalk, surprised the Thesabians,
and slew an immense number. Pausanias
describes two monuments at Delphi as
records of these events. One he connects
with the great but anonymous Phokian
victory, *ἐκ. νύκτιν, ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ τοῦ
ἔργου καὶ ἀναθήματα ἐφωκίῃ ἀνέστησαν
ἐς Δελφοῦς Ἀπόλλωνι Τέλλῳ τε τῇ
μάντι καὶ ὅσοι μαχημένοι ἄλλοι σφίσι
ἐσπριάτησαν, σὺν δὲ αὐτοῖσι καὶ ἥρωας
τῶν ἐπικυμάτων ἔργα δὲ αἱ εἰκόσι
Ἀριστομένης τῆς Ἀργεῖου 10. L. 10).*
Another notice of Phokian *anathemata*
occurs in a different connexion, not
free from ambiguity, *αἱ καὶ εἰκόσι
χαλκαὶ Φωκίων ἀσπέντων, ἦντα διυτέρῃ
συμβολῇ τὸ ἱππικὸν περιέγραψεν τὸ δὲ
θεσπάλιος, . . Ἡρακλῆς δὲ καὶ Ἀπόλλων
ἔχουσι τοῦ τριπόδος καὶ ὁ μαχὼν περὶ
αὐτοῦ καθίσταται Ἀπὼν μὲν δὲ καὶ
Ἀργεῖος Ἀπόλλωνι, εἰκόσι δὲ Ἡρακλῆι
ἐπικυμάτων τοῦ θύμου. Φωκίων καὶ τοῦτό
ἐστιν ἀνάθημα, ὅτε σφίσι ἐπὶ τούτῳ Θεο-
γάλῳ Τέλλῳσι ἤγαγον Ἥλιος, τὰ
μὲν δὲ ἄλλα ἀγάλματα Διῶλλος τε ἐν
καὶν σι: Ἀμφικλῆος, τῆς δὲ Ἀθήνης καὶ
Ἀργεῖος Χίονις ἐστὶν ἐργασμένοι Κοριν-
θίων δὲ εἶναι φασὶν αὐτοῦ 10. 13. 7).*

Assuming that the first group here
mentioned was identical with the *ana-
themata* previously described, there were,
according to Pausanias, at Delphi, only
two groups commemorating Phokian

victories over Thesabians. (a) There was
the work of Aristomedon of Argos, which
represented Tellos, Rhoeos, Daiphantos,
and possibly other στρατηγοὶ (Gordon, for
example), together with certain local
Phokian heroes. This commemorated
the great victory over the Thesabian
cavalry, enumerated *dis. supra*, but not
recorded by Hdt. at *dis. supra* these figures
were apparently of bronze. (b) There
was the group, various figures in which
had been wrought by Lysippos, Amy-
kleos, and Obolios, all Corinthians, to
commemorate apparently the success
mentioned, as (iv.) above, and identical
with the *τεροφωγία* of Hdt. in which
the rise of Tellos the Elean was
brilliantly successful. This *anathema*
represented a contest between Herakles
and Apollon for possession of the divin-
ing stool or tripod, Leto and Artemis
supporting Apollon, and Athens backing
Herakles. To this group Hdt. apparently
refers.

Though Pausanias is more explicit
than Hdt., it by no means follows that
we are to adopt his account of the war
unfettered; nor is a partial harmony
between the two out of compass. Hdt.
records two Phokian victories over the
Thesabians and but one Delphian monu-
ment, the work apparently of the
Korinthian school, and commemorating
the night battle, which, though he
describes it first, he has previously
introduced as τὸ δευτέρον γένος. On
this point, then, Hdt. and Pausanias
are at one. For the victory which he
records over the Thesabian cavalry Hdt.
mentions no monument. Pausanias,
however, also, on his own showing, is
a monument short, for he records three
Phokian victories over the Thesabians,
two of them victories over the cavalry,
and has but two monuments to describe,
the one commemorating a victory over
the Thesabian cavalry 'in a second
engagement'—plainly the one numbered
(iii.) above—a victory, the story of
which is, on the face of it, as above
indicated full of improbabilities. The
solution lies near, that Pausanias or
his source has duplicated the victory
over the Thesabian cavalry. There was
only one victory over the cavalry as

ὑπὸ τῶν Φωκίων καὶ περιέβησαν τρηχέως. ἐπεὶτε γὰρ
κατελήθησαν εἰς τὸν Παρμησὸν οἱ Φωκῆες ἔχοντες μάντιν
Τελλίην τὸν Ἥλειον, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Τελλίης οὗτος σοφίζεται
αὐτοῖσι τοιούδε. γυνήσας ἄνδρας ἑξακοσίους τῶν Φωκίων 10
τοὺς ἀριστοὺς, αὐτοὺς τε τούτους καὶ τὰ ὄπλα αὐτῶν, νυκτὸς
ἐπιθήκατο τοῖσι Θεσσαλοῖσι, προσίπας αὐτοῖσι, τὸν ἂν μὴ
λευκανθίζοντα ἰδῶνται, τοῦτον κτείνειν. τούτους ὦν αἱ τε
φυλακαὶ τῆν Θεσσαλίαν πρῶται ἰδοῦσαι ἐφοβήθησαν, δόξασαι
ἄλλο τι εἶναι τέρας, καὶ μετὰ τὰς φυλακὰς αὐτῇ ἡ στρατιῇ 15
οὕτω ὥστε τετρακισχίλιον κρατῆσαι νεκρῶν καὶ ὑσπιδῶν

8 παρμησὸν $\delta\Gamma\delta$ 13 λευκανθίζοντα $A^2P\delta\epsilon$: λευκαθίζοντα
λευκανθίζοντα $\mu\alpha\lambda\iota\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\ \Pi$, 14 πρῶται τῶν Θεσσαλῶν Σ | ἰδοῦσαι
οὐκ R 15 τέρας $\mu\alpha\lambda\iota\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\ \mu\alpha\sigma\pi\epsilon\tau\alpha\mu$ 16 ὥστε καὶ τρηχιλίον Σ

described by Hdt. and by Pausanias himself (i.e. *εἰς τὸν Παρμησὸν*); it was in honour of this victory that the group by Ariston of Argos was dedicated, and we may say with conjecture that the strataion by which the cavalry was dismantled was due to the ingenuity of Tellos. The error in Pausanias can even be explained. As Hdt. had recorded this engagement without assigning a monument to it, a victory had to be invented in order to account for the presence of a second monument at Delphi. The omission by Hdt. of any mention of the monument is no doubt a difficulty, but a monument there was.

The only point remaining is the occurrence in Pausanias of the disaster to the Phokians under Geron, omitted by Hdt. This episode has an air of verisimilitude, and need not be dismissed as merely a sequel to the victory of the Six Hundred. Its omission by Hdt. is easily accounted for by the consideration that he is merely describing the grievances of the Thebanians against the Phokians, a line from which Thebanian victories might fairly be omitted. A combination, then, gives a more complete and a more correct view of the war than either source taken alone. The war comprised three great episodes: (i.) a Phokian victory over the Thebanian cavalry, commemorated at Delphi by the group above described as the work of the Argive, Ariston; (ii.) a Thebanian victory over the Phokians, under Geron; probably a much more extensive affair than the record suggests. (iii.) A second Phokian victory, due, like the first, chiefly to

a stratagem devised by Tellos, and commemorated at Delphi in the group wrought by the Korinthian school.

7. περιέβησαν τρηχέως: c. 18 *εἰς τὸν*.

8. κατελήθησαν εἰς τὸν Παρμησὸν: ep. v. 31 *περὶ τὸν Παρμησὸν καὶ καταλαμβάνει. Παρμησὸν εἰρηστὴν ἱερὸν*, c. 32, as the natural refuge of the Phokians (from the east and north sides), its position is further defined in c. 35 *ὑπὸ τὴν*, and in c. 38 it appears as the natural refuge for the Phokians (from the south and west sides), finally located immediately over the Holy Place (ep. c. 33).

μάντιν Τελλίην τὸν Ἥλειον. Eleans are in great demand as soothsayers; ep. v. 37, where a member of the eleian clan appears. This divine is a 'soothsayer' in a way; with σοφίζοντα ep. σοφιστοὺς 3, 111.

10. γυνήσας: a treatment accorded in Antiochia to corpses and warriors, 3, 24; ep. 7. 63.

ἑξακοσίους: Pausanias 2.c. cuts them down to 500.

11. νυκτὸς. Pausanias i.c. supplies *ἐν τῷ μυστῷ*, which is necessary for the ducefact. The whitening of theophanes had a double purpose: it enabled them to distinguish friend and foe (often a difficult matter in night attacks, ep. Thebaid 7. 43); and it struck terror into the Thebans, who mistook them for ghosts.

15. τέρας in either exegetical, as though we read *καὶ δὴ καὶ τέρας* (p. 2. 179 *ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκασμῶν καὶ δὴ καὶ τριτοῦ*), or some equivalent.

16. τετρακισχίλιον: this item is probably authentic, but suggests that the

Φωκίας, τῶν τὰς μὲν ἡμισείας ἐς Ἄβας ἀνέθεσαν τὰς δὲ ἐς Δελφούς· ἡ δὲ δεκάτῃ ἐγένετο τῶν χρημάτων ἐκ ταύτης τῆς μάχης οἱ μεγάλοι ἀνδριάντες οἱ περὶ τὸν τρίποδα συνεστωότες 20 ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ νηοῦ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, καὶ ἕτεροι τοιοῦτοι ἐν 28 Ἄβησι ἀνακείμεται. ταῦτα μὲν νυν τὸν πεζὸν ἐργάσαντο τῶν Θεσσαλῶν οἱ Φωκέες πολιορκέοντας ἐκιντοῦς· ἐσβαλοῦσαν δὲ ἐς τὴν χώραν τὴν ἵππον αὐτῶν ἐλυμνηναντο ἀνηκίστως. ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἐσβολῇ ἣ ἐστὶ κατὰ Ἰάμπολιν, ἐν ταύτῃ τάφρον 3 μεγάλην οὐρύξαντες ἀμφορέας κενεοὺς ἐς αὐτὴν κατέθηκαν, χαοῦν

17 ἡμισείας ἀσπίδας B 19 τοῦ τρίποδος B 20 ἔμπροσθεν B = 21 ἀνακείται B. cum genuina sunt verba καὶ . . ἀνακείται? 28. 1 ἐργάσαντο CPS: 3 πολιορκέοντες α: 'fortissime πολιορκέοντα' Bickel.¹ 4 ἱππολιν α 5 κενεοῖς B, Holder, van H

attack was not confined to the 500-600 λευκανθίζοντες, but was dominated by the Phokians en masse. Perhaps there were many more shields than corpses, it is not likely that the numbers were identical: τῶν indeed, refers only to ἀσπίδων.

18 ἡ δὲ δεκάτῃ = a tithe of the spoil to Delphi, or the gods, was a matter of course—hence the article, cp. 7. 132 δεκαπέντα.

τῶν χρημάτων the shields not included apparently.

19 οἱ μεγάλοι ἀνδριάντες οἱ περὶ τὸν τρίποδα συνεστωότες: those which are translated by Rawlinson (iv.² 260) "the gigantic figures which stand round the tripod" and so the older commentators, and L. & S. The accusative with περὶ favours this rendering, but on the other hand the meaning given to συνεστωότες is highly objectionable συνεστάναι, συνεστῆναι meaning with Hitt. constantly *stare cum aliquo*, and now ad *eandem partem* *certum a parte opposita*, *periphrase*, *con-tenders cum aliquo* Schwanitzianus (Lyon). So c. 79 *ἐν τῷ*, c. 108; cp. 7. 142, and with more metaphorical sense, 7. 142, 170. c. 74 *ἐν τῷ*, 9. 89. Farther, the description of the work here in question makes it clear that the subject of this group of statuary was a contest between Herakles and Apollo for 'the tripod,' which further proves that the tripod here mentioned is not, for example, the tripod which stood on the *tripύραριος* base 2. 81 (cp. c. 82 *ἐν τῷ*), but the Delphian divine stool, represented in the bronze. Tala mentions of the monument suggests the probable source of Hitt.'s suggestion on the

Thessalo-Phokian war, which is apparently an addition to the first draft of his history, made after his visit to Delphi; cp. Introduction, § 9.

20 ἕτεροι τοιοῦτοι ἐν Ἄβησι ἀνακείμεται. If this statement is correct, they must have been restorations, or dedications later than the Persian war, for Abai was sacked and destroyed by Xerx. c. 33 *infra*.

28. 1. τὸν πεζὸν . . πολιορκέοντας ἐκιντοῦς the construction is paralleled 7. 40 στρατός . . οὐ διακρίμενος, 1. 196 ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατός . . ἀνέκοντο ἐς Ἀφείαν. Thuc. 6. 81. 2 στρατὸς ἀνεκ-δημονίως . . πρὸς Βοιωτῶν τε πρόσσωτες (στῆναι). Yet none of these passages is quite so harsh as the present. Was the plural a correction to avoid the hiatus? The reading is found in both families of MSS. *ἐκιντοῦς* of course refers to Φωκέες, but is barely correct.

3. ἐλυμνηναντο ἀνηκίστως. *λυμαι νοδαί* is found c. 15 *supra*, and both words in c. 12 *λυμαι νοδαί* *λυμνησ* ἀνηκίστως.

4. τῇ ἐσβολῇ ἣ ἐστὶ κατὰ Ἰάμπολιν: *Ἰανμπολὶς ἀρκετά* again c. 83 in close connexion with *Κένταυ*, *Παραπατάμιον*, *Ἀβαί*, see note *ad* 1. The pass. here named is undoubtedly the main route from the valley of the Kephissos into Ossa, and so on through Thessaly. The Persians must have come down through this pass into Phokis and Boeotia, as we learn by the pass indicated c. 31 *infra*.

τάφρον μεγάλην: the author of this desc. must have been Toliae the Elean diviner; cp. c. 27 *supra*.

δὲ ἐπιφορήσαντες καὶ ὁμοιώσαντες τῷ ἄλλῃ χώρῳ ἐδίκοντο τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς ἐσβαλλοντας. οἱ δὲ ὡς ἀναρπασόμενοι τοὺς Φωκίας φερόμενοι ἰστίπουν ἐκ τοῦ ἀμφορέας. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ ἵπποι τὰ σκέλεα διεφθάρησαν. τούτων δὴ σφι ἀμφοτέρων 29 ἔχοντες ἔγκοτον οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ πέμψαντες κήρυκα ἡγορευον τάδε. "ὦ Φωκέες, ἤδη τι μάλ्लου γνωσιμαχέετε μὴ εἶναι ὅμοιοι ἡμῖν. πρόσθε τε γὰρ ἐν τοῖσι "Ελλήσι, ὅσον χρόνον ἐκείνα ἡμῖν ἦνταν, πλεον αἰεὶ κατε ὑμῶν ἐφερόμεθα· νῦν τε 3 παρὰ τῷ βαρβάρῳ τοσούτο δυνάμεθα ὥστε ἐπ' ἡμῖν ἔσσι τῆς γῆς ἰσπερῆσθαι καὶ πρὸς ἡδραποδίσθαι ὑμᾶς. ἡμεῖς μέντοι

7 ἐσβάλλοντας A: ἐσβαλόντας B. ἐσβαλέοντας B. 8 ἐνέπεσον B
29. 6 ὁμοίῳ CP: || πρόσθεν α. 5 αἰεὶ: εἰ B. 6 τοσούτω B ||
ἔσσι α: ἐστί B Holder. || ἐσσι ἐστί B (Graf). 7 γῆς τε B, Holder,
van H. || πρὸς ἡδραποδίσθαι CPB: || ἡμεῖς: ἡμεῖς B

6 ἐδίκοντο: a denuded imperfect.

7. ἐκ ἀναρπασόμενοι *ibidem* 9. 60.

8. αἱ ἵπποι τὰ σκέλεα διεφθάρησαν with the construction (occasional of 'reference' or limitation) cp. 1. 38 τὰς γὰρ δὲ ἵππους διεφθάρησαν τὰς ἀσπὶς αὐτῶν καὶ οὐ λογίζονται, and *ibidem* 1. 111 in the case the breaking of the horses' legs must have meant total destruction of horse and man. On this battle see notes to previous chapter.

29. 2 ἔγκοτον 9. 110, 6. 143. The word is properly an aorist v. The substantiv. use of *ἐγκοτὴ* is used by Homer and Aeschylus, and this word as *enj.* by the latter.

οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ πέμψαντες κήρυκα repeats the threat of the story from c. 17, for the year 440 B.C.

3. γνωσιμαχέετε μὴ εἶναι ὅμοιοι ἡμῖν. 'struggle as you inferiority to us. The Thessalians themselves appear as γνωσιμαχέοντες to the king's opponent 7. 136, see note on 1. ὁμοίῳ *propter similitudinem* in war, but as there had been a political subordination of the Phokians, for a time at least, to the Thessalians, the connotation of the word may be extended. *Plutarch, de miser. v. 2. Mor. 441*, records a treaty of the Lokians against the *Ἀχαιοὶ* and *ῥωμαῖοι*: their cities were apparently dependents of the Thessalians, while the Thessalians returned with the booty of 350 Phokian hostages, and the ransom of 10000, which resulted in the Phokian victory at *Kynosia*. Just above *Hydruntis*, as mentioned by *Hdt.* in the previous c. and

by *Fausanias*, as above quoted, c. 27 (ii.) and (iii.).

5. ἐκείνα = τὰ ἐκείνων. cp. 2. 39 ἀσφαλῆ κτήνη = τῆς κτήνης, 2. 40 καὶ τῶν μὲν κτήνη πᾶσαν ἐξ ὧν εἶλον, 5. 82 ἱπποδάμειος δὲ κτήνη νομίζοντες εἶναι (sc. τὰ ἐκείνη τὰς ἐκείνων). With the neuter article cp. τὰ Ἑλλήνων c. 50, τὰ Μήδων c. 34 *refra* (*ditum*).

πλεον αἰεὶ κατε ὑμῶν ἐφερόμεθα, cp. *πλεον ἔχοντες* 7. 104, 111, 9. 20. *Stein* sees in this phrase a post-hoc reference to the last Sacred War 596-4 to 592-5 B.C., in which the Thessalians, under Eurylochos the Aieusid, played a prominent part, the reference would be absolutely unique, for nowhere else in the work of *Hdt.*, not even in the paragraph on Kynosia of 8. 143, the *Ἀχαιοὶ* and *ῥωμαῖοι*, Solon, is there the slightest hint of the great subject. One must feel a quiescent in the alternative that the reference is, at most, to the general superiority of the Thessalians to the Phokians in the Daphne or Pythian Amphiktyony—albeit that would unconsciously cover the case of the Sacred War. On Eurylochos the Thessalian cp. *Strabo* 118.

8. ἐπ' ἡμῖν ἔσσι. cp. 7. 10 ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὰ βασιλεῖς κτήματα γινέσθαι, ἔσσι with the indicative 'expressing the actual (or potential) result with emphasis' (*L. & S.*). Cp. 3. 12 αἱ μὲν τῶν Περσῶν κεφαλὰς τοὶ ἀσπίδες οὕτω ὥστε ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ῥέοντες καὶ ἐκτετραπτεῖς. The passive construction ἐσπερῆσθαι ἡδραποδίσθαι is

τὸ πᾶν ἔχοντες οὐ μνησικακόμεν, ἀλλ' ἡμῖν γεῖνάθαι ἀντ' αὐτῶν πεντήκοντα τάλαντα ἄργυρίου, καὶ ὑμῖν ὑποδεκόμεθα τὰ 30 ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν ἀποτρέψειν." ταῦτά σφι ἐπαγγέλλοντο οἱ Θεσσαλοί. οἱ γὰρ Φωκῆες μοῖνοι τῶν ταύτῃ ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἐμῆδιζον, κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, ὡς ἐγὼ συμβαλλόμενος εἴρισκω, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἔχθος τὸ Θεσσαλῶν· εἰ δὲ Θεσσαλοί

9 αὐτῶν R || ἐπιδεκόμεθα S
ἐπαγγέλλοντο α || 3 ἄλλον R
ἔχθος τῶν S_c

10 ἐπιόντα om. S || 30. 1
4 κατὰ: μετὰ C || ἔχθος τὸ:

remarkable, as well as the highly rhetorical perfect tense.

8. τὸ πᾶν ἔχοντες οὐ μνησικακόμεν is optative, if not optative. Herod takes τὸ πᾶν ἔχοντες together, *omnesi potentissimi habentes*. Cp. 7. 162 οὐδὲν ὑπεντες ἔχον τὸ πᾶν ἐθέλente. But Stron's exegesis, τὸ πᾶν ἔχοντες καὶ μνησικακόμεν, suits the present context better, *sedet Deionethena de cor 96 (τῶν τότε Ἀθηναίων πολλὰ δὲ ἔχοντων μνησικακόμασι Κορινθίοις)*, being perfectly simple and lucid, is not an exact parallel. It is τὸ πᾶν, rather than the suppression of the infinitive, which causes the ambiguity here, there would be *more* than τὸ πᾶν and the infinitive after ἔχων is expressed.

ἀντ' αὐτῶν, 'in return for what you have done'; or perhaps, 'instead of what you deserve.' For this vague ἀντὰ cp. 7. 4, 14 etc.

9. τὰ ἐπιόντα: cp. 7. 135, 167 τὸν ἐπιδόντα. The plural plural is certainly more appropriate here.

30. 1, ἐπαγγέλλοντο: simply on their own account, and not speaking with any authority from the Persian, but through their own messenger. Repeated in ἐπαγγέλλομένων just below, on the scilicet 7. 1.

2. τῶν ταύτῃ ἀνθρώπων. The phrase doubtless covers the Lokians, the Dorians, and other tribes or peoples of the neighbourhood; but Hdt. at least cannot mean to include the Delphians, for at, though others might be tempted to do so.

3. ὡς ἐγὼ συμβαλλόμενος εἴρισκω: cp. *ut auro doctum* just below. Hdt. accepts, nay invites, full responsibility for the very *ambivalence* in the Phokians at 7. 1, *οὐκ ἐμῆδιζον*, enforced by the disparaging ἀνθρώπων just before. He wholly discounts in fact, and discounts the *ambivalence* and *patronage*

reply of the Phokians, which he faithfully proceeds to report, as he has previously reported their actual service of the Persian side 7. 203, 218, a service not very efficient, according to his *own* Hdt.'s attitude towards the Thessalians appears in contrast strongly favourable, according to him they, in the first instance, espoused the Greek cause, and only afterwards 'mediated' under 'necessity': cp. 7. 172. Pausanias 10. 1 contradicts Hdt. by representing the Phokians as in the first instance *accomplices* with the Persians, and afterwards turning to the national cause. This representation of the case might be due to an inference from the conduct of the Thessalians, as reported by Hdt., coupled with the judgement of Hdt. in the present passage. Or could there be any connection between the conduct of the Phokians and the policy and fortunes of Delphi? The Phokians at least asked long, or *remitted* themselves as so doing; but the positive services to the Greek cause are not very clear. If Delphi escaped their fate, its escape may have been due to the very different attitude of the Thessalians (and other *meddling* states) to Phokians and to the Amphiklonic shrine. Considering how decidedly Hdt. 'attaches' his attitude towards the Phokians to the more remarkable. Should it be connected with τὸν ἱερὸν ἀποσόμενον πόλεμον in 448 B.C. (cp. Thuc. 1. 112. 6; Buxton 117, i 419 ff.)?

4. κατὰ 31 τὸ ἔχθος τὸ Θεσσαλῶν: the preposition = *ad, propter*, as in 7. 136 κατὰ ταῦτα ἔχον, || 15 κατὰ ἔχθος αὐτῶν just as here, 9. 109 κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν (as here *omnesi*) *ποσέμενοι* δὲ Ἀχαιοὶ μὴ αἶδ. The genitive is 'objective'; cp. 9. 38 ἐθέτερό τε καὶ προδιδόμετο κατὰ τὸ ἔχθος τὸ Λακταίων καὶ κατὰ τὸ εἶδος.

τὰ Ἑλλήνων πῆξαν, ὥς ἔμοι δοκίειν, ἐμῆδιζον αὖ οἱ Φωκῆες. 5
ταῦτα ἐπαγγελιομένους Θεσσαλῶς, ὅπτε δώσειν ἔφασαν χρήματα,
παρέχειν τέ σφι Θεσσαλοῖσι ὁμοίως μηδίζειν, εἰ ἄλλως
βουλοῖατο· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἴσασθαι ἰκόντες εἶναι προδότες τῆς
Ἑλλάδος.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀνηνέχθησαν οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι, οὕτω δὲ οἱ 31
Θεσσαλοὶ κεχολωμένοι τοῖσι Φωκεῦσι ἐγένοντο ἡγεμονες τῇ
Βασιλείᾳ τῆς οἰοῦ. ἐκ μὲν δὲ τῆς Τρηχινῆς εἰς τὴν Δωρίδα

5 αἶζον van II. | δοκίει S. Cobet. δοκίει van II. 6 ἔφασαν
χρήματα α | 7 παρέχειν τέ Bz τε παρέχειν ceteri | σφι· σφίτην
διον¹¹¹, van II. 31. 1 ἐπεὶ δὲ δὴ B 2 φικεῖασι α, ἐγένοντο B
3 Τρηχίνας B

7 παρέχειν in parentheses; cp. α. 8
ἔφασαν, i.e. there must be at least im-
perfect: a perfect would have been
ἔφασκε.

Θεσσαλοὶ ὁμοίως μηδίζειν has
the character just as a copy to which
δωκεν τῶν in the Thessalian message,
α. 28 supra.

ἄλλως, 'on independent grounds';
i.e. it would not in any case have
been for the purpose of constituting the
31 message.

α οὐκ ἴσασθαι ἰκόντες εἶναι: the
α οὐκ εἶναι in 7. 104, 104, 9. 7, but
here rather said after *icōnōn*.

πρόδοις τῆς Ἑλλάδος 'like the
Thessalians, *sedition*: a dangerous taunt.
The Thessalian language is somewhat
grandiloquent in view of their perform-
ance above Thermopylae, 7. 218, and
also better if not quite discreet y' on
the lips of Athens later on (α. 144 *infra*).

31 οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι can only refer to
the short copy, of less than three lines,
just preceding, perhaps that is to be
regarded only as a summary of a longer
speech, α. 29 *supra*. ἀνηνέχθησαν, were
'recollected'.

2 κεχολωμένοι: no doubt sportfully
by the title of traitors just hung at
them. H. c. is rich in terms for the
Thessalo-Phokian form. *ἐχόμενοι*, *ἐχόμενοι*

α. 27, *ἐχόμενοι* *ἐχόμενοι* α. 29, *ἐχόμενοι*
α. 30.

ἡγεμονες . . . τῆς οἰοῦ cp. 7. 107
α. *ἐπὶ τῆς οἰοῦ* τῆς οἰοῦ, where *οἰοῦ* is
abstract or conceptual.

τὴν Βασιλείαν α. 16 βασιλεία, α. 20
βασιλεία.

3 ἐκ μὲν δὲ τῆς Τρηχινῆς εἰς τὴν
Δωρίδα one of the most important
facts in the record. The term clearly

implies and only applies to a pass west
of and at right angles to Thermopylae,
and roughly parallel to τῇ ἐσθλῇ ἡ
ἐστὶ ἀπὸ Τραπεζίου mentioned up above
incidentally, α. 24. This western pass
(running north and south) led over
from the plain of the Spercheios and
the Amfissa to the upper plain of the
Kephissos and so to Delphi, and further.
It has been identified above, 7. 176,
notes with ἡ διὰ Τρηχίνος δρόμος ἐκ τοῦ
Ἑλλάδος a formula which Helt himself
apparently misinterprets to Thermopylae.
However that may be, in the present
context Helt undoubtedly carries the
whole Persian land forces by this route,
and by this route alone, from the banks
of the Spercheios to the banks of the
Kephissos. That is a manifestly absurd
proceeding. One Persian column, of
course, marched by Thermopylae, Kleonai,
Hyampolis, and so forth. But what we
have here to be thankful for is the
clear indication that another column,
probably more lightly equipped, made
its way direct from Trachis into Doris.
The cavalry may all have passed by
the easier route to Hyampolis (cp. the
Thessalian case α. 28 *supra*). There is
no clear intention of the continued
stationing of the Persian force unless
α. 34 confirms it (obscurely), but prob-
ably the system was maintained unless
one whole *corps d'armee* had remained
behind in Macedonia and Thracia. Per-
haps while one column moved by the
Asopos-gorge or Trachinian pass, and
another followed the coast-route and
then turned inland to Hyampolis, a
third may have made its way across the
hills, between the two, by the modern
Boudonidas—then, as now, a sufficiently

ἰσέβαλον· τῆς γὰρ Δωρίδος χώρας ποδεῶν στενωὺς ταύτη
κατατείνει, ὡς τριήκοντα σταδίων μάλιστα κη εὐρος, κείμενος
μεταξὺ τῆς τε Μηλίδος καὶ Φωκίδος χώρας, ἥ περ ἦν τὸ
παλαιὸν Δρυονίς· ἡ δὲ χώρα αὕτη ἐστὶ μητρόπολις Δωριέων
τῶν ἐν Πελοποιήσῳ. ταυτην ὦν τὴν Δωρίδα γῆν οὐκ
ἰσίναντο ἐσβαλόντες οἱ βάρβαροι· ἐμῆδιζόν τε γὰρ καὶ οὐκ
32 ἔδοκεν Θεσσαλοῖσι. ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Δωρίδος ἐς τὴν Φωκίδα
ἰσέβαλον, αὐτοὺς μὲν τοὺς Φωκίας οὐκ αἰρέουσι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ

δ τριάκοντα β δ μηλίδος β: μηλιάδος | καὶ τῆς δ: | ἡ. ἡ: α:
ἡ β 7 δρυονίης β 32. 1 δὲ δ' α

easy route (as I found to my own satisfaction in 1890).

4. τῆς γὰρ Δωρίδος χώρας ποδεῶν
στενωὺς ταύτη κατατείνει, 'for there is
a narrow neck, or strip, of the Dorian
land (Doria) stretching down in this
quarter'—to the vale of the Kophisos.
But appears to give an extension to
'Doria' which would make it include
not merely the higher ground of the
Dorian tetrapolis but the head streams
of the upper Kerassion valley. K. O.
Müller, *Orchomenos* (1844), p. 480,
observes that Pindar (= Dorier, *Δωριῶν*,
de f. L. 286, 2), Boioi, Ἐγυμνῶν, Krinoon
formed the Dorian tetrapolis, properly
named Lila, Karpheia (= Skarphalaia),
on Dryonis, 'if there ever was a town
of this name,' were 'Dorion' in 480 B.C.
(Stein, *Phidias Myth.* 1 121, *Text LXX.*
98) and constitute the στενωὺς ποδεῶν
here described. For ποδεῶν cp. 2 121.
Stein remarks that the terms Δρυονῆες,
Δρυονοὶ on Peloponnesian inscriptions, implies
a township Δρυονή.

6. ἥ περ ἦν τὸ παλαιὸν Δρυονίς.
These words must refer to the whole
Dorian χώρα, and have the air of a gloss,
which has crept into the text, and at
an awkward place, in any case they
should follow the Δωρίδος χώρας and
not the Φωκίδος χώρας. Cf. c. 43 *infra*.

7. μητρόπολις Δωριέων τῶν ἐν Πελο-
ποιήσῳ a memorative note, marking
Dryope-Doria as the last station in the
chart of the Dorian wandering before
the invasion of the Peloponnesians and
'the return of the Herakleidae'; cp. c.
43 *infra*. Whether Hdt. is right in
bringing all the Dorians in the Pelo-
ponnesia from this 'metropolis' (and
apparently by one route' at one time!)
is a further question, or group of
questions, too large to discuss here as

a note. It seems, however, that the
Legend of the Return lay completely
developed before Hdt.; cp. 9. 26 *infra*.
The fact that the name of the Dorians
attaches itself to this Dryope, and to
this place alone on the whole map of
Greece, is at least proof of a genuinely
Dorian character in the folk of that
place. In 4. 7 &c. the Phokians invaded
Δωριὰς τὴν Ἀσκληπιοῦσιν μητρόπολιν
Βοιῶν καὶ Κυρῖον καὶ Ἐρυνέα Thuc. 1.
107. 2, and in 480 B.C. ἐνέπρασθεντο
δε αὐτοῖς (sc. Τραχινίοις) καὶ Δωριῆς ἡ
μητρόπολις τῶν Ἀσκληπιοῦσιν Thuc. 2.
92 3. This application led to the
localisation of Herakles, the fortunes
which surrounded, the road from Trias
into Doria, used by the Persians in 480
B.C. In Ἀμφικτυονία ἡμετέρα the
official title of these Dorians in Δωριῶν
of ἐκ τῆς Μητροπόλεως, Boeioi, Ἀμφικ-
τυονία 1883) p. 29.

8. οὐκ ἰσίναντο ἐσβαλόντες 'they
entered it, but they did it no harm, for
two reasons (1) the Dorian πενήτη,
(2) the Thessalian διαπρόνοα. This
personage or πρόσταξ of Thessaly over
Doria challenges observation.

32. 1. ἐκ τῆς Δωρίδος ἐς τὴν Φωκίδα
the exact frontier between Doria and
Phokia is not very clearly marked by
any actual boundary: the list of towns
destroyed, in c. 33 *infra*, seems to
show that K. O. Müller, *loc. cit.*, ex-
tended the ποδεῶν too far in taking it
down so as to include Lilaia, though
that place, oddly enough, is not included
in the list. But that a topography of
Phokia is not quite all that it might
have been (die Argonen stammten nicht
von Lokais, Stein).

2. οἱ μὲν: the corresponding term is
found in c. 48 *infra, supra*. The first
term may perhaps be referred to the

τῶν Φωκίων ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τοῦ Παρνησοῦ ἀνέβησαν· ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐπιτεδὴν ἐκασθαι ὁμίλου τοῦ Παρνησοῦ ἢ κορυφῇ, κατὰ Νέωνα πόλιν κειμένη ἐπ' ἐωυτῆς· Τιδωρέα οὖνομα αὐτῇ· ἐς τὴν δὴ ἀνηγείκοντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀνέβησαν. οἱ δὲ πλεῖνες αὐτῶν

3 παρνησοῦ α. παρνησοῖ | ἀνέβησαν . . Παρνησοῦ om. R 4
παρνησοῖ A παρνησοῦ B. παρνησοῦ 5 κειμένην ἐπ' αὐτῆς? van H.
Tithorea B || δὲ τὴν διδηγείκοντο R: ἐκ σπάρτην ἀνευγείκοντο Eusiatth
(hl. p. 1804 ἀνηγείκοντο <τε πάντα> καὶ? van H.

spring men, and the second, the mountain γ. to the non-combatants.

2. τὰ ἄκρα τοῦ Παρνησοῦ need not necessarily be restricted to just the two extreme highest peaks, Lykorea and Tithorea, which earned Parnassos the title of *ἄκρος* Ovid, *Metam.* 2. 221; cp. . . 313 *Mons ubi verticibus petis arduis astra dardanis, Nomen Parnassus, Locus, Nixus* B. 72 *Parnassus gemino petis ardore culis* The mountain has many *ἀκρα*. As every other large range or system *ἀκρα* (τα) is used by Hdt. for high ground, so in 6. 100 τὰ ἄκρα τῆς Ὀλύμπου and the very next sentence seems to show that Hdt. himself thought of Parnassos as having only one *ἀκρὴ* though it might have many *ἀκρα*. But cp next note. Pausanias 10. 32. 2 employs the phrase τὰ ἄκρα τοῦ Παρνα

4 τοῦ Παρνησοῦ ἢ κορυφῇ. Parnassos is a mountain with twin peaks, of which Tithorea was only one; cp. previous note. Hdt. treats Tithorea here as the sole summit. In a 39 infra he names another *ἀκρὴ* Hyampolis, but that is in a story from another a (Theban) source and moreover the word *ἀκρὴ* there may be used simply for a peak cp. p. 37—*ἀκρὴ* as *ἄκρη* sufficient for the absolute summit. This sentence, however, comes in 10. 32. 1 and has somewhat the air of an insertion, from the author's own hand for that pretenses the correlative τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἵδρυς, and 1. 1 it contains a direct expression of the foregoing statement as it shows that *ἵδρυς* is minority rule, not to τὰ ἄκρα generally but to ἡ κορυφή, that is to Tithorea. Lysias 6. 100 suggests that the inhabitants of Neos were to a large camp well supplied with water and impregnable, which was behind Pelion.

κατὰ Νέωνα . . Τιδωρέα: Burman. *οὐκ ὀνομαζομένη* s. 182 186, proves that there was in later times a township

named Τιδωρέα (Ἰνστίρπ.) or Τιδωρα (Ἰνστίρπ. and Plutar'ch, *Sulla* 15), or (in the Mass. generally) Τιδωρεα, or (in Steph. B. erroneously) Τιδωρεα, and asserts that Tithorea occupied the site of the older city Neos. Extensive remains near the modern village of *Ψέλια* attest the site of Tithorea, beyond doubt. Cp. Ulrich, *Topographie und Inschriften von Tithorea*, *Bonn. M. N. F.* 2. 544 ff. (1843), but Ulrich denies the absolute identity of the sites of the old Neos and the new Tithorea, and identifies Neos with a site at *Παλαιά Φωκα* some five miles north of *Ψέλια* (Tithorea). The name of Neos, but not that of Tithorea, occurs in the list of the twenty-two members of the Phokian League given by Pausanias 10. 3. 2. His remarks on the present passage may be quoted in full: 10. 32. 5 *διαφορὰ ἐστὶ τὸ ὄνομα οὐδὲ τῆς πόλεως* Προδοῦν τε εἰρημένα ἐκτιστράτω τοῦ Μηδὸς καὶ ἵλας δι' ἐν χρημασί. *Καὶ μὲν γὰρ Τιδωρέας τὴν ἐνθάδε ἐκδόσαντο ἀνδρῶν ποτὶ* Προδοῦν *δὲ ὁ δὲ αἰετοῦς λόγος ἐπινοῦντο φησὶ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ Ἰταλίου οἰκόντος ἀναφύτου ἐν τῇ ἀκροφύῃ, ὅπου δὲ Νέωνα μὲν τῇ πόλει, Τιδωρεάν δὲ εἶναι τοῦ Ἀρνησοῦ τῆς ἄκρης. Ἰσχυον οὖν ἀπὸ χρόνου πρῶτα μὲν δὴ τῇ ἀπάσῃ χωρῇ, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, ἐπειδὴ ἀνακηρύχθησαν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀμυρῶν, ἐκτισθῆναι καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει Τιδωρεάν, μὴδὲ εἶναι Νέωνα ἀναρρυθθῆναι, Τιδωρεάν δὲ οἱ ἐπιχωρῶν πέποιθε φασὶν ἀπὸ Τιδωρεᾶς νομίσαι, οἷα τὸ ἀρχαιότερον λόγον τῶν ποιητῶν εἰσαγεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄλλου ἡρώδου καὶ ἡδίστου ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμυρῶν. But what has Tithorea to do with trees? insuburget, Gr. *Ortomanes* attempts to connect Τιδωρεᾶς (ne, 'name of one of the legends of Parnassos, with τρεῖς a 'map'. The name Τιδωρεᾶς has a more archaic appearance than Νέων: cf. *sup.* Pausan. and its later use was perhaps a revival, although applied to a fresh site.*

6. ἀνηγείκοντο *en. τὰ ἱερόν*: cp. c 38 infra; 3. 145 ἀνευγείκοντο τὰ ἱερά *ἐπεχωρῶν* makes the meaning clear.

ἐς τοὺς Ὀζύλας Λοκροὺς ἐξεκυμίσαντο. ἐς Ἀμφίσσαν πάλιν τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Κρισσαίου πεδίου οἰκημένην. οἱ δὲ Βάρβαροι τὴν χώραν πᾶσαν ἐπέδραμον τὴν Φωκίδα· Θεσσαλοὶ γὰρ 10 οὕτω ἤγον τοὺς στρατὸν· ὅκοσα δὲ ἐπέσχον, πάντα ἐπέφλεγον καὶ ἔκειρον, καὶ ἐς τὰς πόλεις ἐνιόντες πῦρ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἱρά, 33 παρενύμενοι γὰρ ταύτῃ παρὰ τὸν Κηφισὸν ποταμὸν ἐδήλουν πάντα, καὶ κατὰ μὲν ἔκασταν Δρυμὸν πύλιν κατὰ δὲ Χαράδραν

7 ἀμφίσσαν C 8 κρισσαίου B οἰκημένην Stein², van H.: κειμένην C οἰκουμένην ceteri, Stein¹, Hader 11 πύλαις B. πόλεις C | καὶ ἐς τὰ ἱρά. καὶ ἔτα ἱρά B: καὶ ἔστερα V: καὶ ἔτερα R. κατέκαιον S 33. 1 ταύτῃ τὰ τε Stein² | παρὰ οὐ C | κηφιστὸν BPr | ἔδηλουν B: ἔδῳν S 2 Δρίμον Stein¹ | χαράδραν C: χαράδρην PRS (χαρά cum dr supersa. V)

7. Ὀζύλας Λοκροί: But distinguishes from the Ὀσσηνοὶ Λοκροί, cp. Thuc. 1 203, a 1 supra. They are the Western Lokrians in the peninsula, a primitive, not to say barbarous, folk even in the days of Tancredides (1 5 3), but useful & lies withal on occasion (3. 96, 3). The Epizephyrian Lokri are also mentioned by Hdt. 6. 23. Pausanias 10. 38 gives five different explanations of the name (λοκία), and Strabo 427 adds a sixth. Five of these connect the name with one bad smell or another (δρῶν); one traces it to δρῶν, a branch, shoot, but with a fanciful legend attached. The latter appears the better derivation in the sense that these were the Branch Lokri, from the parent stem in Opus: that need either alternative be more than a *Volksetymologie*?

Ἀμφίσσαν: cp. a. 36 supra. No doubt the chief city of the Ozolian Lokri, situate at the inner edge of the 'Krisaean plain,' on the main route from Delphi to Thermopylae. The Amphissians were not always on good terms with the Phokians: cp. Thuc. 3. 101, 2. Amphissia was denounced for sacrilege by Alcibiades in 349 B.C., and destroyed by Flakip two years later (cp. J. B. Bury, *Hist. of Greece*, ii. 314 ff.), but subsequently restored as its coins attest (cp. *Num. Hist. Num.* 186).

5 τοῦ Κρισσαίου πεδίου: neither Kissa, nor its port Kissa, were in existence when Hdt. wrote: but neither here, nor elsewhere, has he taken occasion to refer to the so-called ἱερὴ πόλις which led to their destruction; cp. note to c. 29 supra. The old name must have clung to the fertile landscape, as it

certainly clung to the bay, round which the landscape lies; cp. Thuc. 1 107 3, 2 44. 1, etc.

10 οὕτω. sc. ὥστε τὴν χώραν πᾶσαν ἐπέδραμον.

ὅκοσα δὲ ἐπέσχον. cp. c. 36 infra ὅσα δὲ καὶ οἱτοὶ ἐπέσχον τὴν Φωκίδα, πάντα ἐσκαμάρων. Whatever places they touched touched, overwhelmed they devastated. Cp. 1. 104 of δε λαιαί τὴν Ἀσίαν πᾶσαν ἐπέσχον. It is an abstract synonym for the more graphic and concrete ἐπέδραμον.

33. 1. τὸν Κηφισὸν ποταμὸν: cp. 7. 174. The river Kephissos had its source higher in the art. story of Lilaia: Pausanias 10. 33. 4 Ἀλλοίαν δὲ τὴν ἀνατολικὴν Νάϊδων καὶ Οὐγατέρη δίνας τοῦ Κηφισοῦ, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς νιμφῆς τοῦ ὀνόματι τεθῆναι τὴν πόλιν φασί. It was a way, naturally across Parnassos from Lilaia to Delphi, i.e., i.e. there was a regular path that way. Lilaia (mod. Λιλιανή) was a regular member of the Phokian League (Pausanias 10. 3 2, and no doubt shared the fate of the other Phokian cities on this occasion. Pausanias 10. 33. 7 ὡς γὰρ δὲ διακεκρυμμένως ἔφιστο τῆς Φωκίδος ἔσται ἡ πόλις τὸν Κηφισὸν καὶ φτερεῖσθαι καὶ σπείρειν καὶ ἀνείηαι νομαί· τὰ γινώσκοντα πάντα μάλιστα τῆς χώρας ἐσθλ.

2 παρὰ μὲν . . . κατὰ δὲ a remark-able means; cp. b 31

Δρυμὸν πύλιν: no doubt the Δρυμὰ of Pausanias' list i.e., Δρυμὰ cp. Steph. H., twenty stades distant from Tithronion, on the high ground above left bank of the river.

Χαράδραν: twenty stades west of Lilaia, i.e., on the right (rough) side of the river. The town suffered from

καὶ Ἐρεχθον καὶ Τεθράμιον καὶ Ἀμφίκαιαν καὶ Νέονα καὶ
Πρωίας καὶ Τριτέας καὶ Ἐλάτειαν καὶ Τάμπολιν καὶ Παρα-

3 τεθράμιον B: Ἐρεχθων Enstat. l. p. 838 || ἀμφίκαια R

want of water, Pausan. 10. 38. 4. Charadra and Drymonia may be taken to represent the frontier townships. Frazer, *loc. cit.* 116, gives a plan of the ruins, and puts the name on his map of Phokis vol. vi. 1.

3 Ἐρεχθον Erechthos occurs in Pausanias list between Daulis and Charadra; Leake, *A.O.* ii. 38, regarded its site as undiscoverable; Burman, *op. cit.* i. 162, places it conjecturally between Charadra and Tithronion; it appears on Henry's and Kiepert's maps on the left side of the river between Tithronion and Elateia. It was probably a small place, apparently destroyed after the Phokian war (in which it had been destroyed again) — cf. Frazer *loc. cit.* 115 (l. 3. 2).

Τεθράμιον lay on a plain, 16 stades from Amphikiea, and 20 from Drymonia (Pausan. l. c. 33. 12), apparently on the left side of the river: *ναπήγερμα δὲ ὀνομαζέσθαι τὴν Τίθρων, Πίν; Τεθράμιον* Strabo 8.)

Ἀμφίκαιαν Pausanias states that the correct form of the name was Ἀμφίκαια, and appears in the *Isagoria* of the Amphiktrons on the destruction of the Phokian cities, but *Ἰπποδότης περ Ἀμφικτρων ἐκλέλειπεν ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀμφικτρῶν τὰς Ἀμφικαίας*. *Amphikala* was certainly the epichoriam form, as is proved by the local legend narrated by Pausanias. This form was associated with a cult of Dionysos, and games were celebrated in his honour. The site is identified at present v. on the hills to the south of Kephissos, below and east of Lilaia, just above the mountain *Isos* (Frazer v. 420). Pausanias' measurements here appear somewhat worthy; Burman i. 162.

Νέονα on the skirts of Parnassos; *op. cit.* 22 *supra*.

4. Πρωίας and Τριτέας: these names do not occur in Pausanias' list, nor elsewhere named in this place. Burman i. 163 condemns Leake's conjecture that *Πρωίας* represents the township *Πρωία* (not mentioned by Hdt.), and suggests that these two towns never recovered after their destruction by the Phokians in 480 B.C., although a *Τριτάτα* in Oionias Lokris may, he supposes, with almost certainly little reason, be a new name for the Phokian Τριτέας.

Ἐλάτειαν: the chief city of Phokis *μὲν γὰρ τοὺς Ἀρκαδοί, Pausan.* 10. 34. Its site is identified (Leake ii. 82, Burman i. 163, Frazer v. 425 ff.), commanding the outlet of the pass of Hyampolis (c. 28 *supra*). Its strategic importance becomes more prominent in the fourth century, and the Macedonian period. The immortal passage, in which Demosthenes describes the seizure of Elateia by Philip in 338 B.C. (*de Cor.* 284, 14), or was known to every schoolboy.

Τάμπολιν on the main road from Boiotia and Phokis to Ophiis, and so to Thermopylai, *op. cit.* 28 *supra*. Pausanias 10. 35. 6 records that the city was a settlement of Tarents from Thuria, and that the full name of the city was Ταρτῶν πόλις. Kiepert the actual scene of the Thebanian defeat (*op. cit.* 114, l. c. c. 29 *supra*) a little higher up the pass, was presumably a dependency of Hyampolis; remains of Hyampolis are identifiable (Burman i. 167, Burman i. 166, Frazer v. 442). The city would be the first exposed to the attack of a force coming from Thermopylai, and probably in 480 B.C. (with Atini) was destroyed, not by the Persian column which had crossed from Malis into Boiotia, and then worked down the Kephissos valley, spreading ruin and death, wherever it came, but by the main column, which must have advanced from Thermopylai along the coast, and through the pass of Hyampolis.

Παραποτάμιον (Parapotamion) appears in Pausanias' list of the Phokian League, but the city had never recovered from its destruction by the Amphiktrons in the Phokian war. *Παραποτάμιον μὲν δὲ ὅτις ἵππερα ἐν τῇ ὁδοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ ἑσπέρῃ ἢ καὶ τῇ μεσημβρινῇ* (10. 38. 8). The more careful modern writers have moved upon this. The site has been identified in the narrow strait between Mounts Pholostatos and Hadjiston, through which the Kephissos passes from the plain of Elateia to the plain of Charoneia (Leake ii. 97, Burman i. 164, Frazer v. 418). The order in which the names Hyampolis, Parapotamion, and Atini is not geographical in either direction. Atini is probably placed last because there is a note to add to the name.

5 ποταμίους καὶ Ἄβας, ἔνθα ἦν ἱρὸν Ἀπόλλωνος πλούσιον, θησαυροῖσί τε καὶ ἀναθήμασι πολλοῖσι κατασκευασμένον· 3 ἦν δὲ καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν ἐτι χρηστήριον αὐτόθι, καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἱρὸν συλῆσαντες ἐνέπρησαν, καὶ τινὰς διώκοντες εἶλον τῶν Φωκίων πρὸς τοῖσι δρεσι, καὶ γυναῖκας τινὰς διέφθειραν 10 μισογόμενοι ὑπὸ πλήθεος.

34 Παραποταμίους δὲ παραμειβομενοὶ οἱ βάρβαροι ὑπῆκοντο ἐς Παιονίας. ἐνβείτεν δὲ ἤδη διακρινομένη ἡ στρατιὴ αὐτῶν

7 ἐτι: ὅτι B, Holder: 'εἰ ἐτι ὅτι?' van H. 8 συλλήσαντες B
|| τῶν οὐ, α 9 εὔρεσι CP, van H. || διέφθειρον B 34. 1
παραμειβομενοὶ van H

Hyampolis and Parapotamios are then in the order in which they would have been visited by a force coming from Opus. Cp. also next chapter.

5. Ἄβας: Abai was plainly situated lower down the Aegean valley than Hyampolis, *Lausan*, 10 35 l. Its site is easily identified (*Laus* II. 164, *Bursian* I. 165, *Fauvel* v. 438 with plans). Hyampolis, the city of the Hyantes, was also known as Eya; and it is possible that Abai was the city of the Abantes: *Abantopolis*. But the statement of Aristotle *op. Strabon*, 446 that the old name of *Lausan*, viz. *Abantis*, was translatable to Thracians, who crossed over into the island from Abai, in Euboea, is not convincing. The chief claim of Abai to renown was no doubt its Apolline oracle.

6. θησαυροῖσί τε καὶ ἀναθήμασι: none of them due to the plain liberality of Croesus, 1 46. It is a remarkable fact that *Hdt.* does not specify this point here, especially in view of the notice in c. 36 *infra*; but perhaps when he wrote this passage originally he was not yet acquainted with the story of the Trial of the Oracles: in other words, his attention here was for the earlier composition of Books 1-2; cp. Introduction, §§ 7, 8.

ἦν δὲ καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν ἐτι: *so. loc.* The *χρηστήριον* survived the destruction of the *ἱερόν*, and was even consulted in the following winter on behalf of Macedonia, c. 134 *infra*, a point which might tempt one to postpone the destruction of Abai till after the Persian campaign.

3. τὸ ἱρὸν συλῆσαντες ἐνέπρησαν: *Paraspeyer*, 10, 35. 2 says that this was one of the temples left in ruins as a witness of the war with the barbarians.

The ruined temple was again fired by the Thracians in the Euboean war; but of the twenty-two members of the Phocian League Abai was the only city not destroyed and 'dismantled' by the Amphiktyons, being indeed, the only one not associated in the sacrilegious attack on Delphi.

9. γυναῖκας τινὰς διέφθειραν: from the specification it might be inferred that such atrocities were unknown in Hellenic warfare.

10. ὑπὸ πλήθεος, *proe multitudinis, ac. τῶν μεγόνων, A. in.*

34. 1 Παραποταμίους: this reversion to *Hyampolis*, which just above was mentioned between Hyampolis and Abai, represents it in its proper geographical position, at the lower extremity of the Euboean plain.

2. ἡ Παιονία: *Paionia*, but twenty stadia from *Chironia*, commanding the main frontier passage, according to *Lausan* II. 4 l. 1, appears in the list of the Phocian League though the *perioeci* is intended to challenge its title to be a city at all on par with as it presented with all that dot a city makes *δραχμὰς χίλιαι, θέατρον ἄγαθον, ἀγορὴ στεία, τινὲς οἰκιστὰς ἔχει, τείνειται δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀντιπροσέτατον* to the Phocian *καὶ ἀντιπρόσωπον*. He is naturally here, appropriate to the violence of its former pretensions and strategic importance: cp. *Laus* II. 110 *Bursian* I. 108 *Fauvel* v. 216 ff. *Paraspeyer* appears in the *Hesperian Catalogue* II. 2 220 side by side with *Daulis*; cp. 17 307, and in *Ge. II. 68*, as on the road to Delphi; *cp. Paraspeyer, i.e. in Thucydides* the name is modified into the form *Παιονία*, 4 59 2, cp. 4 78, 3 *loci* δὲ ἡ *Χαερωνία* *ἐσχάτη τῆς Βασιλείας πρὸς τῇ Φαιονίδι τῇ*

ἐσχύετο· τὸ μὲν πλείστου καὶ δυνατώτατον τοῦ στρατοῦ
 αἶμα αὐτῷ Ξέρξῃ πορευόμενον ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἐσέβαλε ἐς Βοιωτοὺς,
 ἐς γὰρ τὴν Ὀρχομενίαν. Βοιωτῶν δὲ πᾶν το πλῆθος ἐμήδεξε. 5

4 ἐπ': ἐς Β || ἐι Βοιωτοὺς καὶ Βοιωτῶν ἐς eupricatur Kullenberg
 5 γῆν τῶν Β: τὴν τῶν 8

Φαίβοι. So Strabo (following Homer)
 422 after Pausanias mentions Πανόπειος δ'
 4 εἰς Πανόπειον, ἔκρηκε τοὺς περὶ Δελφί-
 δας τόπους, of which the important
 consequence might be only. The Hero-
 dotus form of the name is Πανόπειος
 100.

διαρρινομένη ἡ στρατὴ αὐτῶν
 δολιχῶτα. Hdt. LXXIX. that at Panopeus
 there was a new campaign. Hitherto
 the army has advanced, according to
 him, in a single column, from Ther-
 mopylae, via Doris, and the upper valley
 of the Kephissos, through the pass at
 Parapetation, to Panopeus. At this
 point, however, a division of the forces
 takes effect. One column, the smaller
 one, is detached for service against
 Ithaki, the other, and larger portion
 of the army, advances with Xerxes into
 Boeotia, and so to Attica. It has been
 already shown that from Thermopylae
 the Persians must have advanced in at
 least two, and possibly even in three,
 columns, cp. c. 22, 31 supra. Two of
 these columns would naturally have re-
 quired Parapetation near Panopeus, un-
 less to avoid the ascent in the advance
 of the mountain direct by the road
 from Hyampolis and Abae to Orchomenos
 (cp. c. 10, 11 supra). As the main
 baggage train and cavalry probably came
 by the coast route from Thermopylae,
 this alternative seems the less probable.
 Parapetation, then, may be looked upon
 as the probable junction of the two
 columns from Thermopylae, that which
 devastated upper Phokis, and that which
 entered Hyampolis and Abae (and possibly
 other places on Mount Kneiss). The
 route to this route may have passed
 from Parapetation to Panopeus. From
 Panopeus too a column may have been
 ordered to visit Delphi, as here nar-
 rated. But the story of the visit to
 Delphi is in itself open to the gravest
 suspicion (cp. further below), and it is
 even possible that, if the Persians ever
 visited Delphi at all, Panopeus was not
 the point of departure, but the point of
 return, for the forces. The start for
 Delphi might have been made from

Trachis, or from Doris, and the route
 followed might have been by Amphissa
 to Delphi, and from Delphi down to
 Panopeus. The specification of Amphissa,
 c. 32 supra, as the chief refuge for the
 Phokians, is against this hypothesis,
 though the excellence of the route is in
 its favour. Or, again, the Persian
 column, operating in the upper Kephissos
 valley, might have detached a force at
 Limna—so curiously omitted by Hdt.—
 to guard against a Persian attack on Delphi.
 At this point, however, the main body
 at Doris, or Panopeus. One admission
 in the Herodotean story remains. It shows
 a vague consciousness that through
 Central Greece the Persian forces had
 not moved at all in one single mass,
 on one simple route.

4 ἐς Βοιωτοὺς, ἐς γὰρ τὴν Ὀρχο-
 μενίαν: the designation of the whole,
 followed by the designation of the part
 (cp. c. 23 supra). From Panopeus one
 road led west to Delphi (cp. next c.)
 and so to (or from) Delphi, another
 east to Chironia, still more than a
 couple of miles (twenty stades dis-
 tant). The actual frontier between
 Ithakis and Boeotia must be sought in
 this interval. Bursian (cp. est. i. 102)
 finds it in the bed of the Molor or
 Mupios, a small torrent descending from
 the north-western portion of Balkon
 and emptying into the Kephissos at the
 foot of Mount Hadysion (Mutter's
 Silla, 17, 19). Hdt. does not mention
 Chironia, which was not at this time
 politically an important place, nor even
 an independent member of the Boeotian
 Confederacy (cp. Thuc. 4. 78. 5), but
 stood, probably, to Orchomenos in much
 the same relation as that between Kaeonia
 and Hyampolis in Phokis (cp. c. 33
 supra). Orchomenos was still no doubt
 the chief city in the western (or north-
 western) plain of Boeotia, though fallen
 from its high estate in 'Mityan' times,
 and now inferior in political importance
 to Thebes; cp. further 9. 16, notes.

5. Βοιωτῶν δὲ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος ἐμήδεξε

τὰς δὲ πόλεις αὐτῶν ἄνδρες Μακεδόνες διατεταγμένοι ἐσφίζον
ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀποπεμφθέντες· ἐσφίζον δὲ τῆδε, διότι οἱ
βουλόμενοι ποιεῖν Εἰρήνην ὅτι τὰ Μήδων Βοιωτοὶ φρονέουσιν.

6 πόλεις B | ἐσφίζον bis, van H., Stein³: ἐσφίζον 7 τῆδε om. B.
'et commodè abesse potest' van H. | βουλόμενοι διότι z

the political significance of this statement is ambiguous; is πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος, *plebs universa*, in distinction to the aristocracy? Or is it merely *universa multitudo*, the vast majority, independent of social rank or political privilege? Again, what is the force and value of the contrast between τὰ πλῆθος and τὰς πόλεις? Is the πλῆθος wholly outside the πόλεις? Is it merely the *plebs* or *multitudo rustica*? Or is there any emphasis on the distinction? Or are the words specifically the citizens?

Bahr understands πλῆθος here as *plebs*, and takes the point to be that the rustic population, which was 'plebsian,' joined the Persians, while the cities, inhabited or not by the upper classes, were anti-Persian, but were saved from Persian vengeance by the good offices of the Macedonians. But this use of τὸ πλῆθος is hardly Herodotean: *scdm* 3. 80, 81 πλῆθος ἄρχει, ἐπὶ τὸ πλῆθος φέρειν τὸ κράτος not quite justifying the supposed political and social connotation of the word, as used in the passage. And again, that interpretation would not square with the points in the Plataea-Theraps argument in *Taus*. 3. 53-57 (*see hypothesis* 127 B.C.), where the Plataeans represent themselves, and that to the disregard of Spartans, as the only Boeotians who had not medized, while the Thespians reply is not that only the democratic multitude medized, but that the medism of Thebes was due to the inner ring of oligarchy (δικτατορία δειγμάτων ἀνδρῶν 3. 62. 3.).

Βοιωτῶν πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος here is therefore, to be understood 'the Boeotians without (or with hardly) an exception.' But Thespians and Plataeans were, of course, exceptions: perhaps, however, they were not truly 'Boeotians.'

6 τὰς δὲ πόλεις αὐτῶν . . ἐσφίζον: Macedonian garrisons were introduced into the various Boeotian cities, and preserved them from the Persians, and the fate of the Theban towns, *scdm* 4. 111, does not entreat or specify the Boeotian cities thus preserved, but his records, *c. 50 infra*, the destruction of

Thespians and of Plataeans and other Boeotian cities he names incidentally: Orchomenos (*see here*), Lebadia *c. 134 infra*, Thebes *c. 134 infra*, *et passim*, *Taus* 9. 15 *et al.*, Akropolis *c. 135 infra*, and perhaps inferentially Koroneia. Phokian was made more memorable by its misfortune than Boeotia by its immunity.

διατεταγμένοι, distributed, by order, throughout the cities severally. 'The men of Makedon' were apparently not single agents, but bodies of *kontaroi*, garrisons.

7 ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀποπεμφθέντες. The absence of the patronymic is to be observed. Alexander is treated as a known quantity: the article is equally absent, for he has not been named recently; but this passage could not be his first introduction: *scdm* 7. 173, 175. These Macedonian garrisons appear to have been sent on ahead.

τῆδε, 'for this purpose. But, according to the men (*παλομενοι*) what must have been the whole anti-Persian policy of their master. The good understanding between Alexander and the Boeotians, i.e. primarily the Thebans, throws considerable doubt upon the loyalty of Thebes and Boeotia to the national cause in the first instance. But the precautions taken to save them from pillage, if necessary, would show, either that the Persian forces were getting out of hand, or that the Boeotians had really made a stand at Thermopylae, and provoked the enemy.

It is, however, quite possible that here, as elsewhere, while the act is historical, the motive is fictitious. Macedonian garrisons may have been introduced into the Boeotian cities, not for the purpose of saving them from the Persians, but for the purpose of saving the medizing factions from the loyal or 'helmsman' party. The cautious turn of phrase, *scdm* τὰ Μήδων Βοιωτοὶ φρονέουσιν, 'that there were Boeotians of the Median way of thinking,' may support that view. With *φανταί* *cp.* 7. 145, with τὰ Μ. *cp.* τὰ Βαλάρων *c. 30 supra*.

οὗτοι μὲν δὴ τῶν βαρβάρων ταύτῃ ἐτράποντο, ἄλλοι δὲ αὐτῶν 36
 ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες ὁρμήατο ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερόν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, ἐν
 δεξιῇ τὸν Παρνησὸν ἀπέρχοντες. ὅσα δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ἐπίσχον
 τῆς Φοικίδος, πάντα ἐσυναμώρεον· καὶ γὰρ τῶν Πανοπέων
 τὴν πύλιν ἐπέπρησαν καὶ Δαυλίων καὶ Αἰολιδέων. ἐπαρτέοντα;

35. 2 ὁρμήατο CP 3 παρνησὸν α. παρνησὸν δ αἰολιδέων
 H. Λαλαίων Valckenauer, (Blakeley), van H.

35. 1 ταύτῃ. α. ἐς Πανοπέον.
 Ἄλλοι δὲ αὐτῶν. Hitt. gives
 neither the number of the force sent to
 Isophr., nor the name of its commander.
 ἡγεμόνας α. ἐπὶ ὁδῶν cp. v 31 supra.
 their guides, their race, anonymous too!
 2. ὁρμήατο has no mythological
 significance, but is purely mechanical,
 cp. v 2.5 ὁρμήατο δὲ περὶ λαχῶν ἀφ' αὐ-
 τοῦ καὶ ἀναρτήσαντο

τὸ ἱερόν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι: the
 geographical position of Delphi hardly
 requires comment, it is general, all take
 as a starting edge, or shelf of rock, 2000
 feet above the sea, backed by sheer cliffs
 all round, with the gorge of the L'lois-
 tre immediately below walled in by the
 ridges of Kephissia, with the fertile plain of
 Amphissa, of Kephissia, beyond, in full view
 of the Argivean bay, and sighting the
 Akadian mountains that tower beyond
 the Corinthian gulf, Delphi yields its
 natural charms and grandeur of aspect
 and prospect to no landscape in Hellas!
 It is accessible from three directions:
 (1) The ancient route comes up from the
 sea, across the plain and the steep spurs
 of Parnassos, but a day's journey. (2)
 By the Isophr., up over the western
 slopes and crags of Parnassos, runs
 the path to Ionia (Aggrion) in the
 valley of the Kephissos, cp. v 33 supra.
 (3) Away to the east goes the better
 route, first rising and then descending,
 from Delphi to Nauplia, looking after a
 while the ἑσπέρῃ ὁδῷ, the right path
 running on to Leonidea, the left to
 Ionia, Panopeus, and so on into
 Nauplia, cp. i 4 supra. It is by this
 last route that Hitt. would have us con-
 ceive the Persian column approaching
 the shrine, τὸ ἱερόν was of course the
 figure of the Akadianides. 5. 62. On
 all that concerns the topography and
 ethnology of the place of, Frazer's
Panopeia, v 224-398 pending the full
 and official publication of the results of
 the excavations conducted by the French
 School.

ἐν δεξιῇ τὸν Παρνησὸν ἀπέρχοντες
 these words would describe their position
 ever since they crossed from Trachis
 into Doris, and then marched down the
 Kephissos. They would also bar out,
 if accepted as final, not merely the
 advance on Delphi by the Illoids or
 sacred road from the north, via Amphissa,
 but also an advance from Lilaea across
 Parnassos by which the highest points
 of Parnassos would still have lain to
 the left. Hitt., believing Panopeus to
 be the point of departure, naturally says
 they marched with Parnassos on their
 right, and, he might have added, with
 Helikon and Kephissos on their left.

3. ὅσα δὲ . . ἐπίσχον . ἐσυναμώρεον
 cp. v 32 supra. συναμώρεον cp. i, 112
 5. 93 (συνάμωρον) appears to be a strength-
 ened variant of συνέσθαι or συνεθεῖν α.
 31 supra. The conduct ascribed to them
 is irrational, as they would need supplies
 on their way back from Delphi: for they
 must have intended to return: and this
 statement is, therefore, inconsistent with
 the men that the victors for Delphi
 started on the occasion from Panopeia.

4. Πανοπέων cp 34 supra; so after
 the main army had gone on into Nauplia
 their corps remained behind, and de-
 troyed Panopeia. If a corps detached
 for Delphi destroyed Panopeia, then
 assuredly it was on the way down from
 Delphi, and not before starting. This
 inference favors the view that this corps
 had marched via Lilaea or Amphissa.

5. Δαυλίων situate a little way up
 the ascent of route (2), and the last
 station apparently on the road to Delphi.
 (cp. Strabo 423) From Dauria to Delphi,
 (or vice versa) is an easy day's march.
 cp. *Hand* 2 520, Thuc. 2. 29. 3.

Αἰολιδέων unknown and un-
 tellable as a place-name does it re-
 present the modern *Αἰολίδων* i.e.
 Aioliozeta (cp. Burstein, op. cit. i 17.)
 Frazer v. 232. Or shall we not
 rather accept Valckenauer's conjecture
 Αἰαλιδέων, approved by Blakeley.

δὲ ταύτῃ ἀποσχοισθέντες τῆς ἄλλης στρατῆς τῶνδε εἵνεκα, ὅπως συλῆσαντες τὸ ἱεὺς τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι βασιλεῖ Ξέρξῃ ἀποδίξαιεν τὰ χρήματα. πάντα δ' ἠπίστατο τὰ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ὅσα λόγου ἦν ἄξια Ξέρξης, ὥς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἄμεινον ἢ τὰ

8 ταύτῃ α || εἵνεκεν B 7 συλῆσαντες Bc || τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι
'wolscto repetitum' Kallenberg || Ξέρξῃ del. van H. 8 δι' ἐπιστάτο
RSV (ἐπιστάτο Schaefer, Dekker) || τὸ om. B

and then reverse the route of this corps, and obtain a name which is conspicuous by its absence in the Herodotean catalogue! *Δαλαῖον* would of course be from *Δαλαῖος* or *Δάλαος*. *Δαλαῖος* was an important member of the Phokian confederacy, and its omission from Hdt.'s list (which with it contains fifteen of the twenty-one names in the list of *Παλαμῆας*) is very remarkable. Cp. note to c. 33 *σπῆρα*.

8. τῶνδε εἵνεκα. The political position and relations of the oracles at the time are of vital importance as bearing upon the story of the Persian visitation in 480 B.C. In the *Ilad* Pytho, or Python, is apparently as much a Phokian city as Iaulis or Panopeus, Hyampolis or Lissa (2. 517 ff.), which proves, *inter alia*, that the *Calymnus* is older than the First Sacred War. That war, waged by the 'Amphiktyons' on behalf of the Delphians, raised or secured the pan-Hellenic significance of the oracle, and doubtless emancipated it completely from Phokian leading. Whether an Ionian (Athens-Sikyon) or a Dorian (Sparta) or a Thebanian influence thereafter predominated may be matter of dispute, but the Phokians at least were but one among the Amphiktyonic forces. The war with the Thebans, or *πολλοὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς πόλεσι ταύτῃ τῆς βασιλεὺς στρατηλάται*: 27 *σπῆρα*, may have had something of the character of a *ἱερὸς πόλεμος*, although never so described. It cannot, however, be supposed that on the eve of the Persian war the Delphic oracle had sunk again to be a mere member of the Phokian League, or a mere organ of Phokian policy; the continuous notices of the oracle's action and utterances, from the date of the destruction of the temple in 648 B.C. to the Persian war, forbid that hypothesis. Or even if Phokian influence had been predominant, at least as against Thebans, would the Thebans have aimed at the destruction of the Amphiktyonic shrine, and not rather

at the re-establishment of their own influence in Delphi as commissaries and protectors of the Persian! The national Phokian oracle was at Delphi, hence its treatment, c. 33 *σπῆρα*. Delphi was the concern of twelve peoples, of whom nine were now on the king's part, the Thebans *καταπρῆνται* (clearly the Thebans cannot have taken the Persians to Delphi *ὅπως συλῆσαντες τὸ ἱεὺς τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι* β' 2 ἀποδίξαιεν τὰ χρήματα).

8. ἀποδίξαιεν τὰ χρήματα, 'in phr exhibit, display the objects of value' (not merely money. The assumption appears to be that they would plunder the temple, bring away the treasure, and exhibit them to the king—when they had overtaken him. Some of the things would have been rather difficult to transport, especially by that route. And would the king have been content merely to be a spectator of the show? If so, the best way was to go to Delphi in person and see for himself. The phrase might suggest that Xerxes was the one actually taken, but as in the sequel, the Persians were utterly discomfited and routed and no such disaster was or could be reported of the king himself, so the Persian apologist discreetly suppresses the visit of the Persian king!

πάντα δ' ἠπίστατο. *Διὰ τὴν* this assertion would read like a gross exaggeration if Xerxes had, indeed visited Delphi, and seen the temple and its treasures with his own eyes. Other wise the statement is a frigid absurdity, not made any better by the rationalistic reminder *πολλὰ αἰὶ ἀγόντων*, nor by the cautious enunciation *ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι*. Where could Hdt. have conveyed himself by inquiry of this absurdity if not in Delphi itself? The Persian visitation is obviously from a Delphian source, and the story of it, a patent apology for the attitude of Delphi in the war, is an obvious insertion in the main draft of the history. Cp. Introduction, §§ 9, 10, Appendix III. § 7

ἀνέβησαν ἐς τοῦ Παρνησοῦ τὰς κορυφάς καὶ ἐς τὸ Κωρύκειον
 10 αὐτρον ἀνηνέικαυτο, οἱ δὲ ἐς Ἀμφισσαν τὴν Λοκρίδα ὑπεξήλθον.
 πάντες δὲ ὦν οἱ Δεῖφοι ἐξέλειπον τὴν πόλιν, πλὴν ἐξήκοντα
 37 ἀνδρῶν καὶ τοῦ προφήτου. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγχοῦ ἦσαν οἱ βάρβαροι
 ἐπιόντες καὶ ἀπώρων τὸ ἱεῖον, ἐν τούτῳ ὁ προφήτης, τῷ
 ὀνόματι ἦν Ἀκέρατος, ὄρῳ πρὸ τοῦ νηοῦ ὄπλα προκείμενα

2 παρνησοῦ B 10 ἀνηνέικατο C || ἀμφισαν C 11 ἐξέλειπον B
 37. 1 ἐπεὶ δὲ 1 van H. || ἀγχοῦ τε B, Holdae, van H. 2 ἀπώρων
 CPd

2 τοῦ Παρνησοῦ τὰς κορυφάς looks like 'the twin peaks,' but is probably used more generally. cp. 9, 104 σφ-
 ζανται ἐς τὰς κορυφὰς τῆς Μνάδης. The Phokians had, some of them, gone up ἐς τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ Παρνησοῦ c. 32 supra; but there was plenty of room on the heights and peaks of Parnassos for Phokians and Delphians.

τὸ Κωρύκειον αὐτρον: the Korykian cavern, an immense hollow in the limestone, but of little extent and mystery than our own caves in the Peak (see *Notes on the History of the Delphic State*, p. 19, 32, 7), is reached from Delphi by ascending above the 'Pharmandra' on a very steep path into the upper plateau, still well wooded beyond which rises a steep conical and rocky hill, near the top of which the entrance to the cavern may be detected. (A scramble of twenty-five minutes took me up this hill on April 7, 1892.) It was sacred to Pan and to the Nymphs, Pausan. l.c., Strabo 117.

10. ἀνηνέικαυτο. *ibidem*; c. 32 supra.

ἐς Ἀμφισσαν τὴν Λοκρίδα. there they would 'regather with the mass of the Phokian refugees'; cp. c. 32 supra. The absence of any other reference, and the repeated yet different description of Amphissa, confirm the opinion that this story of the preservation of Delphi is an independent narrative, from a different source, and of later composition and insertion in the main draft of the work; cp. c. 35, 8 supra.

11. ὅς ἂν, 'one way or another.'

πλὴν ἐξήκοντα ἀνδρῶν: why 60? Was that the number of the Delphian Council, perhaps, at this date, an aristocratic body and did it survive, like the Roman curule magistrates and senators, at the coming of the Gauls? cp. Livy 5. 41. (The political constitu-

tion of the Delphic state is an enigma; the history of Delphi is best given by H. Poinfoix in *Revue de la Grèce* 1901, 2617 ff.)

12. καὶ τοῦ προφήτου his name is supposed just below, Akaratos. It is a little surprising that the 'prophet' and not the 'Pythia' is there. The exact function of the Delphian, or Pythian, *προφήτης* is obscure; he is presumably at the head of the Delphian hierarchy, but whether an *ιερεὺς* or not, whether a son of an official or with a colleague or colleagues, are questions barely to be answered positively, least of all for the earlier period. The 'prophet' or 'priest' would be distinct anyway from the *θεοὶ* mentioned by Ptolemy, *Not* 434 (with the *προφήτης*) and 292 *περὶ θεῶν* ὅτι οἱ θεοὶ διὰ τοῦ καὶ τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν *προφητῶν* καὶ ὁμῶς οἱ θεοὶ, καὶ οἱ *προφῆται*, ὅτε γεγονέναι *δεικνύται* ἀπὸ *δεικνύμενος*; like them, and the Pythia herself, the 'prophets' would hold office for life.

37. 1 ἀγχοῦ ἦσαν . . καὶ ἀπώρων: a *παλινδρῶμα*. Apparently they never entered the sacred precincts, but just came within sight of the temple. They would have to come pretty near to be in sight, owing to the way in which the cliffs project on the road from Amphissa. With ἀπώρων cp. *ἀπιδύμενος* 9, 49.

2. ὁ προφήτης, τῷ ὀνόματι ἦν Ἀκέρατος. see note previous chapter. The name is rare as a proper name, though common enough as an epithet, a fine one for a prophet or a priest *unmixed*, pure, unmixed, undefiled).

3. ὄρῳ. graphic present: πρὸ, very distinctively of place. The *νόσος* here would denote the whole structure, including the peristyle. The arms would have been lying before the east front of the temple, in the open space on the terrace

ἔσθαι ἐκ τοῦ μεγάρου ἐξειρηνηγμένα ἱρά, τῶν οὐκ ἔσιον ἦν
ἄπεισθαι ἀνθρώπων αἰδεῖ. ὁ μὲν δὲ ἦε Δελφῶν τοῖσι
παρούσι σημανεὶν τὸ τέρας· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἐπειδὴ ἐγίνοντο
ἐπειγόμενοι κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Προναῖς Ἀθηναίης, ἐπιγίνεται
σφι τέρατα ἐπὶ μέγιστα τοῦ πρὶν γενομένου τέρεος. θῶμα μὲν
γὰρ καὶ τοῦτα κάρτα ἐστί, ὅπλα ἀρήια αὐτόματα φανήναι

4 ἐξειρηνηγμένα α || ἱρά· ἱρήνη Naber 5 ἀνθρώπων β || ἦε C 7
προναῖς RV, Holler, van H. προναῖς Ss 8 γεγεννημένον Ss ||
τέρεος del. van H || θῶμα α, Stein², van H. θῶμα β, δωγμα Stein¹,
Holler || μὲν om. β

where now are the remains of the Altar
of the Ithians (see plan, Fraser v 268)

4. τῶν οὐκ ἔσιον ἦν: they were
absent; cp. c. 36 παρῶν.

5. ὁ μὲν δὲ ἦε he was evidently in
the temple precincts, the 'city' were
elsewhere.

6 τὸ τέρας· a marvel, sign, in
abundance, cp. d. 35 τέρας ἀνθρώπων τῶν
πολλῶν γενεῶν· εἰς αὐτὸν ἔλθοντες ὁ θεὸς
ἐκ τοῦ κάτω τέρεος κενεῖται ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ
ἐκ τοῦ ὑψηλοῦ, of a more concrete sense, of acts
φανέρωτα, as certainly a 31 signa of the
weather-stand. Xenophon, *Hell.* 6. 4-7
ἐκγεγεννησθαι δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῖς
ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐν τῇ πόλει αὐτομάτως ἀνέγχεσθαι.
οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι λέγουσι ὡς αὐτὸν οἱ θεοὶ φαι
νόμενοι. ἐκ τοῦ Ἡρακλείου καὶ ταῦτα ὅλα
ἔσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος, ὡς τοῦ Ἡρακλείου
ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐκγεγεννησθαι. Xenophon,
Hell. 6. 4-7, cp. d. 31, as he refers to
the temple, which is μὲν δὲ τῆς πόλεως ὡς
ταῦτα πάντα τεχασμένα ἦν τῶν προσηγ
μένων.

7 κατά of place in the vicinity of,
as here with over against.

τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Προναῖς Ἀθηναίης.
This temple has now been identified by
M. H. S. Jones, and excavated (see J. H. S.
etc. 1901) 1907. It was the last of five
buildings on the left of the road from
Athens to Delphi, which formed an
important group of tow, outside the
Athenian sanctuary (see f, at spot known
as the *Monastirion*, halfway between the
Lycæum and the gymnasium. The first
of these buildings was in ruins at the
time of Pausanias, the other four he
mentions. The temple of Athena was
identified, not with the Rotunda or
Thaion (as by Laurent), but with a
temple in ruins, built of local limestone,
the last of the five (see plan, Fraser v 268)

and therefore rightly *ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει*, which
agrees with the description of the
Demetrius. Dr. 25. 34 κατὰ τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν
ἐν Δελφοῖς καλλίστην καὶ μεγίστην καὶ
ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ. That *Protonaia*
cp. 1. 22, where the same temple is
mentioned in the official title of the
priestess at Delphi is proved by transcrip
tions, albeit *Protonaia* is a frequent variant,
found as recently in Pausanias 10. 8. 7,
and therefore followed by J. G. Frazer,
Pausanias, v 361.

8. θῶμα. a more generic term than
τέρας, and probably more 'subjective'
or psycho-logical, at least in 'origin.'
H. S. Jones's method of describing the present,
in early, apparent, in, godhead—perhaps in
close loyalty to his source—is remark
able, and suggests some antecedent
challenge, doubt, discussion. (a) There
is a *crucifixion*, a *crucifix*, from *crux* to
τέρας ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος, and so on. (b) There
is the exact locality of the apparition
indicated, κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Προναῖς
Ἀθηναίης (see, in v. 268, f. 11. A. 1).
The grammar becomes slightly disordered,
as not infrequently, at moments of
excitation: οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι . . . ἐπιγίνεται
σφι. (c) He urges the case for marveling
the more *θῶμα μὲν γὰρ . . . ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος
γενεῶν*. (d) He adduces as evidence
confirmatory of the miracle the stones
still lying in the close of Athens. (e)
He cites the Perinthians themselves as
witnesses for ὅλα θῶμα καὶ φανέρωτα, etc.
θῶμα etc. *τέρας*. One cannot but
admire the courage with which he
when censured for its escape in the
Persian war knew how to defend itself.
It is likely that the critique had been
made by an Athenian one, if so. Dr. 26
called Athena Protonaia herself as chief
witness for the defence, and Athena
Protonaia, or Protonaia, was justified of her
children. Cp. Appendix III. § 4.

- 10 ἔξα προκειμενα τοῦ νηοῦ· τὰ δὲ δὴ ἐπὶ τούτῳ δεύτερα ἐπιγεγόμενα καὶ διὰ πάντων φασμάτων ἄξια θαυμάσαι μάλιστα. ἐπεὶ γὰρ δὴ ἦσαν ἐπιόντες οἱ Βάρβαροι κατὰ τὸ ἱερόν τῆς Προναῆς Ἀθηναίης, ἐν τούτῳ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κεραυνοὶ αὐτοῖσι ἐνέπιπτον, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Παρνησοῦ ἀπορραγείσαι δύο
 15 κορυφαὶ ἐφέροντο πολλῶ πατάγῳ ἐς αὐτοὺς καὶ κατέβαλον σιγχοὺς σφῶν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς Προναῆς βοή τε καὶ
 38 ἀλαλαγμὸς ἰγίνετο. συμμιγνύντων δὲ τούτων πάντων, φόβος τοῖσι βαρβάροις ἐνεσπεπώκει. μαθόντες δὲ οἱ Δεῖλοι φεύγοντας σφίας, ἐπικαταβιάζοντες ἀπέκτειναν πλεῖθός τε αὐτῶν. οἱ δὲ περικύοντες ἰθὺ Βοιωτῶν ἔφευγον. ἔλεγον δὲ οἱ ἄπονο-

11 ἐπιγεγόμενα Pz, Stein² ἐπιγεγόμενα α, Stein¹· γινόμενα B
 θαυμάσαι α, Stein², van H.· θαυμάσαι B, Stein¹, Holder 12 ἐπεὶ
 van H. 13 προναῆς R, Holder, van H.· προναῖς AVz 14
 παρνησοῦ α: παρνησοῦ || ἀπορραγείσαι α 15 κατέβαλον Rnske,
 Stein², van H.· κατέλαβον 16 προναῖς B, Holder, van H.:
 προναῖς AVz (νηοῖ ad L V) 38 1 συμμιγνύντων C 3 τε
 τε B 4 ἰθὺ B: ἰθὺ

10. δεύτερα, 'next,' but not inferior.

11. διὰ πάντων, in the whole catalogue (number, series) of . . . cp. l. 26 of the *Crater of Iphicles* the *Crater*, *θεοὶ δὲ καὶ διὰ πάντων τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἀναθημάτων*. Alc 7 23 *ἐν πᾶσι*.

13. ἐν τούτῳ· in τῷ χρόνῳ.

κεραυνοὶ *fulmina*, thunderbolts strictly material and massive (like the rocks themselves), and not the mere flashes of lightning *σπερμαί, fulgura* much less the mere crash of rain nor of thunder *βρονταί, tonitrua*. A thunderbolt can strike a ship. Alc 14. 805 *ἐμβαλε τῇ κεραυνῷ* etc.

14. δύο κορυφαὶ not as J.· but simply two 'peaks' or pointed rocks, cp. *τοὺ Παρνησοῦ τοὺ κορυφαί* 36 *πέτρα*, which cannot be supposed to have fallen on the Persians.

16. βοή τε καὶ ἀλαλαγμός, 'war-cries and battle-cry' a distinction without a difference. *βοή* is rather a more generic. *ἀλαλαγμός* is to utter a specific cry, *ἀλάλα*. Perhaps to a cry of victory or *κατὰ ὁρμήν* *ἀλάλας* So *Antiq.* 133. Holder uses *ἀλάλα* (*ἀλάλη* *Arin.* 3 80, *Met.* 6 1.) 10, which L. & S. render 'the cry with which battle was begun,' and Rumpel, *Lex Pind.* (1893 p. 26, *column obeliscus*. Most remarkable is the personification Holder *Fy* 78 (226) *ἀλάλ' Ἀλάλ' Ὁλύμπου θυγατρὸς*. The war-cry *ἀλάλα* of any of course came to be

used for any loud cry, shout, etc. *ἐλάλει* is to raise the cry *ἐλάλει*, a battle-cry still, but a thinner, *ἀλλή* for one than *ἀλάλα*, where *ἀλάλα* the cry *ἀλάλ' α* is strictly war-cry: *ἀλάλασαν μὲν αὖ γυναικες ἡλέκων δὲ οἱ ἄνδρες* *Herod.* 3 5.

We say the cry at H is our borrowed *ἀλάλα*, but it is only the 'Sacrificer Army' which uses it as a 'war-cry'.

38. 1. συμμιγνύντων: more late than *συνμεικνύντων, συνελκνύντων*. It is only τὰ μέγιστα τετρα, not τὸ πᾶν γινόμενον τετρα, that could strictly be included in the μέγιστα. The newcomers would not know the music of the arena.

φόβος· *ἐνσπεπώκει* 'a panic produced them': the perfectest terror is rather rhetorical and more than strictly temporary, much less paid in its effects. The perfect is of course *θεοὶ τε*.

3. οἱ Δεῖλοι· *ἐπικαταβιάζοντες*: that is, of course, from the peaks of *Paros* and the *Korymbos* *Arin.* 36 *πέτρα*, but not before the Persians were in panic-stricken flight.

3. πλεῖθός τε: the exact number of the Persians slain on this occasion would surely have been noted and remembered were the episode itself historical. This numerical vagueness is another nail in the coffin of this local history.

4. ἰθὺ Βοιωτῶν: as hypothesized by the

σπῆσαντες οὗτοι τῶν βαρβάρων, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθίνομαι, ὡς πρὸς
τοῖτοισι καὶ ἄλλα ὥρων θεία· δύο γὰρ ὀπλίτας μεζόνως ἢ
κατ' ἀνθρώπων φύσιν ἔχοντας ἐπεσθαί σφι κτείνοντας καὶ
διώκοντας. τοὺτους δὲ τοὺς δυο Δελφοὶ λέγουσι εἶναι ἐπι- 39
γυρίους ἥρωας Φύλακόν τε καὶ Ἀλτύρσον, τῶν τὰ τεμένεα

6 μέγας: μέγας cod., Stein, van H.: 'aut μέγας legendum aut
μέγαρα aut tandem delendum ἔχοντας' Romke: μέγας Holder μέγαρα
ή αυτῇ ἀνδραπύρ Wesseling: ἔχοντας accl. Stein, van H. εἶντας pro
ἔχοντας conit. Koen: μέγας ή κατ' ἀνδραπύρων παρθεύ. vult Cobet: κατὰ
ΑΟΥ 39 l εἶναι post ἡρώας Ps

way they had come which would bring them down to Ibadia, and so to Paopoeus and to Urehomenes, where they may have pursued—or have pursued—the army. Perhaps Xerxes himself crossed Isthmus from Lulais to Delphi, and so to Ibadia and Paopoeus, and there regained the main body of the army. p. c 34 *revised*.

Dreyer . . . of Ørnskovthorpe . . .
 in the *versteemden*. Where did Hitt-
 get this information? Was it from
 Theodor of Orskovsen, who seems
 to have made it his business to col-
 lect to relate (*versteemden*) the signs of
 Herman's presence and his picture in the war
 of 1440, or was it from the Delphians,
 who, of course, could easily have gotten
 the information from books in the
 library camp? The story was certainly
 to be heard at Delphi, for the Delphians
 interpreted it to Hitt, and we can hardly
 suppose that he did not tell the facts to
 the Delphians and asked for the inter-
 pretation.

[illegible]

7. ἀπορροή φρον; φρονεῖς ἐν σοφίᾳ;
 because 'reason' for which φρον is the
 word used term which, this word,
 would at times be - φρονεῖς in the new
 version. Each exchange is given and
 only to be, translated from English
 of the text, from an, and so. The text
 is here as usual, in the, Orig.
 It is a suggestion, instead of Holder,
 in the word of translation. Of the new
 phrase and the meaning is not clear, it
 is not clear, however, in the text, and
 is not clear, however, in the text, and
 is not clear, however, in the text, and

αἰσχρομα: παραλ:πειν σελ., for if we may
say μετρίως ἢ κατ' ἀνθρώπων γυμνάσει
we may say μετρίως ἔχων ἢ κατ' ἀνθρώπων
φυσ.γ.

not *Stenopus* seems rather weak,
but is added to explain why any occurred.

§9 1 Δελφοί ληγουσι: It hardly needs this late addition to prove the story of the miraculous preservation of the Delphians, their temple and its treasures, a local Delphian legend in the last resort. The phrase in itself would not prove that if it had gained information in Delphi but the context below points to that conclusion.

2. **Phylax and Antiochos**: Phylax is
has a significant name (e.g., Phylax 1, 84
of *parvum*), which is also a genuine pro-
gram, op. 84, *infra*, in the *Hand*
besides a 'T' (an of the *Hand* 8 30)
Columbus, leader of the Thomasian
son of Phylax, no. 21 (son of Phylax is
(heroic founder of Phylax), 2, 698, 705,
and the name reappears in 21 16 281.
Could the Phylax 'Phylax' be after
all, a Thomasian hero, and a further
witness of the early period of Thomasian
resistance to Islam?

Autonoe, the name of a Danaid, slain by Hector, *Iliad*, 13, 301, is also found on the Trojan side in 12, 694 as having slain Polydorus. But again the name appears in historic times in Thucydides, 7, 5, 3.

ties to replace the "elbow" of these horses were in the vicinity of the Lythian cemetery, that of Iphigeneia hard to the road from Delphi to Arachova and Daulia along which two Persian Aps, and as on higher ground than the temple of Parnas at Athens, that of Autonoe's high Kastalia, the famous spring and been close under the Parnassian peak. A mound, holding one of two discovered in the excavation of the Mithraea, has been conjectured to be

ἐστὶ περὶ τὸ ἱεῖον, Φυλιάκῃ μὲν παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἑδρὰν κατύπερθε τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς Προυναίης, Αὐτονόου δὲ πέλας τῆς Κασταλίας ὑπὸ τῇ Ῥαμπεῖ κορυφῇ. οἱ δὲ πεσόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Παρηγοῦ λίθοι ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἡμέας ἦσαν σόοι, ἐν τῷ τεμένει τῆς Προυναίης Ἀθηναίης κείμενοι, ἐς τὸ ἐνέσκηψαν διὰ τῶν βαρβύρων φερόμενοι. τούτων μὲν νυν τῶν ἀνδρῶν αὕτη ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀπαλλαγὴ γίνεται.

4 προνήϊς R: προνοΐης SVz 6 παρηγοῦ θ: παρηγοῦ || ἦσαν z || σόοι CPz | τεμένει AB 7 προνήϊς R: προνοΐης SVz || ἐνέσκηψαν B. ἐνέσκηψαντο B

fed with the Phylakion (J. H. S. xi. 1901, p. 347), which would thus appear to have been on the same side of the road as the Athenaeon. Pausanias 10. 8. 7 describes the Φυλάκων τεμενος as παρὶ τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Προυναίης (sc. For the temenos of Autonoe see next note. Thirlwall (ii. 226) assumes that these dedications were made in consequence of the events of 480 B.C., but there is nothing in Hdt. to suggest that (p. 139).

6. Κασταλίης: Pausan 10. 8. 9 καὶ τοῦ γυμνασίου τῆς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν ἐν ἐξῆς τῆς ἑδρᾶς τοῦ ὕδατος Κασταλίας, καὶ τῶν ὁδῶν. There has never been any doubt as to the identification of 'the water of Castaly' (p. the exhaust v. note in Frazer *Pausanias* i. 255); but the shrine of the hero Autonoe has not yet been certainly identified and is not even mentioned by Pausanias. "Leake thought that the little channel of St. John's was in the rock above the pool might be the precinct of the hero Autonoe. . . M. Fournier prefers to suppose that the precinct stood on a small platform between the pool and the road. Burman thought he recognised a piece of the wall which had enclosed the precinct," Frazer *l.c.* (Burman i. 172, was doubtfully enough). *In der Nähe der Quelle war das Temenos des Heros Autonoe, von welchem noch ein Stück der Umfassungswand erhalten ist.*

τῇ Ῥαμπεῖ κορυφῇ: Hylarion is the inner wall of rock rising into a peaked summit a thousand feet or so above the town and the spring and forming the right or eastern wall of the gorge or chasm in which the Kastalian waters arise. A higher peak flanks the narrow chasm on the other side but the ancient name thereof has not been

preserved. It cannot possibly be these two kopfes which earned Pausanias the title of 'barren top' (p. 37 supra), for they are purely local features in the Delphian landscape, and can never have been mistaken for the actual summits of the mountains, to one of which Hdt. has already and correctly assigned a name (p. 32 supra). If the passage be not a good example of Burman's *Wortbruch*, ii. 1573 and v. scholium, missed the conclusion, or seems to do so (sine die beiden *Erzählungen des Pausanias in der Nähe von Delphi*). Strabo 424 mentions Hylarion as τῇ Ῥαμπεῖ only to distinguish it from Τάμπος or Τὰ (p. c. 33 supra). Mutareh, *Mor.* 567, reports that the Delphians executed Autonoe (p. Hdt. 2. 124) *ὁρατοὶ δὲ τῆς πέτρας ἐκείνης οἱ Τάμπος αἰετοὶ*.

6. ἐν καὶ ἐς ἡμέας ἦσαν σόοι, and, for as yet known, to the present day also: for the ground about it here, below the road, is strewn with λίθοι, large and smaller, all of which have doubtless descended from Pausanias. The place has the note of Hdt.'s 'autopsy,' and the argument the stamp 'αὐτὸς ἦτορ'. He seems to think the stones an evidence of the truth of the story. It was, perhaps, the position of these stones which determined the point reached by the Persians in their 'sacrilegious enterprise'.

8. τούτων . . αὕτη . . ἀπαλλαγὴ: in character contrast to the usual departure of good men, even non-Hellones, who came to worship, to seek advice and consolation, to assist at the ἀγῶν or other solemn function, and went their way rejoicing.

8. γίνεται joins us as *compatriot* with the story and the story tellers, rather than with the Persians and their *enemies*. The story is verily a true one; it is one

Ὁ δὲ Ἑλλήνων ναυτικός στρατός ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου 40
Ἀθηναίων δεσφύτων ἐς Σαλαμίνα κατίσχει [τὰς νῆας]. τῶνδε

40. 3 κατίσχειν B || τὰς νῆας acc. Stein² · τὰς νῆας B || τῶνδε. τῶν
RS. Steinfeler

of the most transparent fictions in Hdt., though one that fully imposed on the great man himself. The early Victorian realists made and work of it, of whom the Rev. Professor Rawlinson may in this case be taken as typical. He rev.² 291 interprets the story as follows. (1) The fragments of rock "were carefully prepared beforehand and presented by the men on the junks." (2) In sailing the rocks were a haze, which was mistaken for "a forest." (3) The armour in front of the temple was arranged by a priest. (4) The war cry was a shout from another priest. (5) The heroes were "represented by" two men of unusual stature, or (6) may have been "a mere excuse" made to Xerxes by his men. To h is the last word of unhistorical criticism upon mythical history. It may not be possible to determine exactly what took place at Salamis in 480, nor whether the Persians had any direct relations with Delphi, or ever visited that city, but two points may here at least be urged. (1) The story just examined cc. 36-39 is excellent *epitaphic* in tone and intended in order to explain the mysterious escape of Delphi in the war. It must not be isolated, and considered merely on its own merits, but must be brought into relation with the evidence in regard to the whole attitude and policy and action of Delphi throughout the great crisis, and even in other similar crises. (2) The evidence as to the policy of the Persians towards the Greeks and especially towards the Delphians who were so much interested in Delphi as any others, and the accounts preserved in Pausanias (1. 4. 4, 10, 23) of the attack of the Gauls upon Delphi in the year 279 B.C., and the part played by the *daimon* in that second deliverance. For an attempt to appreciate the story from that point of view cf. Appendix III § 4.

40. 1 ὁ δὲ Ἑλ. v. στ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμίου: the narrative is continued from c. 31 or 32 *supra*, or even from the words *Θερμοπύλαις μὲν νικῶσι ἐπὶ νῆσιν* in c. 23. The present tense *κατίσχει* anticipates much of the intervening narra-

tive, the arrival of the Hellenic fleet "at Salamis" doubtless preceding the advance of the Persian forces from Thermopylae. The Greek fleet might well have arrived at the Salaminian station within forty-eight hours of quelling Artemision. If it left Artemision on Tuesday night (as it were) it might easily have reached Salamis in the course of Thursday morning. The words *ἀπὸ τῆς νῆας* might be taken loosely to qualify a . . . *στρατός*, or might be loosely constructed with *κατίσχει*, or might seem to designate a particular place, e.g. *δωδεκῆς*. For *κατίσχει* ep. § 101, and App. Crit.

2. Ἀθηναίων δεσφύτων. It is generally assumed that in the conception of Hdt. and his sources the station at Salamis was no part of the general plan of defence, but an after thought, and an improvisation. To what extent is this assumption binding? What event called for an improvisation? The failure at Thermopylae? Or the non-appearance of the Peloponnesian forces in Boeotia? Had the full levy of the land forces been as was expected, straight north of Salamis or even of the Isthmus, where better could the Greek fleet have halted than at the straits of Salamis? What appears to have taken the Athenians by surprise was that a situation had been allowed to arise in which the complete evacuation of Attica had become at least an open question. It is here that I would insert the story of the consultation of the Delphic oracle told, anachronistically, 7. 140-143 *supra*.

τῶνδε δὲ νῆων. Hdt.'s motivation in this passage is curious, and perhaps involves a *hypercorrection*. He treats the evacuation of Attica as a foregone conclusion, and the problem of the *quid agendum* as only starting from that *fact accompli*. But *τὸ προπρὶον ἔργον* covers all that and much more (e.g. of course, resistance). Had the Peloponnesian forces been in Boeotia as was expected, the evacuation of Attica would not have been in question, but Salamis might still have been the natural meeting-place for the fleet, covering, as it would have done, the land forces in Boeotia from the rear, or flank. But so far from the

ἅλλα δὲ ἀπίστευαι. ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι οὕτω δὴ προσεδείχθησαν
 σφίεν σχεῖν πρὸς τὴν Σαλαμίνα, οἱ μὲν δὲ ἄλλοι κατέσχον 41
 ἐς τὴν Σαλαμίνα. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐς τὴν ἐωυτῶν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν
 ἀπίζην κηρυγμα ἐποίησαντο, Ἀθηναίων τῇ τις δύναται σφίζειν
 τίκα τε καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ μὲν πλείστοι ἐς
 Τροίηνα ἀπίστευαν, οἱ δὲ ἐς Αἴγιαν, οἱ δὲ ἐς Σαλαμίνα. 3
 ἔσπευσαν δὲ ταῦτα ὑπεκθῆσθαι τῷ χρηστηρίῳ τε βουλόμενοι

12 ὃν ποι ταῦτα ΘΡα
 σάειν † τὸ τέκ
 Composita. Eidelor

41. 3 σώζειν van H., Stern²: σώζειν
vader, van H. 6 ἵστασθαι vel

de novo

[illegible]

3. *Asperma brochura*. This particular *Asperma* has a tendency to the derivation of *plagiatus* and is shown to abandon Attica, which it may have followed upon that set as if the *Hesperia* from Bulgaria; 140-144. The very good *Asperma* makes it very clear that the evacuation of Attica was not meant to be intended to be a complete one, a strategic move. To have abandoned city and country without any other intention constituted *Asperma*, and was a tactical error, as the retreat of *Asperma* proves was, even to the point of the country into a place of safety, even to the point of the country into a place of safety. 35. *Lykurgus* reply on the one before me in rather rhetorical, than technical. 35. *Lykurgus* reply on the one before me in rather rhetorical, than technical. 35. *Lykurgus* reply on the one before me in rather rhetorical, than technical. It is not to be supposed that the strategy by themselves a better result of could have been such a presentation. The terms of the *Asperma* are inadequately preserved in 144. The *Asperma* there recorded belongs to a much earlier stage, cf. note

[illegible]

Sulamita: That any should have been dejected in Agina at all is remarkable, in view of the recent war (7-144) and the present jubilation no. 92 no. 121, that any should have remained in Hamaia but leaving men would tend to show that the Athenians by no means despaired of victory. The latter construction between Athens and Trezen went back to the date when both were members of the halauran amphiktyony (Strabo 204), to which Agina also had belonged, and the matter commemorated was no doubt frequent in the Thessalian legend, which was already so dominated in Attica. No state in Peloponnesus was so closely connected with Athens as Trezen, which over need the Attic standard of weight. Themistocles and Poseidon had contended for possession and divided the spoil, cf. Hom. H. N. 871. Yet Trezen, like Agina, was Ionian; cf. 7. 92 no. 121 no. 122. It is obvious that the two vessels on the look out with the Attic armor in 7. 129f are from Trezen and Agina.

δ. τὸ χρηστέρῳ can only have been the *τῶν παλαιῶν*, or *earliest*, recorded above, i. 119 which (as I stated) were sought and obtained only after the *Amator* at Thermopylae. The *παλαιῶν*, *ἀποκρινόμενοι* δὲ ταῦτα τὴν ἀποκρίσιν *καὶ* *ἐκείνῳ* have been written before that first visit to *Amator*, and may very well be an insertion in the original draft. It is obviously not calculated primarily for an Athenian public; Athenians would be apt to hear of this first *ἐκρίψιν* *δεδοται*, but would not look to Hdt. for information on their own current status. This passage, I am probably right to, the 'second' draft. Cp. Introduction, 69

ἵπηρεταιν καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦδε εἴνεκα οἶκ ἤκιστα. λέγουσι
Ἀθηναῖοι ὄφιν μέγαν φύλακα τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἐνδιατάσθαι ἐν
τῷ ἱερῷ· λέγουσί τε ταῦτα καὶ δὴ ὥς εἶναι ἐπιμήνια ἐπιτε-
10 λουσιν προτιθέντες· τα δ' ἐπιμήνια μελιτόεσσα ἐστὶ. αὕτη
δὴ ἡ μελιτόεσσα ἐν τῷ πρόσθε αἰεὶ χρόνῳ ἀναισιμουμένη τότε
ἦν ἄψαντος. σημηνώσης δὲ ταῦτα τῆς ἱρείης, μᾶλλον τι οἱ

7 ἵπηρεταιν B, Holder, van H. τοῦδε: τοῦτον Ps | εἴνεκεν B, van H.
8 εἴφι. σφι B | ἐνδιατάσθαι B 9 τε. δι B || καὶ δὴ καὶ B, Holder,
van H. | τελέουσι Parib. 1635, a 10 τὰ δ' τὰ δὲ R | ἐπε μελι-
τόεσσα B, Holder: ἐπε del. Kallenberg || αὕτη δὴ ἡ Stein². αὕτη δ' ἐπε
R) ἡ 11 πρόσθεν codd., x || ἀναισιμουμένη B 12 τῆς οἰκ R |
ἱρείης α, Holder

7 λέγουσι Ἀθηναῖοι: there was no real snake visible, such as the inevitable inference from this passage and the still more explicit passage below. λέγουσι ταῦτα καὶ δὴ ὥς εἶναι αὕτη, a conclusion which only add point to the Aristophanic gibe. λέγουσι τὰς αἰεὶ τοῦ ὄφιν εἶναι τοῦ οἴκου was no doubt sacred to Athens, and may have been regarded as a symbol, or a reincarnation, of the earth-born Erechtheus; cp. M. P. Nilsson, *JH N* xii, 1901, p. 350, but in this case the only proof of the real presence of the serpent was the representation of the offspring, the divine creature, no doubt being thought to reside in the cry of the Erechtheion *ἐνδιατάσθαι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ*, cp. c. 65 *εἶναι*. With this story is naturally compared the tale of Balaam and the Dragon (*Apocrypha. 3rd. Test.* ed. Fritzsche 1872) pp. 86 ff.) in which, as here, the serpent himself took the cake. Balaam calling Balakaser apparently) adds that at Aikatania and one tright out the cakes of Kronos (Athenaeus 11C) while the sacrifices to Atargatis at Askalon? Athens 346 were consumed by the snakes and matter of course, and above named, like the story of the serpent of the Hebrews (cp. *προτιθέντες* here). The *μελιτόεσσα* τε. καὶ μολογία.

9 ἐπιμήνια ἐπιτελουσιν. so *legit*. The offering was made once a month (perhaps at the new moon; cp. c. 67), and it then came took the form of a sweet cake μελιτόεσσα, so *legit*.

12 τῆς ἱρείης α. of Athens. The word σημηνώσης is consciously used of an official and solemn report the thing reported is here indeed a sign τῆς θεᾶς, so, Athens. The untouched cake

proved the absence of the snake, the absence of the snake that of the goddess. But how long had the cake remained untouched? Did it generally disappear immediately on oblation? The serpent, as a religious symbol or cult object, is found broadcast in Hellas and the Mediterranean area; nor is it confined to that region, serpent myths were "especially abundant in Egypt and Babylonia" (*Ancient East*, iv 1895), and their area may safely be extended so as to include at least India on the one side and Scandinavia on the other. Whether it have a chthonian or an actual theonian reference, embody an oracular mission, or represent the heroic ancestor, be intended to convey a plea he suggest in, or be connected with the earth and mystery of the breast and as that of animal forms, or whether, on the other hand, it serve, in venomous kind, to typify the powers of evil and destruction: whatever its purpose and significance, the serpent has played a long and curious rôle in religious legend and symbolism. Has it not everywhere gained a mission? Remarkably enough, the serpent sacred figures on the monuments of Mykenaeon Tree and Pylar out collected by A. J. Evans (*JH S* xii, 1900 p. 42) and the missing link has been recently supplied (*Ancient East*, xii, 1902-3). At Knossos snakes are now to be seen trampled not by the Minoan goddesses but by star-chariots (as the not A. J. Evans *Urania* cp. III 1 166). At Delphi the dragon, there, then, an evil being) was slain, but immortalized, by Apollo. At Athens the goddess received the snake into her service, it carried round the caduceus of Hermes and the magic

Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ προθυμότερον ἐξέλιπον τὴν πόλιν, ὥς καὶ τῆς
θεοῦ ἀπολλοιοπύνης τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. ὥς δέ σφι πάντα ὑπέξ-
είκετο, ὅπλων ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἀπ' Ἀρτεμισίου ἐς Σαλαμίνα κατῆχον τὰς 42
πῆγας, συνέρρεε καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς πυνθισόμενος ὁ τῶν Ἑλλήνων
ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ἐκ Τροίης: ἐς γὰρ Πάγωνα τὸν Τροϊζηνίαν
λαμένα προεῖρητο συλλέγεσθαι· συνελήχθησάν τε δι' πολλῶ

13 προθυμότερον· πρότερον α || ἐξέλιπον α 14 ἀπολλοιοπύνης α
42 1 ἵππεος α? van H. | ὑπὸ β | εἰς β, Holder 2 νῆας συνέρρεε β
3 τῶν β 4 εἰρητο β

or maternal wand of Asklepios. The serpent appears in the tale of Thetis and of Leto, and also in the legend of Heracles at Thebes. appeared in the ritual of Demeter at Eleusis, and connects with the eagle of Iphigeneia on the ruins of Ilium. The god visited Olympias, the mother of Alexander, in the form of a snake. Patarech, *Alex. 2.*, and two snakes led the son safely through the wilderness to the temple of his divine sire. Arrian, *Arrian. 3. 8. 5*. The snake-symbol, the σκεπὶν δαίμων, represented the wisdom of Homer and was a symbol of wisdom, the serpent figures on the monuments of Mithras, with the bull, the horned, and the woman as a sacred mystery. The female serpent which, raised upon a mast, had stayed the plague in the wilderness for the Israelites, was worshipped by a reforming king destroyed the city, and an old legend associated the serpent image with the serpent, who had seduced the mother of mankind from the tree of knowledge. Heracles, or Herakles, and for orthodox Christian thought the snake symbol is evil. But the earlier associations of love and wisdom were apparently forgotten. As round the world, as the gods twines the great snake, Iphigeneia, so the Aeneas serpent may have curled round the sacred olive of Athena in the Acropolis. or the remarkable representation, reproduced in Hünemann, *Herakles III. 1344. fig. 1342*.

μᾶλλον τι . . . καὶ προθυμότερον.
The phrase betrays the reluctance and opposition to the operation of the lord and the abandonment of the city, which a more ready obedience alone 7 112, and 112.

15 ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον . at Salamis.

42 1 οἱ ἀπ' Ἀρτεμισίου: cf. c. 40 above, now including the Artemians.

ἐς Σαλαμίνα: the sixth occurrence of the phrase since the beginning of c. 40. It is no less clear whether Heracles 'the island' or the town, or whether he draws any distinction between them. For a moment the Greek naval forces had been in three divisions: (1.) the Artemians in Attica, (2.) the rest of the fleet from Artemision in Salamis, (3.) the reserves at Troezen. These three divisions are now united at Salamis, a movement which seems to imply a definite plan to make a stand in the Straits. The harbour of Troezen had been previously specified as the rendezvous for the fleet (προεῖρητο) by Heracles, or perhaps by the Greeks at the Isthmus, and a messenger was sent, or at least intelligence conveyed, συνθανόμενος, from Salamis.

3 Πάγωνα: the 'Heard,' as called, perhaps, with some reference to its shape (cf. Τροίη δὲ βαδίζει. ἐπὶ τῶν κακογενηνῶν καὶ παρατοκῶν αἰῶνα. Πάγων γὰρ ἐστὶ λαχὴν τοῦ Τροίη, Salamis, was the well sheltered and spacious harbour covered by the island Kalymna (mod. Poros) on the coast of Attica, due south from Sigea and Salamis. Troezen itself is city sacred to Poseidon was a small island, some fifteen stades from the sea, Strabo 378. Cf. K. Christ, *Herakleion II. (1862) 414* and notes to *Herakleion, 2. 26, ap. Frazer and Hitzig Hünemann*.

4. πολλῶ πλεονεξ. According to the lists in Her. there were 54 more ships at Salamis than at Artemision, and this states (Artemision, Amphikles, Iakchos, Naxos, Kythnos, Mithras, Siphnos, Melos, Krotos) are mentioned at Salamis but not at Artemision (Her.

5 πλεῦνες νῆες ἢ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίᾳ ἐναυμάχουν καὶ ἀπὸ πολλῶν πλεῦνων. ναύαρχος μὲν κιν ἐπὴν αὐτὸς ὅσπερ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίᾳ, Εὐρυβιάδης ὁ Εὐρυκλείδου ἀνὴρ Σπαρτιήτης, οὐ μόνον γένεος τοῦ Βυσιπλήλου ἐόν· νῆας δὲ πολλὰ πλείους τε καὶ ἀρίστα 43 πλεούσας παρείχοντο Ἀθηναῖοι. ἰστρατεύοντο δὲ οἷδε· ἐκ μὲν Πελοποννήσου Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἑκατάδεκα νῆας παρεχόμενοι. Κορίνθιοι δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ πλήρωμα παρεχόμενοι καὶ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίᾳ· Σικυῶνιοι δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα παρείχοντο νῆας, Ἐπιδαύριοι δὲ 5 δέκα, Τροιζήνιοι δὲ πέντε, Ἑρμιονέες δὲ τρεῖς, εἰόντες οἱτοί

5 νῆες B 7 γεινός γε B, Holder, van H. 8 νῆες B 9
πλεούσας Bz 43. 1 οἷδε ABR 2 πελοποννήσιοι R νῆας Bz
3 παρεχόμενοι τὸ πρὶν. van H.: (τὸ B, Holder: ὁ B: van Stein) 4
παρείχοντο scil. van H.: παρίσταντο B

is one, and only one absentee, the Spartan Laketa, who has passed under the description of Persea.

Εὐρυβιάδης ὁ Εὐρυκλείδου. *sc. a. 2 supra*. The express denomination, with the patronymic repeated marks less the solemnity of the occasion than the 1 *supra* of the name. The description here is, indeed, more accurate than there, more primitive, and may belong to an older stratum. The latter must be ultimately referable to Sparta. The technical term ναύαρχος a vice admiral, as *ἀγιστὸν στρατηγὸν ὁ τὸ μέγιστον ἀγιστὸν ἔχων στρατὸν*, which has a more Attic form.

3. νῆας Bz: between the sentence with *μεν* and the sentence with *δε* there is here a word of difference and contrast. In the latter would have even more point as the antithesis to the description of *Εὐρυβιάδης* in a 2 *supra* *εὐρυκλείδου στρατηγὸν τὸν τὸ μέγιστον ἀγιστὸν ἔχοντα ναυαρχόν* Σπαρτιήτης. No doubt ἀρίστα πλείους covers the merits of the trierarchs and crew as well as those of the ships.

43. 1 ἰστρατεύοντο Bz οἷδε. There follows the navy list for Salamis, apparently from a Peloponnesian, perhaps a Spartan, source. H. apparently conceives the actual ships in question to be the very same as fought at Artemision, the increased total being due to mere addition: but some ships had been lost or completely disabled off Salamis (*cp. cc. 16-17 supra*), the additional numbers were in part replacement substitutes, and indicate, therefore, a 1 *supra* greater effort on the part of the Greek states.

2. Λακεδαιμόνιοι: 16, an addition of 6, as compared with Artemision.

3. Κορίνθιοι, apparently 40. πλήρωμα, used of a single ship, denotes the crew (Thuc. 7. 4. 6, 12. 3, out of a fleet, or squadron, as here, and a. 46 *infra*, the full number, the total).

4. Σικυῶνιοι: 15, an addition of 3.

Ἐπιδαύριοι: 10, an addition of 2.

5. Τροιζήνιοι: 5, the same total.

Ἑρμιονέες 3, a total constant *ἔσονται οὗτοι πρὶν*: an ethnological and historical note which can have had nothing to do to an official navy-list, and seems, presumably, from a wholly different source, some logographer's work. It falls into two parts: a remark upon the *Ἑρμιονες*, a remark upon the *Περσες*. The former invites comparison with the *locus classicus* in 1. 54 the latter with the similar idiom, or simile, in a. 81 *supra*.

There are two marked differences between this passage and 1. 58. (a) The chart of the Persian warships is much fuller than that here, both in point of chronology and in point of geography and towards the historical *ἀπὸ τοῦτο* for (2) *Περσες* here, compared as it is with *Ἑρμιονες* plainly denotes the town in Dryopis, or Doris, of that name, in 1. 59 *supra* no less plainly *πρὸς τὴν Δελφὴν* the great city belongs to the west of Thessaly. The passage in 1. 59 is also more explicit on the question of nomenclature attaching the 'Makedonian' title to the Pindarisation, and the 'Dorian' to Dryopis only.

There is thus a discrepancy between the two passages, at least upon the

πλήρ᾽ Ἑρμοῦν τε καὶ Μακεδόνων ἔθνος, ἐξ Ἑρμῶν
τε καὶ Πίνδου καὶ τῆς Δρυοπίδος ὕστατα ὀρμηθέντες. οἱ δὲ

second point, the phrase just below, *ὕστατα ὀρμηθέντες* may be taken to cover the first point implicitly; and if the text is to stand, we must suppose that Hdt. as not infrequently copied from forgetfulness into a slight missequence, for an inconsequence it is, even if Mount Pindos and the town of the same name marked two stations separated by a considerable interval both spatial and temporal, in the Dorian migration. But are the words *Πίνδου* and *αὐτῆς* a guess, an insertion, a random guess, by a later transcriber or editor? Sense and grammar would be complete without them and the inconsequence would disappear from the sentence's exit. Putting this solution, we may delete *καὶ* and read *Πίνδου τῆς Δρυοπίδος*.

The question in any case remains of the repetition of the quasi-idiographic formula of the two passages was caused by some kind of a conscious or unconscious but which was the cause? Probably the former and conjecture passage in Hdt. is of later composition in the work of Hdt. Had it stood in its place originally as it now stands, it would be a reference here and there would have been natural and sufficient, and in keeping with Hdt.'s practice. This passage, then, definitely supports the theory that Lk. 7, 8, 9 are of later composition than the first and subsequent books. Cf. Introduction §§ 7, 8.

6. *Δρυοπὶν τε καὶ Μακεδόνων*, etymologically a hazardous work, yet connection between *Μακεδόνων* and *Μακεδόνων* can easily be traced. In l. 56, where *Μακεδόνων* is associated with the station on the Dorians on Mount Pindos, in the NW of Thessaly, a geographical argument for the etymology, contribution presents itself. This *Μακεδόνων* station for the Dorians was traced as far back as the character of the story of the wandering of l. 56 really carries us for the previous stages not only involve a progressive transfer (the confusion of *Μακεδόνων* with *Πριναπιδων* in order to bring the Dorians of as far as of *Μακεδόνων*), but are also obviously designed to bring back the Dorians to the true land and cradle of Hellenism in Aeolian Phthiotis! It is infinitely

more probable that the northern Dorians traced their station on Mount Pindos within view of Hekles from Makedonia, than that the Hekles can picture of the south had been driven out of Phthiotis to start with.

7. *Ἐξ Ἑρμῶν (τε καὶ τῆς Δρυοπίδος)*. *Ἑρμῶν* is mentioned in Thuc. 1. 107. 2 with *Βοιωτῶν* and *Κυττινῶν*, as forming the metropolis of the Lakonia region (Hekles is their contemporary by its name). *Ἑρμῶν* 425 miles Pindos, the old name of which was said to be *Δρυοπία*, and makes the *Δρυοπία* *ἀπὸ τῆς Δρυοπίδος*. The Dorians Tyrtaios called their windy *Ἑρμῶν* as the point of departure (cf. Strabo 362, Bergk 1. 2, 2).

ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑρμῶν, καλλιστοφάνου πρὸς Ἑρμῶν

ἦν ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς ἐκείνης πόλεως
ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐκείνης πόλεως
ἐκείνη ἡ πόλις ἦν ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς πόλεως.

The same may be compared with *Ὀλυμπίων* and many others derived from *Ὀλυμπίων*. Cf. *Geographica*, *Geographica*, pp. 221 ff. 1. Pindar, *Pyth.* 1. 66, mentions the *Μακεδόνων*, or *Δωριῶν* as *Πριναπιδων* *ἀπὸ τῆς Δρυοπίδος* phrase which Pindar's commentators (Dionysius, Schol., Mezeriz, Gundersen) leave merely alone, he will have had not the tower, 100 of the river, but the mountain in the NW. A *Μακεδόνων* was at home in Thessaly.

7. of 84. *Ἐξ Ἑρμῶν ἐκὶ Δρυοπίδος*. The people of Hekles for instance Thuc. 2. 26. 6, no doubt represented a non-Dorian and a pure Dorian stock in the Peloponnese, like the people of Asine in Lakonia, c. 73 m/ra, or like the *Μακεδόνων* of the *Ἑρμῶν* (c. 148), but perhaps no more came from *Δωρὶς Δρυοπίδος* than the *Ἑρμῶν* from *Ἑρμῶν*, in one, it does, they came with the Dorians. The people of Kyttina too are *Ἑρμῶν* (c. 46 m/ra); and there were *Δρυοπιδων* on the Asiatic coast (p. 1. 146) *Ἑρμῶν* in Lakonia was *Ἑρμῶν*, Thuc. 7. 67. 4 and *Ἑρμῶν* perhaps *Ἑρμῶν* (Pausan. 4. 34. 11, despite Thuc. 2, who makes them *Ἑρμῶν*). Even *Κυττινῶν*—if *Ἑρμῶν*, 37. 2 were to be believed—contained *Δρυοπιδων*. That the name *Δρυοπιδων* was most closely attached to the non-Dorian region argues little as a rule.

Ἑρμιονέες εἰσι Δρύοπες, ὑπὸ Ἡρακλῆος τε καὶ Μηλίων ἐκ
44 τῆς νῦν Δωριδὸς καλεομένης χώρας ἐξαναστάντες. οὗτοι μὲν
νῦν Πελοποννησίων ἐστρατεύοντο, οἶδε δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἔξω ἡπείρου.
Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν πρὸς πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους παρεχόμενοι νείας
ὀδωύκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, μόνον. ἐν Σαλαμῖνι γὰρ οὐ συνεναν-

8 Ἡρακλέους B
οἱ δὲ 3 νῆας B

44. 2 οἶδε δὲ Schweighauser, van H., Stein¹:

seat of the Dryopians, and may help to explain its 'metropolitan' character. *Simon* 2 1² (1894) 209 connects Dryops, 'oak man' with the Lapith 'Dryas', *fl.* c. 203, and so takes the Dryopians back into Thessaly, seeing in the geographical order of the Dryopian stations—Nityra, Karysion, Kytion—the links between the Messia and the Argolis *gulf*. But geography is not history and the historic inference from geographical distribution is just the fallacy committed in the Herodotean legend of the Minyai, 4. 145 ff. The Dryopians, like the Minyai, the Dolopians, the Kaikonians, the Kekropians, and so on, put us doubtless face to face with the *primi* *tira*, or all but primitive, population of the Hellenic area. *ἐμφανισαν δὲ καὶ Ἑρμιοναὺς διωκόμενους Δωρεῖς οἱ δὲ Ἀργεῖοι* *Thuc.* 2 34 5. The fact and circumstances of this *ἐπώκειν* are not given, but it did not elaborate approximately the Dryopian character of the town.

8 ὑπὸ Ἡρακλῆος τε καὶ Μηλίων. The story is told by Diodor. 4. 37, and by the *Mythography*; e.g. *Apollodorus* 2. 7 7; *Appendix Narrationum*, 28. 6 and *Westermann*, 1843. Cf. also *Pausan.* 4. 36 6 for a version told by the Aeginetians, *op. cit.* 78 infra. For the connection of Herakles with Melos *op.* 7. 176, 216 *supra*.

44. 2 ἐκ τῆς ἔξω ἡπείρου: not merely have the Peloponnesians precedence in this navy list, but the remainder are enumerated from a Peloponnesian standpoint contrast the list for Artimision c. 1 *supra*.

3 Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν: to this *μὲν* may correspond the *δε* in a 45 infra, *Μεγαρεῖς δε κτλ.*, but it looks somewhat 'pendent'. A kind of contrast is supplied by the case of the Plataians, but without a *δε*, its place *pari passu* supplied by γάρ; in fact the Plataians are reconnected with *οὗτοι μὲν* *νῦν*, to which immediately corresponds *Ἀθηναῖοι δε*. The parenthetical character of the passage, and

especially of the learned parenthesis on the origins of the Athenians, is manifest even in the style.

πρὸς πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους, 'to set against, to compare with all the other peoples.' For this use of *πρὸς* *Diaktesion* *op.* 2. 36 *πρὸς πάντας χυμῶν*, and 3 94 *φόρον ἀπογίμνον πρὸς πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριῶντα τάλας* *πύγματοι*.

Hdt. gives the number of the Athenian ships at Salamis as 130. He evidently conceives of the total number available as 200, 20 being manned by the men of Chalkis, *op.* 1. 14 *supra*. The anonymous Athenian *op.* *Thuc.* 1 14. 1 claims a little less than two-thirds of 400—which might be about 250. *Op.* 7. 104 *supra*.

4 *μολοῖν*: by themselves alone, i.e. without the Plataians, as the next sentence explains. There was evidently a problem: why were the Plataians, who had sailed to man the Athenian squadron at Artimision c. 1 *supra*, absent from Salamis? The reason appears to be a somewhat conjectural *δεδοται* *τι πρηγματο*. They had landed *οἱ ποῖοι* in Chalkis in order to remove their households. The act of the demerit is partly indubitable; the reason for the act is more doubtful. It implies that the complete evacuation of Plataia, and therefore of Attica, had already been resolved on. In the light of a 45 *supra* it is possible that the Plataians had left in Boiotia expecting to find the Peloponnesian army ready to cover and defend Plataia: they would naturally elect and indeed be bound to join the land forces under such circumstances. The removal was then necessitated by the non-appearance of the Greek army. But had the Plataians been especially eager for further service at sea, they surely might have found a way of saving the Athenians at Salamis. Had the evacuation of Attica been already decided on when the Athenians and Plataians parted at Chalkis, surely

μάχησαν Πλαταιῆς Ἀθηναίοισι διὰ τοιόνδε τι πρήγμα· ἀπαλλασσομένων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου, ὃν ἐγίνοντο κατὰ Χαλκίδα, οἱ Πλαταιῆς ἀποβάντες ἐς τὴν περαιὴν τῆς Βοιωτῆς χώραν πρὸς ἐκκομιδὴν ἐτράποντο τῶν οἰκετῶν. οὗτοι μὲν νυν τούτους σφίζοντες ἐλείφθησαν. Ἀθη-

5 τὴν οὐκ. α 8 περὶν B: περὶν V, Valla || χώραν Stein²:
χώρας, κομιδὴν B 9 σφίζοντες van H, Stein³; σφίζοντες

Salamis would have been given as the rendezvous. The Plataians did not perhaps escape some censure at Athens, there is some trace of an apologetic note in this passage. Athenian tradition and its revenge: this *poioi* became so emphatic that it was sometimes forgotten that the Plataians had fought at Marathon. Cp. 2. 27.

7 τὴν περαιὴν τῆς Βοιωτῆς χώραν, "the Boeotian territory at once opposite shore." Blakesley, "the opposite shore of Boeotia." Rawlinson's *Massagetae* is correct. The meaning is clear though the same usual sense would be "the coast opposite Boeotia." The 'Peraia' is located at first Chalkis, not from Boeotia. Cp. App. Crit.

A few examples must rarely include 'warrior and children' as in c. 133 ἄνδρα εὐνοῖαν τοῖς αἰετοῖς at once followed by αἰετοὶς τὸ εὐνοῖαν αὐτῶν γυναικῶν, or c. 142 αὐτὰς γυναικῶν τε καὶ τὰ ἐκ εὐλεμον δαχτύλου αὐκτεῖον ἐχόμενα πᾶσι, where αὐκτεῖον means Cp. παῖδες τε καὶ γυναικῶν c. 40 σφίον (where αἰετοῖς are not mentioned, ἄνδρα τε καὶ τοὺς αὐκτεῖον c. 41, where γυναικῶν must be included. ἄνδρες καὶ γυναικῶν cc. 36, 60. The use of αἰετοῖς as a domestic slave is perhaps according to a euphemism, or perhaps c. 7 1st 0. With ἐλείφθησαν cp. 7, 123 καὶ ἐλείφθη.

9 Ἀθηναίοισι, as the text now stands this phrase is antithetical to οὗτοι μὲν, but there is no true antithesis in the argument. This parenthesis on the Attic origin can hardly have been intended as the first instance for an Attic phrase, and may very well be an insertion belonging to the second draft; in which case *Μεγαροῖς* *δε* would follow an *αὐτῶν μὲν Μεγαροῖσιν* first in that case too the antithesis is hardly correct. Let us the original text read Ἀθηναίοις μὲν τοῖς αἰετοῖς . . . *δε* αὐτοῖς, *Μεγαροῖς* *δε* αὐτῶν, and the double γαρύθησιν may all be later insertion, and even perhaps not a) of the same date and draft (the Attic

origins being of the second the note on the Plataian desertion of Athens of the third hand, or draft, that revision which took place at Athens after the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war, what time the case of Plataia was doubtless freely and frequently canvassed. Cp. Introduction, § 9.

The epitome which follows is the quintessence of primitive Attic history. Hdt. has taken it from some predecessor possibly Hekataios, though there were perhaps a ready not yet *Ἀνδοκυπιδος* at work cp. 6. 13; but this passage is hardly of strict Attic provenience, nor does it represent the orthodox Athenian tradition or theory. An Athenian would not have admitted Pelasgism, nor allowed *Κεκροῖα* a merely secondary place, nor described Ion as *σπαρταρῆς* (but rather as *πολεμάρχος*) of Athens. In this passage, as in 1. 57, the Athenians are Pelasgians, virtually from first to last, for the changes they have undergone are merely, or mainly nominal—a change of names: but Hdt. does not here go so far as to assert that they had changed their language too, or that time was when the Athenians, yea the Ionians, spoke a non-Hellenic tongue. The early history of Attica, or at least of Athens, is retained in four stages, of which the Ionian (with the Ionian tales, and so forth) was but the last, and imposed of *extra*. Before there were Ionians there had been Athenians; the Athenians are older than the Ionian name—in Attica. But the names of Kekrops and Egektipidai are older still than the Athenian. So far back the layers, the *οὐκ* are marked by proper names. Ion, Erechtheus, Kekrops. Before Kekrops there is a dim Pelasgian prime, and the forebears of the Athenian people, seemingly one tribe or section of the Pelasgian stock, were light Erechthei. But here it is the difference rather than the identity between Athenian and Pelasgian that is emphasized.

10 ναιτοί δε ἐπὶ μὲν Πελασγῶν ἔχόντων τὴν νῦν Ἑλλάδα καλε-
μένην ἦσαν Πελασγοί, ἀνεμαζόμενοι Κραναοί, ἐπὶ δὲ Κέκροπος

11 οὐνομαζόμενοι β

10 ἐπὶ μὲν Πελασγῶν ἔχόντων τὴν νῦν Ἑλλάδα. Hdt., so far as he has one single consistent view on the 'Pelasgian question,' regards the Pelasgoi as the fore-Hellenic and non-Hellenic population of all the continuous area afterwards invaded and occupied by the Ionians, and so Ionized. Thus (1) he places Pelasgoi in Pemptese (i. 164, 2. 171, 7. 94), in Attica (1. 56, 2. 51, 4. 145, 6. 137); N. Greece (2. 54, 56), in the Islands (2. 51, 4. 146, 5. 26, 6. 136, 149), Asia Minor (7. 44, 95): (ii.) he makes Pelasgia the older name of the Hellenic peninsula (2. 60), (iii.) he believes that the Pelasgoi spoke a non-Hellenic language (1. 57). On this view many or most of the early tribal names are substrata of the Ionage-strata: Argives Πηλεοί (1. 44), Achaean Πελασγοί, and so forth, the Dorians become the Hellenes κατ' ἐξοχὴν and the area occupied by Hellenic or Ionized tribes in the historic period has, as *Argivists*, been occupied by the prehistoric or pre-Ionic tribes, exterminated or acculturated and Ionized by the invaders, leaving only a few isolated survivals here and there (1. 57). But the case of Attica, where there was no record of a Dorian conquest, is a difficulty on this theory, though Herodotus the Dorian, never allows, or perhaps for that very reason, represents

the Athenians as Pelasgic, without ever explaining their adoption of Hellenism. Thucydides, the Athenian, represents an opposite or at least a corrective and rival view. He nowhere commits himself to the doctrine of the non-Hellenic character of the Pelasgoi, or the non-Hellenic character of their language. Hellenes and Pelasgians are not with him alternative or exclusive terms at any period, the latter not merely nominal and verbal. The Pelasgic is indeed older than the Hellenic, but the Pelasgoi are not one, the most considerable of many tribes inhabiting the practically Hellenic area (1. 3). The Hellenic nation is a matter of fashion, culture, exchange, adoption. The exact relation of Athens to the Pelasgoi is not clear. It is possible that Tan ydion did not connect το Πελασγέας (2. 17) with the Pelasgoi; but if this was not *Attika* in 4. 139. 4 an authority to me they have the air of a gloss, Thucydides admitted Πηλεοί Τροφῆες as quondam inhabitants (κατασκευαῖς) of Athens as substratum into the rival hypothesis! In any case he will rarely have regarded the Athenians as Pelasgic in his own time, much less allowed the Dorian claim to the flower of 'Hellenism.'

But a theory in this passage may be suggested radically exhibited:

Αθηναίοι	I.	ἦσαν κατακλιθέντες	Πηλεοί Κραναοί	κατ' ἐξοχὴν οἱ Πελασγοί	Πηλεοῦν ἔχοντες τὴν νῦν Ἑλλάδα καλε- μένην
	II.	κατελήθησαν	κεκροταί	οἱ κεκροταί	κεκροταί
	III.	μετανομήσθησαν	Αθηναίοι	οἱ Κραχθῆες	κατελήθησαν τὴν ἑξῆς
	IV.	κατελήθησαν	Ἴωνες	οἱ Ἴωνες	συνεμαζόμενοι γυνεῶν Αθηναίων

11 Κραναοί. Hdt. knows nothing apparently of the king or hero Kranaos, who is mentioned by Aeschylus (possibly Κραναὸς *Eumen.* 101) = Athenians, and whose monument μνημα, was to be seen, in the time of Demosthenes (1. 21. 8), in the deme of Larissa, yet, on the other hand, he seems to anticipate the later tradition (the theories) in denying the primacy of Κέκροπος, κραναὸς may be rightly etymologized (καρ, καρ, and κρη) as the Dwellers-on high Steins: the antithesis to the Αθηναίοι = Ἀργεῖοι

dwellers below, on the plain looks daring though attractive, Aristophanes has Κραναὸς κρη, *Arch.* 75 for Athens, cf. *Lards* 123 οἱ Κραναῶν κρη, etc. more especially for the Αθηναῖοι *Lys.* 481 μετανομήσαντες Ἀθηναῖοι. But Pindar has the word as an epithet not merely of Athens (*Ann.* 3. 11, *Ol.* 7. 82, 13. 35) but of Ithica, *Isth.* 1. 4 and with Homer it is the starting point of Ithica (*Il.* 3. 201, *Od.* 1. 245). The primitive meaning would seem to be rather 'hard' than 'head' or 'high.'

στρατάρχῳ γενομένῳ Ἀθηναίοισι ἐκλήθησαν ἀπὸ τούτου
 45 Ἴωνες. Μεγαρέες δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ πλήρωμα παρείχοντο καὶ ἐπ'
 Ἀρτεμισίῳ, Ἀμπρακίῳται δὲ ἑπτὰ νέας ἔχοντες ἐπεβόη.
 θησαν. Λευκάδιοι δὲ τρεῖς, ἔθνος ἔόντες οὗτοι Δωρικὸν ἀπὸ

14 ἀπὸ: ἐπὶ τῶν II
 παρείχον τὸ α C. παρείχοντο τὸ FR:
 ἐπεβωθήσαν SV, Gaisford, τῶν H

45. 1 παρείχοντο SV Marcianus:
 3 ἦναι S || ἐπεβωθήσαν R

cession of kings, though he is recognized here (as in *ἄλλῃ τοῦ, &c. infra*) as war leader, warlord. Was there never an Ionian conquest of or in Attica? The Ionian elements in Attica were closely welded with the native, and yet did not the analogy of Great Britain, with its Saxons and Britons, is perhaps admissible. In Attica, however, the Ionian can hardly have been the original element, and the 'Athenian' the immigrant, albeit and despite invasions of the truth, such *Assura protera*, are found in Greek legend, cp. 4. 145. One thing is clear, there was no 'Norman,' no Dorian conquest of Attica cp. 2. 78 and my notes; and the settlement of population in Attica went back to a much more primitive date than in Peloponnese, or in the rest of Central Greece; hence the relative continuity of Attic history and culture, the priority and scale of the 'Thesaurian' associations.

16 στρατάρχῳ: elsewhere Ion had been perhaps a king cp. Pausan. 7. 1. 5 ἐπὶ τῇ Ἰωνίᾳ βασιλεύει καὶ, though H. d. does not express it, say so in 7. 14. The 'Aristotelian' theory traced the origin of the πολέμαρχία, as distinct from the βασιλεία, to the appointment of Ion διπύρῃ δι' ἐπικρασίῃ πολέμαρχία, διὰ τὸ γενέσθαι τινὸς τῶν βασιλέων τὰ πολέμαρχα βασιλείᾳ, ὅθεν καὶ τὸν Ἴωνα ἀπεπεμφέναι χρειαυ βασιλεύουσι, *Att. Pol.* c. 3. 'The need was the war with Kamolpe of Klousia.) Something very like this theory, *Ionian* story, is already implied in H. d. Strabo 383 possibly preserves the 'Aristotelian' text: ἢ Ἴων δὲ τοῖς μετ' Εὐκλῆτον ἐκείνῳ θάρσας οὐτως ἐπιδόκμησεν ὥστε ἐπύρηναι αὐτῷ τὴν πολίτειαν, ο ἢ πρῶτον μὲν εἰς γέφυρας φύλας διέλετο τὸ πλῆθος εἰς αἰ γέφυρας βίον· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ γεωργίαι ἀπέδοξε τοῖς δὲ δημιουργοῖς τοῖς δὲ ἱεροποιῶσι γειῶνται δὲ τοῖς φύλασιν τοιαῦτα δὲ πλείω διατάξας τὴν χώραν δυνάμενος αὐτοῦ καταλίπειν. This looks like the earliest μεταρρασίη τῶν ἀρχῶν, the *εὐαγγελισαί* Ἴωνος ἐπὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ συντακ-

σάντων (cf. *συνοικησάντων* Blau). τότε γὰρ πρῶτον εἰς τὰς γέφυρας ἐννεαμελήσαν φύλας, καὶ τοὺς φύλασιν ἀσθεῖας κατεστήσαν, ο 41 2. Ion, on that showing, is warlord and legislator, though not strictly 'king'. This fits *βίον* cp. Strabo, etc., of course, a rationalization of the tribal nature, as in 5. 36 *εὐρύς*, cp. notes ad 1 c. The tomb of Ion was to be seen, in Pausanias' time, at Potamo, Pausan. 1. 31. 3 α β στρατάρχῳ, 7. 1. 5

45. 1 Μεγαρέες, like the Korinthians, add nothing to their Atticistion count (cp. 20), and the same formula is applied; cp. c. 43 *εὐρύς*. That they were Dorian 'goes without saying'; unless, indeed, the concluding words of the chapter be taken to cover the case of Megara and to make it a Korinthian colony. This view would scarcely agree with 5. 76 *εὐρύς*, where the Dorian settlement of Megara is expressly recorded (cp. *Busc.* 2. 6 (1893) 221, who omits any reference to this passage, rightly enough). The later tradition that the Korinthians were especially concerned in the Lorian of Megara hardly agrees, as *Busc.* points out, with the silence of *Strabo* (10 to the Korinthians cp. Thuc.), or with the fact of Hera Akoma, in Megara and in Byzantium, its colony.

2 Ἀμπρακίῳται, for the geographical position of Ambrakia cp. c. 47 *infra*. *Ambrakia* is the older form of the name: cp. Oberhammer, *Ambrakia*, 25, etc. Their containing of 7 is a clear addition to the Atticistion list. *Ambrakia* is expressly designated as a colony from Korinth by Thuc. 2. 80. 3, and was probably a royal colony. For the coinage cp. B. Head, *Hesperia Numismata* 259 — none of the many extant varieties (all of Korinthian type) going back before the fourth century. The Ambrakiotai probably came to Pagon and Salamis out of Ionia to Korinth and at her summons ἐπεβωθήσαν.

3 Λευκάδιοι: for the geographical

Κορίνθου. ἡσιωνίων δὲ Αἰγινῆται τριήκοντα παρείχοντο. 46 ἦσαν μὲν σφί καὶ ἄλλαι πεπληρωμέναι νῆες, ἀλλὰ τῇσι μὲν τὴν ἐνωτῶν Ἰφιδασσίου, τριήκοντα δὲ τῇσι ἄριστα πλεούσῃσι ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ἐναυμύχσαν. Αἰγινῆται δὲ εἰς Δωριεὺς ἀπο

46 2 ἦσαν εἰ μὲν νυν B || ἄλλαι <ε' = δίκαι> Cobet ἄλλαι <δουκαὶ δαα> van H. || ἡσιων B: νῆες δυοκαίδεκα I Stein 3 πλεούσῃσι (-in V) B. πλεούσῃσι Palm, van H.

position of Loukas ep. a. 47 (infra). The Lokian contingent of 3 is a clear addition to the navy-list. Loukas was a Korinthian colony (Thuc. 1. 30. 3) and like Ambrakia a royal colony. Its name, of the Korinthian type and origin, reaches back into the fifth century B.C. Head p. 279.

οἶτος. It is not quite clear whether Hist. means this word, and the statement which follows, to apply to the Lokians only, or to Ambrakiotas and Lokadaians, or to Megarians, Ambrakiotas, and Lokadaians, all three. *ἡσιων* seems to apply to the Lokadaians alone. Historically it would be equally true of the Ambrakiotas. Its application to the Megarians would be at least highly improbable in a historic sense; see above.

46 1 ἡσιωνίων the third geographical division, without the article ep. 7 50. There follow the names and numbers of ten contingents, from eight islands, Aegina, Euboea, Keos, Naxos, Kythira, Samothra, Siphnos, Melos, three separate contingents being drawn from Euboea. It is not clear on what principle the order is determined.

Αἰγινῆται, as furnishing the largest contingent, perhaps as having suffered most from the disaster, and as Ionia were the first point. The contingent of 30 sent to assist for Salamis exceeds the Athenian contingent by 12, whether it includes the ships present at Artemision or not is not made clear. The statement is that the 30 ships at Salamis did not include all the Aeginetan ships actually in commission (πεπληρωμένοι, the adjective in this case being the *Atticist*, ep. a. 42 supra). The 30 ships may have comprised all, or some, of the Athenian contingent of 18, which after the engagement off Euboea, might no longer be reckoned to τῇσι ἀρίστοις νηυσίν. So the total of the Aeginetan vessels in commission might be raised

to 48, and yet fall short of the fleet with which they had fought Athens between 487-482 B.C., ep. 6, 52, 93 (which can hardly have numbered less than 50). There is something amiss with the numbering of the Aeginetan fleet. Below, a. 48, Hist. gives the total figure for the fleet at Salamis as 428, while his items only supply a total 366. Are the missing 12 to be added to the 30 Aeginetans so as to bring the actual contingent present at Salamis to 42? If so, how did the figure 30 arise? Or are the 12 to be treated here as the figure for the ἄλλαι (p. 49p. Crit.)? But, if so, they should not be reckoned in the Salamis total infra, for they were not at Salamis; moreover, Pausanias 2. 20. 5, rightly or wrongly, makes the Aeginetans second only to the Athenians in the number of their fleet (ἐν τῷ Μηδικῷ πολέμῳ παρωχέοντες πλοῖα μὲν γε Ἀθηναίων πλεονα, yet the figure above given for the Korinthian squadron was 46. The figures 13, 14, 12 all come into the reckoning, and all stand in a definite relation to one another. Had the Aeginetan fleet in 480 B.C. numbered less than 60 vessels, of which 12 were present at the battle of Salamis, only 30 being reckoned (or) ἀρίστα πλεούσῃσι, with with 18—possibly those previously at Artemision—τῇσι ἐνωτῶν ἐφιδασσίου—they were on guard all Aegina!

4. ἐπὶ Δωριεὺς and Ἐπιδαύρων at the time when Hist. wrote these words surely the Aeginetans were still in their own island home, and not outcasts in Kythira, Thuc. 2. 27 (much less victims of extreme Athenian vengeance, Thuc. 4. 57); in other words, this passage is of older composition than 6. 91 supra. Cf. introduction §§ 7, 8. The note on the origin of the Aeginetans—Dorianas from Epidaurion—also seems written quite independently of the story in 3. 83, where the early dependence of Aegina

οὐδὲ Κῆροι τὰς αὐτὰς παρεχόμενοι, ἔθνος ἐόν Ἴωνικὸν ἀπὸ Ἀθηναίων. Νῆξιοι δὲ παρείχοντο τέσσαρας, ἀποπεμφθέντες μὲν ἐς τοὺς Μῆδους ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν κατὰ περ οἱ ἄλλοι ἵο υῃσιῶται, ἀλογήσαντες δὲ τῶν ἐντολῶν ἀπύκτο ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας Δημοκρίτου σπύσαντος, ἀνδρὸς τῶν ὑπὸ τῶν δοκίμου

9 κείτοι σφ. Palm, van H. κείτοι B. ἔδν σπ. B. ὁ ἀθηναίων BB, Siem. 10 ἄλλοι B. ἄλλοι Schaefer, Gaisford, Hölter, van H. 11 ἀπύκτο B. 12 πλείοντος B.

A Kῆροι supply 'the same' ships as at Athenion, 2:11; but their Athenian Ionian origin is expressly asserted. The island of Keos is nowhere mentioned; some have by Hdt. 1.78 inferred, not does it appear that he ever landed on it, but he had doubtless seen the *Ἰωνες Ἀθηναίων* at Delos, 4.35 supra, and he was acquainted with the works of the greatest of all Keians, Democritus, 1.7. 2nd supra. Athens claimed 'metropolitan' recognition, of course, from the Ionians of the Keos group as from the Ionians of Asia—cp. 6.59, 1.147.

2 Nῆξιοι: the first Naxian Athenians are given gain, 11:10; the inference is clearly to the very first on board, who had been separated by the Athenians from the enemy, those of the island who had taken the law into their own hands and joined the Greek side. It is a modest action of the Naxians themselves, modestly intended, the action of the Naxians separated by the Athenians to come under Kameiros in 1.78, 3.45, and anticipates in a small way the separate action of the Athenian fleet at Salamis in 412 B.C. The year is 493 B.C., not to say that of the Ionians at Byzantium in 477 B.C. There is no further hint 23. One might suspect that the Naxian fleet on the coast was more 'metropolitan,' more Attic, than at Salamis, but we know better.

13 ἐς τοὺς Μῆδους: not here, as before, a geographical phrase. The expression of Mēdes for Persians is not common in these books, and perhaps belongs to the poet.

κατὰ περ οἱ ἄλλοι υῃσιῶται: in the Aegean, who, with the exception of Miletus, Samos, Melos, and others, were not given water and wine to 'the Persian' (cp. 6.60 supra).

1 ἀνδρὸς a pluperfect, with τοῦ ἀποπεμφθέντος, referring to

a past not rather than to a present event; so, the force of the form is different from the construction with the auxiliary verb, as in ἔσαν τελεσθεῖσθαι cp. 1.2 above.

15. Δημοκρίτων. Hist. may owe the name of Democritus a popular name to an epigram of Simonides, recognized as authentic by M. Haupt, *de poetica vita des Karyotimus de Simoni* (1896) p. 53.

Δημοκρίτος τρίτος ἦν μάλιστα δὴ πᾶρ Σαλαμῶν.

Ἐλλήνες Μῆδοι σφαλαροὶ ἐν πελάγει· εἴνε δὲ νῆας Περσίων, ἑταίρη δ' ἐπὶ χερσὶ μισατο βαρβαρικὴ Δαρδὶδ' εὐσεβέστερη,

preserved by Plutarch, *de nob. Hell.* 36. The epigram is presumably ascribed to one only of the four *ἐταίρη*. His position was, not he associated with his being a democrat. It is remarkable that Hdt. does not supply his father's name, nor does the epigram. There is no other inscription intended between τῶν Ἀσίων and τῶν πολιτῶν, just above.

On the Athenian origin of the Ionian Naxians cp. 1.8 above. Naxos was not the most important island than Keos and had been held to Athenian interests in the days of Pericles (1.64). Its rivalry with Miletus at the end of the sixth cent., and partly even within the sixth itself, had an influence on the conflict between the Ionians and Persia in which Athens had become involved (1.78, 3), and though Naxos had escaped the last assault upon its shores from the Asiatic side (3.33), it had associated with the Persians, and a few Athenians (3.72) in 493 B.C. For the decade previous to Salamis its history is a blank, but evidently Naxos had resigned neither its ambitions nor its party feuds.

καὶ τότε τριηραρχέοντας. Νάβιοι δὲ εἰσὶ Ἴωνες ἀπὸ Ἀθηναίων
 γεγονότες. Στυρίες δὲ τὰς αὐτὰς παρείχοντο νέας τὰς περ
 15 ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ. Κύνιοι δὲ μίαν καὶ πεντηκοντερον, ὄντες
 συναμφότεροι οὗτοι Δρύοπες. καὶ Σερῖφιοι δὲ καὶ Σίφιοι
 καὶ Μήλιοι ἐστρατεύοντο· οὗτοι γὰρ οὐκ ἔδοσαν μόνον
 47 νησιωτικῶν τῷ βαρβάρῳ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ. οὗτοι μὲν ἅπαντες
 ἐντὸς οἰκημένοι Θεσπρωτῶν καὶ Ἀχέρωντος ποταμοῦ ἐστρα-
 τεύοντο· Θεσπρωτοὶ γὰρ εἰσὶ ὁμοιόεντες Ἀμπρακίωτῃσι καὶ

13 ἀπ' B. Holler, van H.

τὰς περ. τὰς καὶ B. Holler

κύνιον BC. Murr.

Μηνί? || σ φινί τε B

οἱ ὁμοιόεντες B:

14 γεγονότες excl. Kallenberg || νέας B ||

16 Κύνιον Wessling. κύνιοι AB.

16 δι Stein². τε πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ Σερῖφιν?

47 1 πantes B

3 γὰρ εἰσι Stein¹ ||

14. Στυρίες. Styra, in Euboea, sends the same ships as to Artemision, two in number. The Styrians are 'Dryopians'; cp. c. 43 *infra*.

15. Κύνιοι. Kythnos, a small island due south of Knos, had been since previous at Artemision, its modest contingent, one trireme and one 'pentekonter,' is hardly equivalent to its later, and apparently fixed, tribute to Athens of 8 talents, an amount implied by the tags of 425 B.C.

16. συναμφότεροι clearly obtrus.

Σερῖφιοι. Seriphos, due south of Kythnos, appears for the first time, and with but one pentekonter; c. 48 *infra*. It paid Athens afterwards 2-1 talents tribute—the figure for 425 B.C. unfortunately irretrievable. Athens counts as its metropolis, δθ.

Σίφιοι. Siphnos, SE of Seriphos, was a well-to-do island (cp. 3, 5, 6, 7), and afterwards paid 3 talents' tribute to Athens, a sum trebled by the tags of 425 B.C. Yet it likewise contributed but one pentekonter to the fleet, c. 48 *infra*. The population is indistinguishable from that of Seriphos, δθ.

1. Μήλιοι. Melos, SW of Siphnos, a larger island, and still better known to fame, but not properly belonging to the Hekades cp. c. 48 *infra*, furnished two pentekonters, c. 48 *infra*. In 425 B.C. the Athenians reconquered Melos at 15 talents and *ἐπέσχεσαν* Hekades *Manual*,² No. 64. But this was probably a mere excuse for the conquest and destruction of the island, which was accomplished in 416 B.C. Thuc. i. 6. 4-116 unless, indeed, it was meant to recruit the Athenians for the failure

of the previous expedition in the year before the tags, Thuc. 3. 91). The days of greatest wealth for Melos were in that primitive period when its bees of obsidian supplied one of the most valuable staples of the bronze age cp. *Annual of the School at Athens*, Nov. III, IV, v. 1, but the fame of the island in modern times is more intimately associated with the marble now standing in the Louvre and known as the 'Venus of Milo.'

ὁμοί. there is again, and for the third time in the list, some ambiguity in the extension of this term, but it may be restricted to Melos.

47. 1. ἅπτες, 'part of this side': a natural phrase to Hdt. and his eastern sources, but not one that he would have used in the context, while resident in Italy, or even after familiarly with the further west. *Pro tanto* too phrase makes for the early composition of these books; cp. introduction, §§ 7, 8.

3. Θεσπρωτῶν καὶ Ἀχέρωντος ποταμοῦ: the same conjunction in 5. 82 ἐς Θεσπρωτὶν ἐπ' Ἀχέρωντα ποταμῶν, the coat of a *πεσπορτίων*. Θεσπρωτία is given above, 7. 173, as the original home of the Thessians, and still more precisely in 2. 56 as in the neighbourhood of the source of Dodona. The position of Acheron and Therapsotia was, I more clearly marked by Thucydides, I. 16. 8 *ἵσταντο δὲ πρὸς τὴν γῆν τὴν κατὰ Κεραιῶν ἡπειρὴν ἀπὸ Λεοναδῶν πλεόντες, ἀμφιστάται δὲ Σαλαμῶν τῇ Θεσπρωτίδι γῇ ἐπὶ δὲ Λακκῇ, καὶ πολλοὶ ἐπὶ αὐτῶν αἰεταὶ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐκ τῇ Ἰωνίᾳ εἰς τὴν Θεσπρωτίδα ἐκρίβη, ἐκ τῆς δὲ παρ' αὐτῆς Ἀχέρωνος ἕως ἐς θαλάσσαν· διὰ δὲ τῆς ἰσχυρῆς δὲ Ἀχέρων ποταμοῦ μὲν ἐπὶ ἑλλὰς ἐς*

Λευκαδιοῖσι, οἱ ἐξ ἐσχατέων χωρέων ἐστρατεύοντο τῶν δὲ
ἐκτὸς τούτων οἰκημένων Κροτωνιῆται μόνου ἦσαν αἱ ἐβοήθησαν
τῇ Ἑλλάδι κινδυνεύουσῃ μὴ νῆι. τῆς ἡρχῆς ἀνὴρ τρις πυθιο-
νίκης Φύλλος. Κροτωνιῆται δὲ γένος εἰσὶ Ἀχαιοί. οἱ μὲν 48

4 οἱ οὐκ 8 δ' α 5 οἱ ἐβώθησαν B, van H.: αἱ ἐβήθησαν V:
οἱ βοήθησαντες α 0 νηὶ μὲν 6Pz, Holder, van H. | πυθίωνικος B
πυθίωνικος H ap. Stein² 7 φύλλος S Valla Φυῖλος Eustath.
Dind. 339 48. I μὲν νυν B: μὲν cum νυν euphorer. A. μὲν B

αὐτοῖς, ἀπ' οἷ καὶ τῆς ἐπισημίας ἔχει
με δὲ οὐκ ὅπως ποταμοῖς, ὁρίων τῆς
ἐστρατείας καὶ ἐστρατείας, ὡς ἐνδεῖ ἡ
ἀρετὴ ἀσχετὸ τὸ Σιταῖον, where, by the
way, ἐπισημίας. Cp. Thuc. 1. 93.
3 ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔσχατος, ὡς τὸ Σιταῖον τῆς ἐστρατείας
εἶδος καὶ τῆς ἐστρατείας

Here a description of Theoprotis as
terminating on Leucas and Aulakia is
not very precise, and leaves the relative
positions of the two great Korinthian
columns in doubt. Here again Theoprotis
comes under more accurate
description, both in reality and incidentally,
viz. the position of Leukas to
Lephalenia and its position in Akarnania,
2. 304-2, and narrative position,
the city of Amphitakia, on the Amphitakian
gulf, 1. 29-3, and the chorography
presented in the account of the campaign
against Achaia Amphilocheia, 2. 68-114,
passim.

That a reference here does not suggest
anxiety or any personal acquaintance
with the region. If he ever landed
in these parts (as e.g. for a visit to
Ithaca) it was after this passage had
been written, and the passage has now
all improved: fresh evidence of the
relative early date of the composition
of this part of the work.

Achaia must have been notorious
as the principal stream of Theoprotis,
though by no means so considerable a
stream as the Arachthos, on which
Amphitakia was situate. What its relation,
if any, to the subterranean stream of
Hellas, cf. 10. 513, is an obscure
question, but there was undoubtedly
in the neighborhood, see above.

5. Κροτωνιῆται. This passage on
Kroton looks as though it might be an
insertion (cp. Introduction, § 5): the
two streams from Italy does not affect
the total, which is in any case out of
gear. The addition of any one, after
summing three αἱ ἐσχατέων χωρέων, is
rather clumsy. The absence of any

reference in Bk. 7 to an invitation to
Kroton further isolates this note. The
Krotonate name has not figure on the
τρισσῶντες δόξα. On the other hand, the
notice of I have on τῆς πυθίωνικης makes
it more likely that the source of the
Krotonate stream at Salamis was
definitely commemorated in the east, or
the mother-lair, and the passage
presently quoted from I have no makes
this conclusion binding. The sources
have extended not merely all other
Ita river and Salamis, but the Korky-
rains (cp. 1. 108).

7. Φύλλος Phyllon of Kroton was
celebrated throughout Hellas for his
three victories at Pytho, two in the
Pentathlon, one in the footrace alone.
The inference that all three Pythian
victories were won previously to his
service at Salamis is not binding. It is
enough that they were all won at
Pytho in Hellenism. Φύλλος, αἱ δὲ Κροτωνιῆται—
ὅπως αἱ μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῶν νῆες,
καὶ δὲ Πυθίᾳ πεντάθλου δύο ἀνέλετο καὶ
στάδιον τῆς τρίτης ἐκινῆσθαι δὲ καὶ
ἐκείνῃ τοῖς Μήδων ποτὶ τὸν ὑπερμαχόμενον
ὀφείλει, καὶ Κροτωνιῶν δὲ ὅσοις
ἐπέδραον ἐν Ἑλλάδι ἀνέμεινον τοῦτον
ἐπὶν ἀρχαίᾳ ἐν Ἀχαιοῖς Pausan. 10. 9. 2.
The inscription on the statue is
ultimately at least the source of this
notice in Bk. 4. A Phyllon is mentioned
by Aristophanes, *Solern.* 215. *Wasps* 1208,
as a proverbially good runner; the
scholiast calls him an Ὀλυμπιονίκης—
which, if correct, would seem a confirmation
with the fact. I am in question, for
not only does Pausanias expressly guard
against it, but Phyllon of Kroton was
more distinguished as a 'pentathlete,'
and most distinguished for his service at
Salamis. The name, a diminutive of
φυλῶν, is not uncommon; the most
celebrated bearer was uncrowned by the
brother of Othmanches, the Persian,
who persecuted Delphi Pausan. 10. 2. 8
etc. The passage in Pausanias quoted

νυν ἄλλοι τριήρας παρεχόμενοι ἐστρατεύοντο, Μῆλιοι δὲ καὶ Σίφισιοι καὶ Σαρίφιοι πεντηκοντέρους· Μῆλιοι μὲν γένος ἔντες

2 παρέχοντες 6 ('perpetrator' van H.)

3 ἔντες 6 γηγόνες α

above suggests to Hakesley that Phaylos and his comrades were exiles, and that his participation in the battle of Salamis was a purely private affair. Had the Krotonates by any chance come to try his fortunes at the 75th Olympiad?

Κροτωνίτης δὲ γένος ἄλλο.
To Hdt. the post-Dorian population of the Peloponnese was mainly or largely 'Achaean' (cp. 5. 74) a theory no doubt in part based upon the Homeric poems. The Achaeans of Homeric Achaia had apparently concentrated in what was previously an Ionian province on the north coast, and expelled the Ionians, v. 1. 115. From that Peloponnesian Achaia, Achaeans had apparently subsequently migrated to southern Italy, and made of it a great or greater Achaia. In the Greeks of the fifth century the Achaeans were undoubtedly the most genuine Hellenes at least of earlier or pre-Lexion days, and the pre-Dorian culture, the culture of the Homeric poems, of the home age, was their eyes as Achaeans of life. The Achaeans were in fact actually attached to the soil of historic Hellas in two places, south Thessaly and north Peloponnese, and Achaeans are with certainty to be found in Krete, in south Italy as far even as far as Kypros. Now that could be, if the Achaeans were not Greeks at all, but 'a small, Ionic tribe (Rudgowsky, *Early Age of Greece* i. 1901 merged and lost to the Hellenic race, in an opinion Prof. Durr was in the *History* I have appears somewhat to minimize the importance of the Achaeans, and even of the Homans, in Hellenic culture, nevertheless proved to me that the virtual identity of Hellenes and Achaeans originally, and explained thereby the strange sign of the designation of 'Great Greece' or the south of Italy, which could only have been so called in distinction to the lesser Hellas from which the Achaeans exerts had come — a more distinct of P. equidistant, or it may be of Italy only (cp. *J. H. S.* iv. 1902 235 f.

40. 2. τριήρας . . πεντηκοντέρους. The 'pentekontar' was a war galley, no doubt open throughout with 50 oars (25 each side), and probably not

less than 100 feet long (120 feet; cp. Torr, *Ancient Ships*, p. 21). Its construction is traced to the beginning of the seventh century if Thuc. 1. 13 is to be trusted (see C. Torr, *op. cit.*, p. 4 the Phoenicians, however, in the *Odyssey* 8. 34 ff.) had such a vessel. It was in pentekontar, according to Hdt. 1. 163, that the Phoenicians made their long voyages in the west, and that the Phoenicians used to Libya to found Kyrene in 630 B.C., and a pentekontar, according to Thuc. 1. 18. 6, the Phoenicians defeated the Carthaginians off Sicily in about 600 B.C. Even the Athenian and Aeginetan navies at the beginning of the fifth century were mainly composed of pentekontar according to Thuc. 1. 14. 3, and he even records that most of the vessels in which the Athenians fought at Salamis were not fully decked, i.e., a statement which all accords with the large number of *Myndas* carried. He does not, however, expressly deny that they were triremes.

Triremes were the ship in 480 B.C., according to Hdt. in this passage. He somewhat reckons 200 met. as the crew, or complement of rowers (cp. 7. 184 *supra*). (The actual number of oars used on the three banks of an Attic trireme was 170 to 174 cp. Torr *op. cit.* p. 22 and there might be easily in reserve, or amendment, for the purpose a location of the oars cp. *op. cit.* The trireme was something less than 150 feet long and less than 20 feet broad cp. Torr p. 22 *supra* on a which may not be quite precise for 480 B.C. Cp. also M. A. Cantaut *La terre Athénienne* 184, J. Kieckhef, *Antiquities of Greece*, 1849.

3 Μῆλιοι . . γένος ἔντες ἀπὸ Ἀνακ. δαίμονος. Hdt. says the Melians were from Lakadamon. He does not expressly say that they were Dorian. Thuc. 5. 84, 2. 69, 106, fully recognizes them as Lakadamonians *δωρικά* and seems to give 1116 B.C. as an approximate date for the colonization (n. c. 312 (416+700)). J. Kieckhef, *op. cit.* p. 22, the parallel case of Thuc. Hdt. 2. 148, the genuine 'Dorian' element in the colonization will have been very small; yet, even Thera, Melos used a 'Dorian' alphabet and dialect (cp.

ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμόνος δύο παρείχοντο, Σίφνιοι δὲ καὶ Σερφίοι
 Ἴωνες δόντες ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων μίαν ἐκάτεροι. ἀριθμὸς δὲ ἐγένετο
 ὁ πᾶς τῶν νεῶν, παρέξ τῶν πεντηκοντέρων, τριηκόσιοι καὶ
 ἑξομηκοντα καὶ ὀκτώ.

Ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα συνήλθον οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀπὸ 49

5 Ἀθηναίων Σίφνιοι 2 Ἀθηναίων 6 ἡνῶν B || ὀκτὼ καὶ ἑξομηκοντα
 πεντηκοντα V καὶ τριηκόσιοι B, Holder, van H. 49. 1 στρατηγοὶ
 - οὐκ εἰναι H

Εὐκλείης, *Greek Biography* §§ 19-23., a
 fact which in itself would favour the
 'Λακωνιστικὴν' view.

δ. *παρεξ τῶν πεντηκοντέρων*, of which
 there were at least seven: two from
 Meos, two from Melos, and one each
 from Epidauria, Siphnia, and Serphnia.

τριηκόσιοι καὶ ἑξομηκοντα καὶ
 ὀκτώ. This too, is repeated virtually
 and raised to 380 by the addition of the
 Tenes vessel which joined at Salamis,
 and the Lemnos vessels which had joined
 at Artemision, a 81 *μύρα*, the total
 here a third increase. Yet it exceeds
 the items which amount only to 386.
 by 12. There is therefore something
 wrong with the total. Valckenaar
 would have read 42 for the Artemision
 c. 41 vessels. This agrees with the state-
 ment of Pausanias that next to the
 Athenians the Argonians supplied most
 ships. The reputation of the *τρικοντα*
 need not bar this conclusion if the
 figure was once corrected it would be
 justified in the other case in the light
 of the other text. Moreover this better
 conclusion is preferable to the insertion
 of 12 for the *ἀδριακῆς*, but because
 the text is not a list of all the ships in
 commission, but only of those which
 fought at Salamis; secondly because 42
 is rather a low figure for the complete
 arm of the Argonians navy, and
 when 42 were at Salamis, and 19 in
 service at home we get a total of 61
 ships in commission which is a more
 probable figure for Argives at this time.
 If the Argonians 39 were to be taken
 into the list we should have to
 take out one or more of the other items.
 H. O. Meyer, *Antiquities* p. 124, sug-
 gested reading Σαλαμῖνος δὲ πεντηκοντα
 παρὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, i.e. 12 + 5, raising
 the Salamis contingent from 12
 Athenians, to 27 which is less im-
 probable than the other two compromise
 to raise Tenes from 5 to 7, and the
 Argonians from 36 to 40.

Hdt. evidently finds it necessary to
 account for the smallness of the Argonian
 contingent by the remark that it was
 by no means all the ships they had in
 commission; but Huxford, in sur-
 pressing that they had 40 on guard off
 their own island, while maintaining 30
 at Salamis, seems to go too far, the
 majority of the Argonian navy, like
 that of every other Greek state, was at
 Salamis. The variant 368 is quite
 worthless; cp. App. Crit.

With Hdt. a total of 378 (or 380) for
 the Greek navy at Salamis is to be
 compared *Ass. naves* 300 *pers.* 330.
Thucydides 460 1. 74. 1, *Lincolnton*
 300 *de cor.* 238. If *Lincolnton* did
 not find this figure in his copy of
 Thucydides Stahl, "realis. uet. uet. uet."
 him, "Hade the two historians virtually
 agree as against the poet and the orator,
 Ktesias (ed. *Colman* § 87, from the
 Persian point of view, makes it 700 of
 which apparently only 110 are Athenian.
Tzetzes 271 and *Lucian*, 1453 surely
 only a confusion with the number given
 by Hdt. for Artemision.

The passage repeated in *Salamin*
ἐναυμάχουσαν suggests that the list is
 compiled not from documents drawn up
 for working purposes beforehand, but
 from memorial lists and commemorative
 offerings—an inference further supported
 by the mention of Demokritos and
 Phayllus.

εἰς 1. ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα perhaps the
ἡνῶν, cp. c. 42 *μύρα*.

οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀπὸ 7 εἰς πολλῶν.
 including Kroton, 21 *πόλεις* have been
 named in the navy list. It is hardly
 conceivable that Phayllus, or even
 Demokritos, was admitted on equal
 terms to the *Sanhedrim* with the general
 or generals from Athens and Corinth,
 to say nothing of Sparta. Probably the
 six Peloponnesian cities were each re-
 presented by a statesman, Karykades for
 Sparta, Ademaros for Corinth, the

τῶν εἰρημενίων πολίων, ἐβουλεύοντο, προθέντος Εὐριβιάδεω
γνωμὴν ἀποφαίνεσθαι τὸν βουλομενον, ὅκου δοκέει ἐπιτη-
δεύτατον εἶναι ναυμαχίην ποιεῖσθαι τῶν αὐτοῖ χωρέων ἐγκρατέες
5 εἰσί· ἡ γὰρ Ἀττικὴ ἀπέιτο ἤδη, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν πέρι
πρᾶξιθεε. αἱ γνώμαι δὲ τῶν λεγόντων αἱ πλείους συνεξ-

2 εἰρημενίων Stein: εἰρημένων 3 ἐπιτηδεύτατον Clab || ποιή-
σεσθαι B (Stein) SV Gaisf) || χώρων δ. χωρίων π 5 ἀφείτο δ:
ἀφείτα. Ps || λοιπῶν B || πῆρι σπ. B

others are anonymous. The Athenians, Argives, and Megarians may have each been represented by one and only one voice. Amphicles and Loukas probably were represented by Korinth, the position of Chalkis, Eretria, and the rest is obscure. The Council may not have comprised more than 9 or 12 persons. In the sequel the only *dramatis personae* are Eurybiades, Adimantus, Themistokles, the rest are mutæ—unless we add Mnesippos and Aristoteles. Themistokles should perhaps be regarded as protagonist; but, council or no council, it is evident that Eurybiades, in virtue of the Spartan *hormotai* and his own *Antei* *dux*, could do as he pleased, if he puts the question to the vote, it is more y for his own guidance; the result is not obligatory. The first council at Salamis may be taken to begin here but the passages which follow are not sharply separated, but are in the nature of flowing series.

3. *ὅκου δοκέει πλ.* the question laid before the council of war is limited to the selection of a battle-ground; 'the previous question,' whether to fight a sea-battle at all or not, is treated as closed and determined. It is, however, assumed that the fleet must rest upon a friendly shore, and have a harbour to retire on. *τῶν* is relative, but *χωρίων* is genitive, not by inverse attraction, but a regular construction with *δοκεῖ*, though it seems to come in rather awkwardly.

5 *ἡ γὰρ Ἀττικὴ ἀπέιτο ἤδη*: this statement which may be conceived as Herodotus's own, or as proceeding from Eurymachos upon the occasion, was not strictly true, so long at least as the Akropolis was still held by Athenians. The abandonment of the Acropolis in the story which presently follows has perhaps enacted judiciously upon the account of the deliberations

at Salamis. The plural force of *ἀπέιτο* is not illustrated by ἤδη. The phrase shows anyway that Salamis was no part of Attica.

τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν: was there any other conceivable alternative but Salamis or the Isthmus?

6. *αἱ γνώμαι δὲ τῶν λεγόντων*: the opinions of the speakers—not the votes of those present—and, moreover, but a majority of them. There was a majority argument, but it is not given here by Herodotus. He reserves it to be produced on a later occasion. Evidently Themistokles, backed by the Megarians and Argives must really at this stage have used those arguments in favour of remaining and doing battle at Salamis, which are put into his mouth by Herodotus at a later stage—always supposing that the question of remaining and fighting at Salamis was still, or ever, an open one.

συνέκλιπον, 'were falling out together' so, ἀλλήλας τοὺς ὄντας τένδοντες to agree, "de contentiis in unum convellentibus." Huxley, who perhaps rightly in this place derives the metaphor from casting of lots. Yet the sense might equally well (especially in view of the tenses) be, 'were tending to fall apart, work out to two sets of claims.' As the strategoi who spoke did not all speak together the temporary and result was cumulative and not instantaneous. *συνέκλιπον* is, however, used in 5. 22 of an occurrence which was single and instantaneous (though it has then nothing to say either to 'acts' or 'opinions'). In c. 123 *ἐνταῦθα* the word is not simply used 'agreed.' An exact parallel to the present passage is found in 1. 206.

The construction of *πλάσαντες* is *κατὰ σύνθεσιν*, as though of *πλάσσειν* τῶν λεγόντων had preceded.

- 5 Ξέρξη, ἐμπρήσας Θεσπίεων τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν ἐκλελοιπότεων ἐς Πελοπόννησον, καὶ τὴν Πλαταιέων ὡσαύτως, ἦκε τε ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ πάντα ἐκείνα ἐδήλου. ἐνέκρησε δὲ Θεσπεῖαν τε
51 καὶ Πλαταιαν πυθόμενος Θηβαίων ὅτι οὐκ ἐμνηδίζον. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς διαβάσιος τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου, ἐνθεν πορεύεσθαι ἤρξαντο οἱ Βάρβαροι, ἕνα αὐτοῦ διατρίψαντες μῆνα ἐν τῷ διέβαινον ἐς τὴν Εἰρήνην, ἐν τρισὶ ἐτέροισι μῆσι ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ.

6 αὐτῶν: ἐκ τῶν B; αἰτέων: B τῆς τῶν B: ἀπ τῆς τῶν!
7 ἰδίου B: ἰδίου: || δι' ἐτ' τε σμ B: θέπων B: Οὐκείαν: 51. 3
μῆνα σμ. B (Holder): μῆτα διατρίψαντες S (Jais!) 4 μῆνασι B
(*iniuria probatus Schaefero et Gaisfordio* van H.)

in time to take part in the fighting to Peloponnesus; cp. p. 44 *supra*.

If it, evidently thinks that the whole land forces of Xerxes entered Attica by one and the same road, cp. p. 118 *infra*. This supposition is absurd. From Thebes into Attica three routes would have been available. I. Right, or west, by Eleuthera; Plotsia (furnishing a force against Plataea); probably the best and easiest route then as now. II. Central, by Panakton (by the Scharon); the most direct, and also the most difficult. III. Left, or east, by Panagari and Dekelion (cp. p. 15 *infra*), a considerable stream, but a good and much frequented road. Probably the Persians went all three, both going and coming; doubtless also a considerable force was left behind in Korinth, and garrisons all along the king's route to the rear. The singular *Θέσπεια*, *Πλάτεια* are unique in Hdt.

51. 1. *ἀπὸ*: temporal; cp. on 54, 55 *infra*.

2. *τῆς διαβάσιος τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου*: cp. 7. 35 *supra*. The Hellespont is here, curiously enough, treated as the starting point of the march *ἐνθεν πορεύεσθαι ἤρξαντο οἱ Βάρβαροι*. In Bk. 7 the passage of the Hellespont is a mere episode on the march from Sardes in 480 B.C., and the start is made from Sardes with great pomp and circumstance 7. 37-40. Again, in Bk. 7. 50 the passage of the Hellespont occupies seven days and seven nights, just a week of our reckoning; here, a month is spent in passing the Hellespont (*ἕνα αὐτοῦ διατρίψαντες μῆνα ἐν τῷ διέβαινον ἐς τὴν Εἰρήνην*). It might be possible to 'harmonize' the two statements by supposing that the month covers all the time spent on the Hellespont; but such

a harmony is not convincing. The month might as well cover all the period from the start at Sardes and in any case the discrepancy remains, and suggests a difference of source. The passages in Bk. 7 are probably from Asiatic sources. The passage before us here is hardly less obviously from the European side, and presumably from Attic authority, as the Asiatics suggest. It is important to recognize the inconsistency with which Hdt. writes down in different contexts different data from different sources, without troubling himself to rationalize them (cp. Introduction, § 10). This acceptance of the local source for all it may be worth is of the essence of Hdt.'s method, or method. It is half the secret of his charm, and the chief cause of his value; the unity of his work is a literary, a poetic illusion, not a scientific method.

4. *ἐν τρισὶ ἐτέροισι μῆσι*. The meaning is not so self-evident as might be wished. How are the 'months' computed? Is the calendar? Or purely by the interval between start and arrival? Are we to understand that just ninety days, or rather less, separated Sardes and Athens on the Persian march? Or are the more the three months of the Attic calendar, Skirophorion, Maktoumation, Metageirion, for example? In either case the three months seems an underestimate. The battle of Salamis was fought about the 20th of Boedromion (cp. p. 65 *infra*), and surely within a month of the arrival of the Persians in Athens. The fighting at Artemision, Thermopylai apparently synchronised with the Olympiad (7. 200 *supra*) but cp. p. 26 *supra*; i.e. could not at the earliest have fallen before the Attic new year, which cuts the date for

Καλλιμάχῳ ἀρχόντος Ἀθηναίοισι καὶ αἰρέουσι ἔρημον τὸ
ἄστυ καὶ τινὰς ὀλίγους εὐρίσκουσι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ
εἶντας, ταμίᾱς τε τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ πένητας ἀνθρώπους, οἱ φραξί-

6 ἔρημον CP, van H.

7 ἱεροῦ A, Holder: cf. 55. 8 infra

Salamis and the Archontate. It is to suppose that the battle of Salamis took place only ninety days or so after the passage of the Hellespont signifies extensive activity to the Persian advance. Moreover the start from Sardes will have taken place at latest in early March, and the passage of the Hellespont in Thargelion (see Met.). Taking the months here as Attic months, and reckoning exclusively, it might be correct to say that Xerxes entered Athens three months after leaving the Hellespont, i.e. in the fifth month, reckoning inclusively.

There is an exactly parallel case in Xenophon *Hell.* 1. 4. 22, where Alcibiades is said to have quitted Athens *πρὸς μὲν τὰς τρεῖς ἐκατὼν* (407 B.C.). He had landed on Thargelion 25 i.e. 5.12; he left after Boedromion 20 i.e. 20. This would be at least four months after, or leaving himself room to depart, or in the fifth month, reckoning by Attic months, nominally or after a year three months interval, reckoned exclusively. The word *εἰς* here might favour this last method (but *πρὸς* may be in Xenophon perhaps = *ἐκ*). See further on the subject of Appent's 15 p. 2.

Καλλιμάχῳ ἀρχόντῳ Ἀθηναίοισι, i.e. in the course of the year 450-479 B.C.

τὸ δὲ 1. CP, Clinton, *F. H.* ad vii. But as there were twelve months in the year and consequently (thirteen) this is a usual indication, though highly uncertain or many precedents, 'more or less' to be without it but the day of Xerxes' coming had happened to agree itself with the records. Probably it was a day towards the end of Metrodromion (i.e. August) or beginning of Boedromion (September).

τὸ δὲ στυ, here, at least, must be admitted as contradistinguished from *ἐκ* *ἀσπίδος*, where they do not find fault, as taken without a struggle. Even in Athens they had looked up some authorities if the story in 9. 59 *infra* or time at least, and the war there recorded be not the remnant of the Aeginetian garrison. The day was not

apparently at this time sufficiently walled, or fortified, to enable it to stand a siege, or we may well doubt whether the Athenians would have evacuated Attica. It was, however, a *τοῖς τριεσίοσι*—unless, indeed, that description apply to the Akropolis 7. 130.

6 καὶ τινὰς ὀλίγους εὐρίσκουσι. εἶντας: they discover a fact, perhaps to their astonishment, viz. that some few men of the citizens of Athens are in the Sacred Place—these words introduce an eminently apologetic and hesitating account of the defence and siege of the Akropolis, which was probably a far more serious and formidable undertaking than the story, derived in the light of events, expressly suggests. The men in the Akropolis were perhaps not more so few, as poor, as a poet or a supernaturalist, nor so deplorable as the story assumes and asserts.

ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ, what temple is meant? Was this an old Erechtheion (cp. c. 55 *infra*), or was it the old 'Athenaion' (so to speak) which had been destroyed by Pericles? Did they know anything of there being more than one temple on the Akropolis of Pericles? Or was there, in fact, more than one? Cp. Kurlberg, *Monographien* (M. I.) Appendix pp. 415 ff. E. A. Sauer, *Ancient Athens*, c. iii. pp. 78 f. Backs would take τὸ ἱερὸν here in a wider sense, *de toto loco cum ac praesentibus Minervae consecrato in arte*. But its recurrence just below, and in c. 55, is against him.

7. ταμίᾱς τε . . . καὶ πένητας ἀνθρώπους. *ταμίᾱς* here, like *ἀσπίς* *ἐκ* *ἀσπίδος* *ἐκ* *ἀσπίδος* means, but the *ταμίᾱς* τὸν ἱερὸν, or more correctly *ταμίᾱς τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων* *τῆς Ἀθηνῶν* for it surely must be these officials that are here intended cp. G. G. Abbott, *Inscriptions* 1st 269, would if necessary have been assessed under the highest *εὐνομία*, cp. *Ad.* vol. 1. 3. 8. 1. Their existence is demonstrable and graphed by before the middle of sixth cent., c.f. 1. iv. 3. 273. They were not 'poor,' except as far as the war had ruined them *ἀνθρώπους* too a contemptuous *φραξόμενοι* in a strict middle,

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5 αὐτῶν: ἐκ τῶν B; αὐτῶν: 6 τῇ: τῶν B αὐτὴν τῶν 1
7 ἰδίου B, ἰδίου: de et te om. A θέλειαν B, Θεσπίαν: 51. 3
μῆνα om. B (Holl.) μῆνα διατρήσαντες S (Gaisf.) 4 μηνες B
(in mss. probabatur Schaefero et (insensibilis) van H.)

in time to take part in the fighting to Peloponnesus; cp. c. 44 *supra*.

Hdt. evidently thinks that the whole land force of Xerxes entered Attica by one and the same road, cp. c. 113 *infra*. This supposition is absurd. From Thebes into Attica three routes would have been available. I. Right, or west, by Eleutherae-Eleusis (detaching a force against Plataiai); probably the best and easiest route then as now. II. Central, by Paenaktei Pailei Aonarnai: the most direct, and also the most difficult. III. Left, or east, by Tanagra and Dekelion cp. c. 15 *infra*, a route no longer, but a good and much frequented road. Probably the remains of all three, both going and coming; certainly also a considerable force was left behind in Boiotia, and garrisons all along the king's route to the war. The singulara Θεσπία, Πλάταια are unique in Hdt.

51. 1. ἀπὸς temporal; cp. cc. 54, 55 *infra*.

2 τῆς διαβάσιος τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου: cp. 7. 54. 56 *supra*. The Hellaspont is here, variously enough, treated as the starting point of the march ἔνθεν πορεύεσθαι ἤρξαντο οἱ Βάρβαροι. In Bk. 7 the passage of the Hellespont is a mere episode on the march from Sardes c. 450 B.C., and the start is made from Sardes with great pomp and circumstance (7. 37-40). Again, in Bk. 7. 56 the passage of the Hellespont occupies seven days and seven nights just a week of our reckoning: here, a month is spent in passing the Hellespont. ἕνα αὐτοῦ διατρήσαντες μῆνα ἐν τῷ διέβαινον ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην. It might be possible to 'harmonize' the two statements by supposing that the month covers all the time spent on the Hellespont; but such

a harmony is not convincing. The month might as well cover all the period from the start at Sardis: and in any case the discrepancy remains, and suggests a difference of source. The passages in Bk. 7 are probably from Asiatic sources. The passage before us here is hardly less obviously from the European side, and presumably from Attic authority, as the Aspendians suggest. It is important to recognize the inaccuracy with which Hdt. writes down in different contexts different data from different sources without troubling himself to rationalize them cp. Introduction, § 10. The acceptance of the local source for all it may be worth is of the essence of Hdt.'s method, or his method; it is half the secret of his charm, and the chief cause of his value, the unity of his work is a literary poetic illusion, not a scientific truth.

4. ἐν τρισὶ ἑτέροις μηνὶ. The meaning is not so self-evident as might be supposed. How are the 'months' computed? By the calendar? Or purely by the interval between start and arrival? Are we to understand that just thirty days or rather less, separated Sestos and Athens on the Icarian march? Or are the months three months of the Attic calendar, Skirophorion, Hekatombeion, Metageitnion, for example? In either case the three months are an underestimate. The battle of Salamis was fought about the 25th of Boiotomion cp. c. 85 *infra*, and surely within a month of the arrival of the Persians in Attika. The fighting at Artemision-Tasminopolis appears merely synchronized with the Olympiad (7. 206 *supra*, but cp. c. 20 *supra*, i.e. could not at the earliest have taken place before the Attic new year, which suits the date for

Καλλιμάχῳ ἀρχόντος Ἀθηναίοισι καὶ αἰρέουσι ἔρημον τὸ ἄστυ, καὶ τινες ὀλίγους εὐρίσκουσι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ ἔντας, ταμίαν τε τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ πένητας ἀνθρώπους, οὐ φραζά-

5 ἱέρημον CP³, van H.

7 ἱεροῦ A, Holder: cf 55, 8 infra

Salamis and the Achaetate. But to suppose that the battle of Salamis took place only ninety days or so after the passage of the Hellespont smothered extraordinary activity in the Persian advance. Moreover the start from Sardis will probably have taken place at latest in March, and the passage of the Hellespont in Thargelion say May. Taking the months here as Attic months, and reckoning inclusively, it might be correct to say that Xerxes reached Athens three months after leaving the Hellespont, i.e. in two fifth months, reckoning inclusively.

There is an exactly parallel case in Xenoph. *Hec.* 1.4.21, where Artabanus is said to have quitted Athens τρεῖς μῆνας τοῦ ἀρκεῖντος 407 B.C. He had landed on Thargelion 25 (ib. § 12), he left after Boedromion 20 (ib. § 20). This would be at least four months after, reckoning simply from arrival to departure, or in the best month's reckoning by Attic months, nominally, or after a clear three months' interval, reckoned exclusively. The word *ἐκπεσε* here might favour this last method (But see τρεῖς μῆνας in Xenophon perhaps = *ἐκπεσε*). See further on the chronology Appendix IV. § 2.

Καλλιμάχῳ ἀρχόντος Ἀθηναίων, in a few copies of the text 435-475 B.C. (cf 1.75.1). Cf. Clinton, *F. H.* ad an. But as there were twelve months in the year, and approximately thirteen this chronological indication, though highly suspicious on many grounds, leaves a good deal to be wished, if but the day of Xerxes coming had happened to engross itself upon the records! Probably it was a day towards the end of Boedromion or August or beginning of Boedromion (September).

τὸ ἄστυ, here, at least, must be understood as contradistinguished from *ἐκπεσε*, when they did not find it deserted or taken without a struggle. Even so Athens they had picked up some fugitives, if the story in 9.29 infra be true as it stands, and the men there reported be not the remnant of the Akropolis garrison. The day was not

apparently at this time sufficiently walled, or fortified, to enable it to stand a siege, or we may well doubt whether the Athenians would have evacuated Attica. It was, however, a *τῶλις προχοῶς*—unless, indeed, that description apply to the Akropolis, 7. 140.

ὁ, καὶ τινες ὀλίγους εὐρίσκουσι . . . δόντας, they insert a fact, perhaps to their astonishment, viz. that some few men of the citizens of Athens are in the Sacred Place—these words introduce an eminently apologetic and fictitious account of the defence and siege of the Akropolis, which was probably a far more serious and formidable undertaking than the story current in the light of events, especially suggests. The men in the Akropolis were perhaps neither so few, so poor, so aged, so insignificant, nor so deplorable as the story assumes and asserts.

ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ: what temple is meant? Was this an old hereditation (cp. c. 55 infra), or was it the old Ἀθηναιῶν (so to speak) which had been enlarged by Peisistratos? But that knew anything of there being more than one temple on the Akropolis of Peisistratos! He was there, in fact, more than one! Cf. Kurwaengler, *Metamorphosen* (E.T.) *Agamemnon*, pp. 415 ff., p. 416 (1st ed.), *the old Akropolis*, in pp. 78 ff. Bachel would take τὸ ἱερόν here in a wider sense, *de hoc loco dicitur politeratium de herede conuincere in area*. But its recurrence just below, and in c. 53, is against him.

7. ταμίαν τε . . . καὶ πένητας ἀνθρώπους: *prima facie*, the same persons are meant, but the *ταμίαν* τὸν ἱεροῦ, or more correctly *ταμίαν τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων* τῆς Ἀθήνης for it surely must be these officials that are here intended (cp. O. Gilbert, *Handbuch* 1.9.200), would if necessary have been announced under the highest *τῶν*, cp. *Ad vol.* 7.8.1. Their existence is demonstrable epigraphically before the middle of sixth cent., *C.I.A.* iv. 2.373. They were not 'poor' except in so far as the war had ruined them, ἀνθρώπους too in contemptuous: *φραζόμενοι* is a strict motto,

μενοι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν θύρησί τε καὶ ξύλοισι ἡμύνοντο τοὺς ἐπιόντας, ἅμα μὲν ὑπ' ἀσθενείης βίου οὐκ ἐκχωρήσαντες ἐς
 10 Σαλαμίνα, πρὸς δὲ αὐτοὶ δοκέοντες ἐξευρηκέναι τὸ μαντήιον τὸ
 ἢ Πυθίῃ σφί ἐχρήσε, τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος ἀνάλωτον ἔσεσθαι·
 αὐτὸ δὲ ταῦτο εἶναι τὸ κρησφύγετον κατὰ τὸ μαντήιον καὶ
 52 οὐ τὰς νέας. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἰζόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸν κατακτις τῆς
 ἀκροπόλεως δχθον, τὸν Ἀθηναῖοι καλέουσι Ἀρήιον πάγον,

9 ἐκχωρήσαντας :

Valckenauer ('multi iter' Gaisf.)

αὐτὸ γὰρ ἔτι πᾶσι ἔδειξαι, ἔσεσθαι καὶ B, κατὰ τὸ μαντήιον ἀβεβαιόμαστι van H. καὶ οὐ. κατακτινὸν om. R

10 δὲ καὶ B, Holder, van H. τῇ ἢ ποιεῖται

12 αὐτοῖς : καὶ αὐτὸ B, van H. αὐτοῖς :

κατὰ τὸ μαντήιον ἀβεβαιόμαστι van H. καὶ οὐ. κατακτινὸν om. R

13 νῆας B :

and ἡμύνοντο a strict imperfect : θύραι not so much 'doors' torn from their hinges, as 'rafts the structure' (cp. 2. 96, Thuc. 3. 101. 3).

9. ἅμα μὲν . . . ὁπρὸς δὲ . . . two reasons are given, one reflecting upon their material, the other upon their mental resources : they were poverty-stricken, debilitated in means of livelihood, yet they were proud, or conceited enough to have a private interpretation of the divine word (αὐτοὶ cp. τὰς πλεονεξίας τὴν χρησάν ἢ ὑπεροχὴν εἶδεναι, τομίζοντες Lauran. 1. 14. 2. These two reasons are *sub periphrastica* (but this was written before the Lords decided that the 'Was Wasas' were in the right) : as yet everything tends to depreciate the defenders of the Acropolis, and to betray the 'pessimism' of the story.

10. ἐξευρήκα. τὸ μαντήιον, '(to have discovered, to understand, (the true meaning of) the response' : a reference, of course, to the story told 7. 140-144 ; cp. especially c. 42, where the justification of the Persian victory is better explained than in this passage which only suggests the extemporaneous θύραι and ξύλοι of these poor warriors.

Replaced in its former perspective, that is after the fiasco at Thermopylae, the story of the Athenian *theoria* to Delphi of the two responses, and the various interpretations thereof, gains immensely in point. The defence of the Acropolis may have been of the nature of a compromise, a concession, on the part of Themistocles, yet it looks as if no means inconsistent with his plan of a sea fight at Salamis, and it might have had the effect of bringing the Peloponnesian army from behind the Isthmus into Attica to the rescue of the Akro-

polis : in any case, it occupied the Persian forces, and to some extent checked and divided them, and made *pro tanto* for the safety of Salamis and the success of the fleet.

11. ἀνάλωτον ἔσεσθαι : these words might have ended an hexameter, but as a matter of fact the actual verse ran ἀπὸρρητον νείκεσθαι. The variation suggests that Hdt. is here following an independent story, without reference to 7. 141 *supra*.

12. τὸ κρησφύγετον : cp. δ. 124.

52. 1. κατακτις : eight opposite the west end, where the ascent and entrance lay.

2. τὸν Ἀθηναῖοι καλέουσι. a phrase not taken from an Attic source, nor intended for an Attic audience.

Ἀρήιον πάγον. παγος is a rocky point, or summit, as in Homer, *Od.* 5. 435 etc. The epithet may rather be connected with ἀρεα than with ἄρης originally, as the cult of the Σεμρὰ was certainly far more ancient on the spot than the cult of the war-god (cp. Aeschyl. *Seven*, 417. etc.), and it was with them and their sight that the Athenian court had to do ; though in the historical period the association with ἄρης was fully reestablished—perhaps in consequence of a pseudo-etymology—and a temple to Ares actually stood on or near the rock (Lauran 1. 84, with notes, Frazer i. 91, *Etting* Blumner i. 161 f. The topographical relation of the Ares rock, in Athenian Euboi, to the Acropolis fitted it to form a base for the Persian siege operations, as once for the operations of the Anaxoroi against the Theban citadel ; see Aeschyl. *Seven*, 635 ff.—

ἐπολιόρκεται τρόπου τοιούτου· ὅπως στυππεῖται περὶ τοῖς διαστοῦν περιθίστειν ἄψευτα, ἐτόξευον ἐν τῷ φράγματι. . . ἐμβαῦτα Ἀθηναίων οἱ πολιορκεῖσθαι ὅμως ἡμύοντο, καίπερ ἐν τῷ 5 ἐσχατῷ κακοῦ ἀπληγμένοι καὶ τοῦ φράγματος προδεδωκότες· οὐδὲ λόγους τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν προσφερόντων περὶ ὁμολογίης ἐνεδίδοντο, ἀμυνόμενοι δὲ ἄλλα τε ἀντεμνηχανῶντο καὶ δὴ καὶ προσκύνων τῶν βαρβάρων πρὸς τὰς πύλας ὁλοιτρόχους ἀπίσαν, οἵστε Ξέρξην ἐπὶ χρόνον συγχρὸν ἀπορίσει ἐνέχεσθαι 10 οὐ δυνάμενον σφέας θάειν. χρόνον δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀπόρων ἐφάνη 53 δὴ τις ἐξοδος τοῖσι βαρβάροις· ἔδεε γὰρ κατὰ τὰ θεοπρόπτιον πᾶσαν τὴν Ἀττικὴν τὴν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ γενέσθαι ὑπο Πέρσῃσι.

52. 3 ἐπολιόρκετο B, I; | στυππεῖται DV (Iakb); | στυππεῖται CPz; 4 λαμπρὰν ἀπορρίπτει δισκόν; | ὁ τοῦ κακοῦ α | φράγματι α | προσδιδω-
κατος B | R ἀντεμνηχανῶντο α, B stem? ἀντεμνηχανῶντο B; | ἀντεμ-
νηχανῶντο stem? | 9 ὁλοιτρόχους Ps; ὅλοι τραχοῖς RS | 10 ξέρξην
CPz | 53. 1 ἐν B | 2 ἐξοδος Gouperiz, stem?, van H.; ἐξόδος
cosol, stem?, Holder | 3 τὴν γε ἐν; Kullenberg || ἐν; ἐπὶ B

ταῖς δ' Ἀρεσιν τοῖς Ἀραϊσίνους ἔδρα-
σσεας ὅς ἐν ἡλθον ὑπὸν κατὰ φθόνον
ἐνιστάμενοι, καὶ πάλιν νεοστόλῳ
τοῦ ἐνιστάμενου ἀντεμνηχανῶντο τὴν
Ἀρεν ἐλθόν, ἵδοντες ὅτι τῶν τοῖς
τέρει, πόρτι τ' Ἀρεσιν ἐλθ.

A passage which could hardly have been
rolled to an Athenian audience in 418
B.C. without vividly recalling the
experience of twenty-two years before
(see *loc. cit.*). That there was a
certain enthusiasm for the Persian
cause . . .

3. *ὅπως* . . . ἄψευτα, ἐτόξευον the
construction is somewhat odd, the *καὶ* is
redundant; they would now brand their
arrows with it and discharged them
into the fortified columns on the
Acropolis. Nor does Hdt. mean that
they discharged any of their arrows than
those permitted. *ἐτόξευον* is used
absolutely of c. 125 arrows, where the
casual action *ὅπως* γράφει ἐλθ. is more
regularly logical, than here.

6. ἀπληγμένοι καὶ . . . προδεδωκότες a
real simile requires the *καὶ* in c. 100,
cf. 3. 127 *ἀπὸ ἀνδρῶν* . . . καὶ ἔχον.
The *καὶ* or *πῶς* justifies the mark the
sentence and utter certainty of their posi-
tion. Also the words *ὅμως ἡμύοντο*
were more naturally come after καίπερ
αὐτῶν.

7. τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν; they have
not been heard of since 7. 6 *supra*,
which does not look as if most of the

incident in question had come from the
supposed 'Memoirs of Dikaia', cf.
Introduction, § 10.

9. τὰς πύλας at the west end, where
afterwards stood and stand to some
extent the great Propylaea of Mnesicles
and Pericles; cf. E. A. Gardner, *Ancient
Athens*, 224 ff.

ὁλοιτρόχους, *on oncol*, 5. 92:
no doubt 'round stones that could be
rolled down on the assailants. Where
did these few poor creatures get these
missiles? Were there any columns or
pillar-drums lying about? (These, how-
ever, might have needed to have the
gates opened for emission, which would
not have done.

10. ἐπὶ χρόνον συγχρὸν might mean
a great any length of time, and is
intentionally vague, but still goes to show
the relative success of the desperate
resistance.

ἀπορίσει ἐνέχεσθαι: a common
expression, 7. 124 ff. 37, 98 etc.

53. 2. ἐξοδος, metaphorical, also a
certain essential on. Cf. App. Crit.

ἵδοντες γὰρ that the word of the
god might be fulfilled (cf. 7. 141 for
the *θεοπρόπτιον* in question, 5. 53 for the
formula).

3. πᾶσαν τὴν Ἀττικὴν τὴν ἐν τῇ
ἡπείρῳ; a curious quantification, for
where was there any 'Attica' except
in the *ἡπείρῳ*? Salamis was no part
of Attica; cf. e. 48 *supra*. Cf. also

ἵκεται ἐφόνευσον· ἐπεὶ δὲ σφί πάντες κατέστρωτο, τὸ ἶρον
συλῆσαντες ἐνέπρησαν πᾶσαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν.

Σχῶν δὲ παντελῶς τὰς Ἀθηναίαις Ξέρξης ἀπέπεμψε ἐς 64
Σούσα ἄγγελον ἱππία Ἀρταβάω ἀγγελεύοντα τὴν παρεούσαν
σφί εὐπρηξίην. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς πέμψιος τοῦ κήρυκος δευτέρῃ
ἡμέρῃ συγκαλέσας Ἀθηναίων τοὺς φηγάδας, ἰοντῶ δε ἐπο-
μευται, ἐκέλευε τρόπον τῇ σφετέρῃ θῆσαι τὰ ἱρὰ ἀναβάντας
ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, εἴτε δὴ ἂν ὤψιν τιτὰ ἰδῶν ἐνυπίου
ἐνετέλλετο ταῦτα, εἴτε καὶ ἐνθύμιόν οἱ ἐγένετο ἐμπρήσαντι τὸ
ἶρον. οἱ δὲ φηγάδες τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐποίησαν τὰ ἐντεταλμένα.
τοῦ δὲ εἵνεκεν ταύτων ἐπεμίσθην, φράσω. ἔστι ἐν τῇ 55
ἀκρασίῃ ταύτῃ Ἐρεχθίδος τοῦ γηγενέος λεγομένου εἶναι κηός,

13 οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτι, εἴπειτα ὅτι ναυ. II. 14 πᾶσαν ναυ. B 54 1
ἵκων δὲ παντελῶς B 3 εὐπρηξίην α αἰτοξομ. C 7 ἐντετέλλετο
τα τα θαλ. ἡτυογετ. ναυ II. || ἐμπρήσαντα Δ¹ C. ἐμπρήσαντα B 55. 2
ἀκρασίῃ λαί B

13. κατέστρωτο 9. 78 *στρω*.
τὸ ἶρον: there is nothing to dis-
tinguish it from τὸ μέγαρον just above,
or to show that it would have re-
spected the existence of more than one
temple at Athens, cp. ar. 4; δι' ἑμῶν.
64. 1. σχῶν δὲ παντελῶς τὰς Ἀθήνας
'having gained complete possession of
Athens' but not of the Athenians—
cp. 7. 5; *στρω*, 4. 95 π. *εἴτε* is a
dramatic device and consideration; with
εἴτε cp. *εἴτε* 3. 46, etc. The descrip-
tion of Athens is for a dramatic purpose,
not for a dramatic end; cp. c. 61
etc. Artabazus has been left as major
domo of the temple. It is not to be
surprised in the light of c. 24 *infra*,
that the one temple took all the way
from Athens to Susa. ἄγγελον ἱππία
ἀγγελεύοντα is a little redundant
which may be due to the fact
that the man is a courier.
1. ἵκων δὲ παντελῶς. The sentence with
the 'ἐκτελέσας' Delians, and so
on, the Athenian eulogies, those to wit
in his role, takes place on the great
burning day. The best to offer
as the according to Hellenic ritual on
the Acropolis appears to be entirely in
accordance with Aeschylus' poetry and
tragedy, though Hdt. seems to think it
dramatic and exaggerated. The wonder
was that Xerxes wanted the
very people he wanted at it
and the sacrifice is made on the king's

behalf. The alternatives εἴτε δὴ ἂν—εἴτε
καὶ . . . are not mutually exclusive.
7. ἐνθύμιον, 'matter of conscience,'
scripture, 'inspiring' cp. 2. 1. 5; *ἵκων*,
7. 60. 4 (cf. the *ἐκτελέσας*, Aug. 27.
415 n.c.).
τὸ ἶρον, of Athens; cp. c. 51, 53.
55. 1. ἔστι. *πρῶτα* γὰρ at the time
of writing, the *πρῶτα* referred to a temple
entirely an Erechtheion, or contains the
ancient memorials afterwards amalgamated
with the Erechtheion, *ἵκων*, 1. 26. 6 ff.
That temple was early built or restored,
completely long after the death of Xerxes.
This chapter is not free from ambiguity.
Hdt. does not distinguish between the
temple of Athene and 'the House of
Erechtheus'; he speaks of the temple
in a way as both existing and not exist-
ing for it had just been burnt down
even on the day after the burning. It
is quite possible that not many years
passed of the above about, but the whole
circumstances of this story as first com-
posed by Hdt., rested upon the authority
of the Athenian *Εἰρηνοὶ*, at least ul-
timate, and that this passage may
belong to the draft of these books
written before Hdt. himself had visited
Athens. Cf. Introduction, § 2.
2. Ἐρεχθίδος τοῦ γηγενέος λεγομένου
εἶναι. The Erechtheus, who is the child
of Earth, the dwelling of Athene, taken
into her own shrine (*ἐν τῷ ἴδιῳ σφί*) and
therein worshipped by his people (*ἄνθρωποι*).

ἐν τῷ ἔλαιῳ τε καὶ θάλασσά ἐστι, τὰ λόγος παρὰ Ἀθηναίων Ποσειδεῶνά τε καὶ Ἀθηναίην ἐρίσαντας περὶ τῆς χώρας μαρτύρια θέσθαι, ταύτην ὡν τὴν ἔλαιον ἅμα τῷ ἄλλῳ ἱρῷ κατέλαβε ἐμπρησθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων· δευτέρῃ δὲ ἡμέρῃ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐμπρήσιος Ἀθηναίων οἱ θύειν ὑπὸ βασιλέως κελευό

3 παρὰ παρ' α: ὑπὸ β βασιλῆος

7 Ἀθηναῖοι οἱ α, ναίγ. || βασιλῆος ο:

Herod. 2. 543 ff., is no doubt one and the same ultimately with Poseidon-Erechtheion (cp. 2. 61 *supra*), as his *μαρτύρια*, the *θάλασσα*, and the *σχῆμα τριώνυον* (Pausan. 1. 26. 6) of themseives would show. Δ (possibly late *ὑποὶ λόγος* made himself of Athens and Hephaestus, Apollod. 3. 14. 6. In *Her. 2. 81* Athena *ἔκειτο* in under the roof of Erechtheion (perhaps the older *ἱεῖον*). Anyway, the reference in Homer as in *Her.* here is *prima facie* to an Erechtheion, but whether the House of Erechtheus had been destroyed in the Old Temple of Athens, which was destroyed by the Persians and never rebuilt, or whether there was an Erechtheion north of that temple, and more or less on the site of the existing building, is a moot point. Cp. c. 51 *supra*.

3. *Θαλίη τε καὶ θάλασσα*: the existing temple contained three *αἵθραι*, of which the eastern one, or Erechtheion proper, contained *θαλάσσης ἐν φρεσὶ* and also a *σχῆμα τριώνυον* in the *πύργῳ*. ταῦτα δὲ λέγεται Ποσειδῶνι μαρτύρια ἐν τῇ ἀμφιστήθει τῆς χώρας φεσθαι. Pausan. 1. 26. 5. *Herod.* would probably have mentioned the *σχῆμα τριώνυον* had he seen it. In the Erechtheion also were three altars, one to Poseidon—*ἐπὶ αὐτῷ καὶ Ἐρεχθίδι θύοντι*—one to the hero *Ἰδαίης*, and one to Hephaestus. The central shrine was dedicated to the *Πύρρα*, and contained, among many interesting objects, the olive (Pausan. 1. 27. 2, but cp. *Her. 2. 81* Apollod. *supra*), apparently a *πρῶτον* tree. The third, or western shrine, was dedicated to *Παυδάμονα* (cp. c. 51 *supra*).

Λόγος παρὰ Ἀθηναίων: the phrase suggests that the passage is written for other than an Athenian audience; nor does it involve the inference that *Herod.* had visited Athens before making this report. Cp. Introduction, § 10.

4. *Ποσειδῶνά τε καὶ Ἀθηναίην*: the myth of the *ἔρις* περὶ τῆς χώρας is given by Apollodorus 3. 14. 1, the event being dated to the days of Kekrops: *ἐν τούτῳ*,

φασιν, ὅδε τοὺς θεοὺς πόλιν καταλαβέσθαι, ἐν αὐτῇ ἐμύλησεν ἔργον τῆς αὐτῆς γαστρὸς ἦεν οὐκ ἄνθρωπος Ποσειδῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ πᾶσι τῇ τριῶνι παρὰ μέσῃ τὴν ἀρόστολον ἀνέφηνε θάλασσαν, ἣν τὴν Ἐρεχθίδην θάλασσαν, μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ ἦεν Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ ποιησαμένη τῆς καταλήψεως Κέρκωρα μάρτυρα ἐφύεσεν Ἰδαίαν, ἣ γυνὴ ἐν τῷ Παρθενίῳ περὶ δεικνύται γενομένη δὲ ἔριδος ἀμφὶ τὴν χώραν Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ Ποσειδῶνα διαλέσας Ζεὺς κρίνας ἔδωκεν, οὐχ ὥς εἶπον τινες Κέρκωρα καὶ Ἰφρονόην, αὐτὴ Κρυόχθονα, θεοὺς δὲ τούτους ὠδύεσθαι, καὶ ταύτων διακρίντων ἡ χώρα τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ ἐκρίθη, Κέρκωρος μαρτυρήσαντος δὲ πρῶτον τὴν Ἰδαίαν ἐφύεσθαι. The evidence of Kekrops was on the allowing of the myth untrue; the jury of the Twelve Gods was appealed. The most reasonable interpretation of the myth is the historical, which sees in it a dramatized reminiscence of a struggle between two cities, and the different worshippers of two deities, Athens-worshippers, Poseidon-worshippers, in Attica, in which case, further, the Poseidoniasts can be no other than Ionians, and the Athenians may well be the natives. Cp. c. 44 *supra*, Roscher's *Lexikon* 18-21. 683; Early Womersley 11. 1898-1961; and especially I. K. Farnell, *Notes of the Greek States*, 1 (1896) 2. 0. The association of the clue with Athens marks her at least in this connection as an agricultural deity (Roscher *loc. cit.*); the significance of the connection of Poseidon with the *θάλασσα* is self-evident.

5. *μαρτύρια θέσθαι*: the substantival is appropriate or predicative.

ἅμα τῷ ἄλλῳ ἱρῷ, as well as the temple, or 'together with the temple as well.' The force of *αἵθραι* in such a construction is not weak, cp. 7. 208. 2, and c. 65 *supra*, ad § also 4. 191, 5. 32. 6. 129, etc.)

6. *δευτέρῃ δὲ ἡμ. ἐπὶ τῇ ἐμπρήσει*: cp. c. 51 *supra*, from whence it follows that the *ἐμπρησις* τῆς πόλεως and the *εὐαῖος* τῆς ἀθήνης took place on the same day.

μειοί ὡς ἀνέβησαν ἐς τὸ ἱρόν. ἄρων βλαστον ἐκ τοῦ στελέχεος
 ὅσον τε πηχυαῖον ἀναδεδραμηκίτα. οὗτοι μὲν νυν ταῦτα
 ἐφράσαν <τῷ βασιλεί>.

Οἱ δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι Ἕλληνες, ὡς σφί ἐξηγγέλθη ὡς ἔσχε
 περὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων ἀκρόπολιν, ἐς τοσαύτον θορυβὸν ἀπίκοντο
 ὡς ἐνιοὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν οἶδε κυρωθῆναι ἔμενον τὸ προκείμενον
 πρῆγμα, ἀλλ' ἐς τε τὰς νέας ἐσέπιπτον καὶ ἰστία ἀείροντο

Ἡ ἱρόν: ἰ ρόν A (Herodotum ubique scripsisse ἱερός et ἱερόν probabile
 est propter vetustatis vitales Ionicos van H.) 9 μὲν ὦν B 10
 <τῷ βασιλεί> Bie.n⁸ 56. 1 ἐξηγγέλθη B, vulg. 2 τὰ περὶ B,
 Bie.n⁸ E, Holder, van H. || Ἀθηναίων Bekker, Holder, alii 3 ὡς ἔσχε
 B, Holder, van H. 4 ἰστία B || <τὰ ἰστία Jacobitz

Ἡ ἐν ἱρόν, as above, cc. 41, 51, 54
 βλαστον . . ἀναδεδραμηκίτα.
 Obviously a variant, a miracle, under
 the circumstances (ὅσον τε does not so
 much qualify as emphasize the cubit's
 length) explained by Plonys. Halm 14
 6 as a trifling δι τὰς ἡμέρας ἢ τοῦ
 ἀναδεδραμηκίτου ἀπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν
 χρόνων. Pausanias 1, 27, 2 makes
 the short two cubits length, on the same
 day as the burning. Blakeney sees
 evidence to the story in Soph. "A
 eschyl." Biepp. Jan 1434

56. 1. οἱ δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι Ἕλληνες
 take the scene back to Salamis, as in
 c. 40 above; but what of the time? The
 message there is not previous time identical
 with the message here; and an approxi-
 mate interval of time in it is held to
 connect between the news of the Persians'
 entry in Athens (c. 40), the news of the
 destruction of the Akropolis (c. 41, 52,
 54). But was it the news of the destruc-
 tion of the Akropolis, or only the news
 of the blockade of the Akropolis, which
 triggered the Greek camp? Hdt. does
 not hint clearly which. Would the
 destruction of the Akropolis have re-
 quired to be reported? The conflagration
 would have been fully visible from
 Salamis. Whether reported or witnessed,
 the capture of the Akropolis might form
 a ground for reporting, the question
 whether the Greek fleet should remain
 at Salamis or not. However the story
 Hdt. lies in his having recorded a debate
 before the news of the Persian
 capture, or the evidence of the Persian
 capture of the Akropolis, was conveyed
 to Salamis. As long as the Akropolis
 stood safe there might be a hope that
 the Persian army would advance

to its relief, and so long at least the
 Greek fleet would of course remain at
 Salamis. Once the Akropolis had been
 captured, or surrendered, a new situation
 arose. The anecdote of Mucronius
 is transparently apocryphal; but the
 notion that a debate in the next wave
 arose after the capture of the Akropolis
 is not in itself so improbable.

56. the word occurs four times in
 as many lines, but may be rendered
 differently: 'when—how—that—as.'
 But see App. Crit.

3. ἐνιοὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν, these members
 of the council of war c. 40 supposed to
 be supposed to have treated the news
 about the Athenian Akropolis as leaving
 only one alternative, or at least as
 requiring the retreat from Salamis
 inevitable. But it had not yet been
 decided, when 'they tumbled into their
 story' (ἐσέπιπτον imp.) what the scene
 of the emergency was to be. They may
 have intended to wait to hear this. The
 θόρυβος was not exactly a panic, it was
 a hubbub (they would be all speaking
 at the same time now). But no one as
 yet actually takes to flight, though
 ἀνοθενοσόμενοι seems to expect it. c.
 App. Crit. It is not very probable that
 any actual members of the *synedrion*
 could so have taken in this fashion:
 subordinate officers and crews may have
 made preparations on the safe side.

τὸ προκείμενον πρῆγμα seems to
 refer back to the subject of discussion in
 c. 40, ἀκούσθαι ἐπιτηδεύοντες εἶναι κτλ.

ἰστία ἀείροντο: the voice is middle
 and the tense imperfect: even so, if
 they were in such a desperate hurry
 to be off, they would surely first get
 the sails on.

5 ὥς ἀποθηνύσμενοι· τόσαί τε ὑπολειπομένοισι αὐτῶν ἐκურωθῇ
 πρὸ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ναυμαχεῖν. νύξ τε ἐγένετο καὶ οἱ διαλυθέντες
 57 ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου ἐσέβαινον ἐς τὰς νέας. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ Θερμ-
 στοκλία ἀπικόμενον ἐπὶ τὴν νεα εἶρετο Μνησιφίλος ἀνὴρ
 Ἀθηναῖος ὃ τι σφί εἴη βεβουλευμένον. πυθόμενος δὲ πρὸς
 αὐτοῦ ὥς εἴη δεδογμένον ἀνάγειν τὰς νέας πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν
 5 καὶ πρὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ναυμαχεῖν, εἶπε "οὐτ' ἄρα, ἦν
 ὑπαεῖρῶσι [τας νέας] ὑπὸ Σαλαμῖνος, περὶ οὐδεμῆς ἐτι πατρίδος

5 ἀποθηνύσμενοι Naber || αὐτῶν B: 6 ἐγένετο B 7 νέας Bz
 57. 1 Θερμστοκλία = 2 νέας B: 4 νέας B: 5 οὐτ' α:
 οὐτοί B: οὐ τοι Bekker, Holder, van H.: οὐκ Plutarch, Mor. 869 6
 ἀπαικῶς codd.: τὰς νέας del. Stahl.² 7 τις νέας B: | περὶ οὐδὲ μὲν AB:
 οὐδὲ περὶ μὲν Plutarch, La.

5. τόσαί τε ὑπολειπομένοισι αὐτῶν
 ἐκურωθῇ how this decision was arrived
 at. But does not clearly indicate; it
 might seem by a sheer majority of votes,
 but *ὅσα* *ἐκ* *αὐτῶν* is treated as
 really important in the matter. When
 the others left the council (was it held
 in a building or *sub loco*?) the *lethargy*
 was still *ex post* only one of several
 potential stations, cp. c. 14 *supra*. The
 decision is still to fight a battle: only
 the venue is shifted. The second *πυθόμε-
 νος* did not 'tumble into their state',
 but *ἐσέβαινον* (cp. πρό οἱ c. 49).
 The *πυθόμενος* νύξ τε ἐγ καὶ αὐτοῖς.
 Note: of in this case demonstrative
 το συνεδρίου marks the meeting de-
 cidedly as a regular and formal one, cp.
 7 145 *supra*, cc. 75, 79 *infra*; it was
 probably held under cover, in a house or
κλισίῃ, perhaps occupied by Eurybiades.

57 1. Θερμστοκλία not mentioned in
 the account of the last council (*συνέδριον*)
 on shore, *cis* *Παλαιά*, c. 40 ff.
 But, of course, if any such meeting had
 been held, if any such decision arrived
 at Themistokles had been there and
 against the making of it.

2. Μνησιφίλος ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος: a
 narrower man than Themistokles, and
 one well and significantly named! Plutarch, *Them.* 2, makes him a demotee
 of Themistokles, and in *Mor.* 795 an
 older man, quite naturally! But more
 critical in the *de Hel.* *max.* 87 f.,
Mor. 869, he points out the improbability
 of this tale, according to which Themis-
 tokles was habitually inclined to
 Mnesiphilos for the arguments in favour
 of giving battle at Salamis. Going
 beyond Plutarch, one might suspect

that Mnesiphilos was a pure fiction, the
 only evidence of his existence being
 this apocryphal anecdote. Of course
 Hlt. did not invent him: the story a
 part of the Themistoklean legend, and
 perhaps among the older elements there-
 in, forming perhaps the reply by some
 detractor to the foundation by Themi-
 stokles of the ναὸν Ἀρισσηφίλου Ἀμειβῶν
 in Melath.

3. βεβουλευμένον . . δεδογμένον, 'the
 matter of some deliberation' 'the thing
 decided on', both words might seem to
 imply a joint decision; yet cp. 7, 12
supra δεδογμένον cf.

4. *ἐκ* Hlt. and his sources do not
 hesitate to reproduce a *statio verba* the
πραγματεῖα of Mnesiphilos to Themis-
 tokles, a device which adds nothing to
 the probability of the story in the eyes
 of a critical reader. Who else was
 present at the interview? Did Themis-
 tokles report it? Or Mnesiphilos?

οὐτ' ἄρα is answered by *απολέσειν*
τε *αὐτῶν*. For *ἀρα* cp. *Inf.* 102.

6. ὑπαεῖρῶσι: cp. c. 60 *infra*.
 περὶ οὐδεμῆς ἐτι πατρίδος ναυμαχῆ-
 σαι: 'they will no longer have a country
 to fight for at all' might mean one of the
 things, (a) that Attica will be lost for
 ever: the context and explanation seem
 to rule this out as inadequate; (b) that
 there will no longer be any country
 belonging to any of the Greek peoples
 taken severally, to fight for - this would
 be far fonder, (c) that Hellas will no
 longer exist to fight for. On the whole
 this appears to be the meaning - about it
 anticipates the second canon and the
 use of *παῖς* for the whole of Hellas is
 remarkable. The double negative *οὐδὲ*

- προσπιθείς, ἐς δ' ἀέγχιονσέ <μιν> χρηίζου ἐκ τε τῆς νύκτος
 59 ἐλθῆναι συλλέξαι τε τοὺς στρατηγούς ἐν τῷ συνέδριον. ὡς
 δὲ ἄρα συνελέχθησαν, πρὶν ἢ τὸν Εὐρυβιάδην προθεῖναι τὸν
 λόγον τῶν εἵνεκα συνήγαγε τοὺς στρατηγούς, πολλὸς ἦν ὁ
 Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐν τοῖσι λόγοισι οἷα καρτὰ δέόμενος· λέγοντος
 60 δὲ αὐτοῦ, ὁ Κορίνθιος στρατηγὸς [Ἀδεμαντος ὁ Ὀκύντου]
 εἶπε "ὦ Θεμιστοκλέες, ἐν τοῖσι ἀγῶσι οἱ προεξανιστάμενοι
 ῥαπίζονται." ὁ δὲ ἀπολυόμενος ἔφη "οἱ δὲ γε ἐγκαταλει-
 60 πόμενοι οὐ στεφανοῦνται." τότε μὲν ἡπίως [πρὸς] τὸν
 Κορίνθιον ἀμείψατο, πρὸς δὲ τὸν Εὐρυβιάδην ἔλεγε ἐκείνων

ὁ μιν Stein² 3 ἦτος Bz ὁ ἐλθῆναι τὸν εὐρυβιάδα Bz 69. 2
 ἄρα em. B ἐπὶ βιάδα Bz || πρὸςθεῖναι α || τὸν del. Cobet, van H.
 3 πολὺς cod. L, 2 ὁ Κορίνθιος Kallenberg: 'αὐτὸν στρατηγὸς genitivum,
 refertur Κορίνθ'ων' van H.: on blemis secluiat ὁ om. B 8 3 om. B
 Θεμιστοκλῆς B 8 στεφανοῦνται B 60. 1 τότε, τοῦτο Naheg
 πρὸς del. Kruoger, Hlder, van H., Stein? 2 ἀμείψατο B. ἀμείβεται
 Kruoger: aut πρὸς aut hie aspectum hab. Stein? | εἰς βιάδα Bz

the phrase should not be held to cancel the imputations to Themistokles' disavowal, albeit somewhat weakening them. Once started on this line—by Mnenephias—he can find further pleas of himself, and finally, at the evening council, he makes a really powerful speech!

ὁ τὸ συνέδριον evidently held on and, but not necessarily *sub nocte frigida*.

69. 2 συνελέχθησαν: this will be the second or the third meeting, according as 60, 49 and 60 are interpreted of one and the same meeting, or of two different meetings.

πρὸς ἢ. τοὺς στρατηγούς: if προθεῖναι τὸν λόγον means 'to give account of,' to explain, the statement appears again to be designed to discredit Themistokles: in any case, the commander-in-chief must surely have offered some reason for the extraordinary summons of this meeting, which is apparently to be conceived as taking place at night.

8. πολλὸς ἦν ἐν τοῖσι λόγοισι, i.e. π. ἢ λέγων, sure y not am. π. 'made a long speech,' or even said a great many things, but rather 'was vehement' ep. 7. 158 *euata*, § 51 *impe*. But what, by the way, could he have said, if Eurybiades had the subject of debate still *in pectore*?

4. οἷα καρτὰ δέόμενος: ep. 6. 3 *euata*, ὁ προεξανιστάμενος: as in the *word* 2. 62 *impe*, εἰς with the force of

'too soon,' 'prematurely,' 'before they are ordered.' Conjectures are referred to, not merely spectators, as, indeed, the answer of Themistokles implies.

7. ῥαπίζονται: by the *ραβδόχου*, who kept order in the stag. Our athletes would hardly appreciate this severity. For the word ep. 7. 36.

ἀπολυόμενος, 'trying to excuse himself,' *sc. τὴν αἰτίαν, τὴν διαβολήν*. He understood the value of the soft answer, which, however, failed on this occasion. Flutarch, *Thira* 11, substitutes Eurybiades for Ademantos in the duel of wit, and adds a second *mot* by Themistokles to Eurybiades, who raises his baton to strike παρακρούσας ἀκουσθῆναι. In the *Nov* 185 he restores the remark to the Corinthian.

ὅς γε 'yes, but . .

ἐγκαταλειόμενοι, i.e. who got a bad start, not "longe in curam post tergum relictis victique." Weasling not 'qui euacuatur ad eversionem prodit' i, Flutarch. 2 Cor. 4. 9 *διωκόμενοι ἀλλ' οὐα ἐγκαταλειόμενοι* does not lie p. us.

60. 1 [πρὸς] τὸν Κορίνθιον ἀμείψατο. a doubtful construction, not justified by πρὸς τὰτα ἀμείψαμενος, α. 68 *euata*; ep. App. Cmt.

2 ἐκείνων μὲν . . 3 δὲ the subject expressed and resumed with δὲ, ep. 7. 50, etc. *ἐκείνων* is of course neuter

πολλὸν κρατήσασθαι· τὸ γὰρ ἐν στενωπῷ ναυμαχεῖν πρὸς
 20 ἡμῶν ἐστὶ, ἐν εὐρυχωρίῃ δὲ πρὸς ἐκείων· αὐτὶς δὲ Σαλαμίς
 περιγίνεται, ἐς τὴν ἡμῶν ὑπεκκείται τέκνα τε καὶ γυναῖκες,
 καὶ μὴν καὶ τόδε ἐν αὐτοῖσι ἔνεστι, τοῦ καὶ περιέχεσθε μάλιστα·
 ὁμοίως αὐτοῦ τε μένων προναυμαχεῖς Πελοποννήσου καὶ πρὸς
 τῷ Ἰσθμῷ, οἷδὲ σφέας, εἰ περ εὐ φρονεῖς, ἄξις ἐπὶ τὴν
 25 Πελοπόννησον· ἦν δὲ γε καὶ τὰ ἐγὼ ἐλπίζω γένηται καὶ
 νικήσωμεν τῇσι νηυσί, οὔτε ἡμῶν ἐς τοὺς Ἰσθμῶν παρέσονται
 οἱ βάρβαροι οὔτε προβήσονται ἑαστέρω τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὅτιασί
 τε οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ, Μεγάροισί τε κερδανέμεν περιουσίαι καὶ Ἀθήνῃ
 καὶ Σαλαμῖνι, ἐν τῇ ἡμῶν καὶ λόγιον ἐστὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν κατ'
 30 ὑπερθε γενέσθαι· οἰκῶτα μὲν νυνὶ βουλευμενοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι
 ὥς τὰ ἐπίπαν ἐθέλει <κατὰ νόον> γίνεσθαι· μὴ δὲ οἰκῶτα
 βουλευμενων οὐκ ἐθέλει οὐδὲ ὁ θεὸς προσχωρεῖν πρὸς τὰς
 ἀνθρωπότηας γυνώμας."

20 αἴθλι σαλαμίς B 21 ὑπεκκείται α., van H. . εἴν ἡγασίται B
 22 μὴν· μὲν R, Stein² || περιέχεσθαι DB 23 τε· τῇδε just Krueger
 van H 24 προναυμαχεῖς ABC, Stein²; προναυμαχίσεις SV, Stein¹², Hader,
 van H. . πρὸς ναυμαχίσεις B: προναυμαχίσεις Marc. 26 γε καὶ
 ο.α. B, καὶ κατὰ Ματθ., van H. 27 ἡμῶν B 27 ἑαστέρω P.
 ἑαστέρω. α· ἑκατέρω BC· ἑαστέρω α 31 - κατὰ νόον - Stein²
 - αἰ - Krueger, Liebt, van H. || μὴ οἰκῶτα δὲ α 32 βουλευμενων
 Stein²: βουλευμενων

to Herodotus on victory. Phormio
 or Phao. 2. 60 seems to contradict the
 tactical principles here announced by
 Themistokles, but on the understanding
 that the smaller fleet is superior in
 manœuvring power which the Greek
 fleet at Salamis was superior to was not.

19. πρὸς ἡμῶν, 'to our interest,' ap. o.
 22 κρητή· the context also illustrates the
 use of πρὸς with accus. πρὸς πολλὰς νηυσί,
 and with dative πρὸς τῷ Ἰσθμῷ infra.

21. ἐν τῇ κτλ.; a pregnant construc-
 tion. The singular verb is to be noticed.
 τέκνα τε καὶ γ. ap. o. 44 supra.

22 καὶ μὴν· introducing a fresh
 argument. αὐτοῦ τε μένων . . καὶ πρὸς
 τῷ Ἰσθμῷ are co-ordinate alternatives.

περιέχεσθε, most of the address
 is in 2nd pers. singular. Themistokles
 by the plural here avoids accounting
 for his partiality. Cp App. C vi.

23. προ- is προναυμαχέειν, cp. ee. 56,
 57 supra. αἰ· φρονεῖς; αἰ. αἰ αὐτοῦ
 μένει, or αὐτοῦ μένει. The word
 merely means the wise course.

27 τῆς Ἀττικῆς grammatically
 might be a partitive, or a comparative

gen., the context, and the fact asserted
 α. 50 supra, favour the comparative.

28 οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ πῦρ οὐκ αἰ.,
 117, 2. 56, 65 infra, etc. ὅτιασί has
 plainly the future sense. περιουσίαι, by
 its position, combines with Ἀθήνῃ and
 Σαλαμῖνι as well as with Μεγάροισι, 'we
 shall profit by the immunity of Megara,
 Aegina, Salamis.'

29. λόγιον ἐστὶ partem more y refers
 to his own interpretation of the lines
 α. 104 supra. Σαλαμίς α.α., 7. 162 supra.
 Themistokles is made to combine with
 an approximation of heavy calibre - 'Let
 hima those that help themselves,' or
 'Put your trust in God and keep your
 powder dry'.

31. A subject (expressed in the text)
 wanted for ἰσχυρὰ, but for two reasons
 not: cp App. C vi.

32. προσχωρεῖν πρὸς: to go to meet,
 to accede to, to further, men's plans,
 the construction, and meaning are re-
 markable, and not easy to parallel, p.
 55 supra et f. might serve best as com-
 mentary.

The speech here put into the mouth

Ταῦτα λήγοντος Θερμοστοκλῆος αὐτῇ ὁ Κορυμβίος Ἄδων. 61
μαίτος ἐπεφέρετο, σιγὰν τε κελύων τῷ μὴ ἐστὶ πατρίς καὶ
Εἰρυμβίῳ οἶκ ἔων ἐπιψηφίζων ἀπολι ἀνέρι· πόλιν γάρ τὸν
Θερμοστοκλῆα παρεχόμενον οὕτω ἐκέλευε γνώμας συμβαλλεσθαι.

61 | Θερμοστοκλῆος βίη· αὐτῇ R Ἀδωνιαίος uel Stein¹, Hilder,
ταυ II 2 μὴ ἐστὶ Stein¹; μὴ ἔστι Pz 3 εἰρυμβίου B || ear B
στυλίου B, ταυ H. 4 Θερμοστοκλῆα :

cf. Thucydides is a bias and masterly
reference of his own and none of the case
between Salamis and the Isthmus as
the words of the oratorist which it is
impossible and against, must be sought
in the text. The argument in the text
is presented in a series of antithetical
constructions which may be compared
into three antithetical or doublets: (1) αὐτῇ
μαίτος, ἐπεφέρετο, by a personal, n. p.
: The nation under of Salamis is
in favour of the Greeks, the open sea
if the Isthmus would tell in favour of
the Persians.

1. By moving to the Isthmus they
will certainly lose Salamis. Αὐτῇ
μαίτος, or remaining where they are
they will certainly save them.

2. They will defend the Isthmus as
a wall or even better by remaining at
Salamis; a defeat at the Isthmus will
be fatal. The reasons for this last asser-
tion are not quite fully given in the
text, but it is suggested that the
Isthmus is a narrow way will be
easily taken near to the Isthmus, so
that a defeat would be very
serious. Salamis is a site and Themi-
stocles himself has taken the still more
important view that if they were quit
Salamis the battle will be fought at all.

3. Finally, Themistocles adds that a
certain number of voters has been re-
ceived, though they may not expect it
to be so. (This is a separate clause
for the first time since the first time.)

61 | αὐτῇ, again, a second time,
the first time being αὐτῇ μαίτος. Cf.
αὐτῇ δὲ αὐτῇ corresponding to
αὐτῇ μαίτος just before.

2. πατρίς 'a fatherland' cf. v.
27 and n. while Themistocles regards
Thermopylae as possessing actually of
a πατρίς so long as the
Greeks are kept together at Salamis.

3. Εἰρυμβίῳ οἶκ ἔων ἐπιψηφίζων
ἀπολι ἀνέρι, trying to prevent Eury-
mbides regarding the question putting
a question to the vote for the benefit of
the request of, so present a longish

v. 61 | IT, II

only two men, let Themistocles produce
a city to which he has gone before and
be offering us his votes.

There seems to be no sufficient reason
for understanding with them the normal
meaning of ἐπιψηφίζων so as to make it
mean 'to allow a vote to'—an in-
terpretation which leads him to take
γνώμας συμβαλλεσθαι in the sense 'not
participate, i.e. to vote with us'. It
is to γνῶμας ἀπολι ἀνέρι ἀπολι ἀνέρι
περὶ αὐτῇ, the meaning is clearly to
advise. Against the normal interpreta-
tion Stein asks, *Wann soll der
Athenier einer bestimmten Mannes nicht
beizustehen oder Abstammung an-
nehmen?* The point of the story as told
by Herodotus is that Aristagoras
wishes to find some pretext on which to
prevent the question being referred.
He comes to Themistocles, who is now
a land captain, being allowed to propose
a motion or an amendment, as a pretext
for a vote in the council of war.
He takes exception to a man, who is
never represents a state, having any
question or proposal submitted to a vote.

There is indeed a critical flaw or
inconsequence in the narrative of Her-
odotus, on the one hand, it implies
that the question of remaining or going
was to be decided by the votes of the
majority while, on the other hand, it
is so clearly implied that the whole
and sole decision rested with Themistocles.
But this inconsequence leaves the mean-
ing of ἐπιψηφίζων unaffected.

Stein quotes two late writers in
support of his interpretation. Lucian
Tim. 46 ἐπιψηφίζων ἐν ἀκρόπολιν. Dig.
1. 7. 1) ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀπὸ τῶν γραμμῶν
ἐπιψηφίζων (ἐν τῷ) I should like
ἐκκλησίᾳ εἶναι as a remote unit, or
even locative, and so too τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ,
rather than as objectively nominative
with ἐπιψηφίζων and the verb used as
absolute. Cf. Tim. 6 14 1 ἐκκλησίᾳ
ἐπιψηφίζων καὶ γνῶμας ἐκφέρει ἀπὸ
ἀδελφῶν, where Nikias is speaking for
the previous question.

II

10 ἰρῶν τῶν ἐν Ἐλευσίνι γινομένων τὸν Δημάρχου, εἶρεσθαι τε αὐτὸν ὃ τι τὸ φθεγγόμενον εἴη τοῦτο. αὐτὰς δὲ εἰπεῖν "Δημάρχτε, οὐκ ἔστι ὕκων οὐ μέγα τι σίνος ἔσται τῇ βασιλείῳ στρατῇ· τὰδε γὰρ ἀρίθμηλα, ἐρήμου εὐρύσης τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὅτι θείον το φθεγγόμενον, ἀπ' Ἐλευσίνος ἰόν ἐς τιμωρίην Ἀθηναίοισι 15 τε καὶ τοῖσι συμμάχοισι. καὶ ἦν μὲν γε κατασκήψῃ ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον, κινδυνὸς αὐτῷ τε βασιλεῖ καὶ τῇ στρατῇ τῇ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ ἔσται, ἦν δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς νέας τράπηται τὰς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι, του ναυτικὸν στρατὸν κινδυνεύσει βασιλεὺς ἀποβαλεῖν. τὴν δὲ ὁρτὴν ταύτην ἀγαυοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνὰ πάντα

10 ἰρῶν LBAcorr., cp. c. 65 τε οἱ α B 11 τοκίετον B εἶπε B
εἶπαι c 12 σίνος PRa ; βασιλεὺς C ; βασιλῆος c 14 ἀπο B.
Hilgard ὅν B: 16 βασιλεῖ AB 17 ἡπείρ B: 18 αὐτο-
βαλίστα B: 19 ἀνὰ Jol. Kalleberg, Holder πᾶν Jnos mabch, Krueger,
van II.

ext. is assumed for dramatic purposes, it is hard to determine. But even if Demaratus in the new version of Herodotean tradition, it is obvious that Herodotus addresses an audience which had much to learn in regard to the *Eleusinia*. Such a public was hardly to be found in Athens. Whether the author himself was a *μυστήρ* does not appear, but, no doubt a *μυστήρ*, the Athenian ext. plays the part of a critic or censor, the historian that of politician or diplomat.

τῶν ἰρῶν τῶν ἐν Ἐλευσίνι γινομένων in Hdt. could date as in the times of Demaratus and Iphicrates of Peristatatos, and c. 450 before. There is no need to bring down this whole anecdote to the later date of Hdt.'s work, or its revision—early as the chapter might be an insertion—or to connect it uniquely with the attempted revival, or rather extension, of the Eleusinian Festival after the thirty years' truce, which was to be one of Pericles' considerations for the *ἀναστροφή* of his more violent attempts to make Athens the head of a great empire, or of his still larger and more ingenious plan to win the Hellenic recognition for his city by making it the focus of a new Hellenic League (Hartog *loc. cit.* c. 17).

2 οὐκ ἔστι δὲ οὐ ἔσται there is here an omitted antecedent, and the ellipse, supplied with the double negation, serves to emphasize the assertion, in this case a prediction; cp. Xenoph. *Anas.* 2. 4 3 οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτι οὐκ ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ἡμῶν καὶ βασιλεὺς. σίνος (noun), an ἀπὸ α.

in Hdt., though the verb *εἰρεσθαι* is to be found *passim* (esp. Bk. II; cp. I V *supra*).

13, στρατῇ, as the context proves, includes both the land and sea forces.

ἀρίθμηλα, "absolutely clear" αὐτοὶ ὅτι α. in Hdt.; cf. I V *supra*.

4 ἐς τιμωρίην, assistance, aid support—as ὅτι cp. Hdt. The prominence of "the Athenians" betrays the origin of the anecdote.

15, κατασκήψῃ for the verb cp. I, 184, 137 *supra*, passages which would suggest that a *μυστήρ* or *ἐλευστήρ* was here too in view—although clearly not directed against the Greeks in Peloponnesus or in Salamis. The word may be used in a weakened sense, meaning little more than the *ἐπώνυμοι* just below the grammatical subject is obviously the nearest would be τὸ φθεγγόμενον but, as that must be taken in the passive the result is nonsense. Stein suggests *σέφος*, by anticipation; cognate from above would be less remote and obscure; but a vague though so self-evident subject such as τὸ θείον τῶν α. or such like, suggested itself in the immediate context or even τὸ σίνος τῶν α. τὸ αὐτοῦ.

16, τὴν δὲ ὁρτὴν ταύτην: no feast or festival, strictly speaking, has been described, or even expressly mentioned; but may be taken as implied in τὸν μυστικὸν λαχὼν στρατὸν. The reference here is not to an *ἀγών*, which undoubtedly was held at Eleusis in strict terminology τὰ ἑλευσινια, but to the celebration of the "mysteria" (τὰ μυστήρια).

ἔτεα τῇ Μητρὶ καὶ τῇ Κούρῃ, καὶ αὐτῶν τε ὁ βουλόμενος 20
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων μνείται· καὶ τὴν φωνὴν τῆς ἀκούεις
ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὀργῇ ἰσχυρίζουσι." πρὸς ταῦτα εἰπεῖν Δημητρίου
"οἶγα τε καὶ μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον εἶπες· ἦν γάρ
τοι ἐν βασιλείᾳ ἀνευχεῖσθαι τὰ ἔτεα ταῦτα, ἀποβαλέεις τὴν
κεφαλὴν, καὶ σε οὔτε ἐγὼ δυνήσομαι ῥύσασθαι οὔτ' ἄλλος 25
ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ εἷς. ἀλλ' ἔχ' ἥσυχος, περὶ δὲ στρατιῆς τῆσδε
θεοῖσι μελήσει." τὸν μὲν δὴ ταῦτα παραυνεῖν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ
κοινοῦ καὶ τῆς φωνῆς γενέσθαι φόρος καὶ μεταρσιωθεὶν
φέρεσθαι ἐπὶ Σαλαμῖνος ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον το τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

20 τῇ Μητρὶ B: τῇ Δημητρὶ Holder, van H. || κόρη ACP: κόρη
21 μνείται B: 22 εἶπαι 23 βασιλῆα 24 ἀνευχεῖσθαι B
25 οὐκ εἷς ALC: οὐδέ 27 δὴ οὐ, ου || ἐκ δὴ 28 μεταρσιωθεὶν
B: 29 ἐκ τὸ A, Holder, van H.

which took place annually in
1831-32, the 19th and 20th
being especially devoted to the lakchos
poem, and the latter of the two known
by its name. On the evening which
begins that calendar day the pilgrims
traced the path. During the day
of the 19th they would have seen
returning from Athens, and it is, there-
fore, interesting to the 19th that the
celebration of the lakchos and Dem-
eter's is to be dated, and consequently
to the 20th that the actual battle is to
be reported. Cf. generally, on the
subject, A. M. M. M., *Fests der
Demos*, 1898, 179-277.

20 αὐτῶν θεῶν, ep. 7, 196 and
21 αὐτῶν θεῶν

20 τῇ Μητρὶ καὶ τῇ Κούρῃ: the
cult of the mother and the daughter
Demeter and Persephone, was present
in the original nucleus of the Eleu-
sinian cult, but not necessarily, like
the Thesmophoria, confined to women (ep.
2, 71). The Homeric Hymn to Demeter
bears no trace of the existence of such
the cult of the mother and daughter (the
god and the goddess, Hekate, Euboea,
Trophonios, Isonkeos, associated with
the cult is obscure, but the supposed
Eleusinian origin of the mysteries, Dou-
cart on *Eleusina* looks like a retro-
gression in constructive criticism. At
least early date, perhaps in connexion
with the introduction of a new deity,
perhaps as a consequence of the Athenian
conquest of Eleusis, the cult obtained
wide religious recognition, but the exact

point at which 'pan-Hellenic' agni-
fication was reached by the 'mysteries'
is not clear; probably at least as
early as the times of Periklitos, with
whose action and policy such a cult
were congruous. Even in the age of
Periklitos the enlarged Eleusina may
have been represented as a restoration.

21 ἰσχυρίζουσι: 22 εἶπαι 23 βασιλῆα
24 ἀνευχεῖσθαι

25 οὐκ εἷς ALC: οὐδέ 27 δὴ οὐ, ου || ἐκ δὴ 28 μεταρσιωθεὶν
B: 29 ἐκ τὸ A, Holder, van H.

26 οὐδὲ εἷς 'no, not one!' a
somewhat formal, but perhaps idiomatic
emphasis; ep. 7, 196 and

27 εἶπαι 28 ἀνευχεῖσθαι

29 ἐκ τὸ A, Holder, van H.

20 αὐτῶν θεῶν, ep. 7, 196 and
21 αὐτῶν θεῶν

22 εἶπαι 23 βασιλῆα 24 ἀνευχεῖσθαι B
25 οὐκ εἷς ALC: οὐδέ 27 δὴ οὐ, ου || ἐκ δὴ 28 μεταρσιωθεὶν
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emphasis; ep. 7, 196 and

27 εἶπαι 28 ἀνευχεῖσθαι

29 ἐκ τὸ A, Holder, van H.

30 οὕτω δὴ αὐτοὺς μαθεῖν ὅτι τὸ ναυτικὸν τὸ Ξέρξεω ἀπολέσθαι μέλλοι. ταῦτα μὲν Δίκαιος ὁ Θεοκύδιος εἶλεγε. Δημαρτήτου τε καὶ ἄλλων μαρτύρων καταπτόμενος.

66 Οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸν Ξέρξεω ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντες, ἐπειδὴ ἐκ Τρηχίνος θεσάμενοι τὸ τῶμα τὸ Λακωνικὸν διέβησαν ἐς τὴν Ἰσθμίδα, ἐπισχόντες ἡμέρας τρεῖς ἔπλεον δι' Εὐρίπου, καὶ ἐν ἐτέρῃσι τρισὶ ἡμέρῃσι ἐγένοντο ἐν Φαλήρῃ. οἷς μὲν

30 δὴ Steiu², van H.: δὲ || ἀπολέσθαι B 31 μέλλει? Κρυεῖσι
(Marc.) || τε οὐκ, αC 32 τῶν ἄλλων B || καταπτόμενος c 56. 1
δ' B || ξέρξεω B 3 ἐπλεον B || διὰ α

30. οὕτω δὴ κτλ.: that the vision of the king of the future concerning a pan-Hellenic festival in a later century, by the enemy's pretences might but destruction to the barbarians, could not enter their minds.

61. Δημαρτήτου τε καὶ ἄλλων: they were not then *living* yet others were present to attest the truth of the story. Or did Demaratus bargain the injunctious of Demaratus, and communicate their adventure to other persons so returning to camp? μαρτύρων is of course used appositively ὡς οὐκ ὅτι ἄλλος α. 56 αἰτία. καταπτόμενος ὡς α. 54, α. 55 αἰτία. *αἰτία* is a *participle* Herodotean use; ὡς α. 5, 3.

This remarkable anecdote is framed in, so to speak, at the beginning and the end, by express reference to the source, the authority. It comes in sharply and out of place here, at the close of the account of events on the Greek side, and before the account of events on the Persian side, to which it might rather seem to belong: but (i.) the Persian army has already been introduced into Attica α. 55 56; (ii.) chronologically the events seem to belong to the very day recorded α. 54.

66 1. οἱ δὲ . . ταχθέντες: ὡς α. 5. Φαλήρῃ ταχθέντες α. 1 αἰτία. The narrative is here resumed from α. 25 α. 5.

2. τὸ τῶμα τὸ Λακωνικόν, 'the disaster to the Lacedaemonians' they beheld in seeing the corpse-exhibition, α. 26 αἰτία. The Thebians are not here taken any account of.

3. ἐπισχόντες: they 'halted,' or remained at rest, waited; ὡς α. 54 α. 55.

Six days are here accounted for, three of which are consumed by the further halt at Histiaea and three by

the voyage to Plataea. These six days are in apposition to two days accounted for in α. 25 αἰτία, upon the second of which the naval forces were occupied in getting back to Histiaea, where the land forces were getting under way on their march through Phocia and Boeotia to Athens. The previous day had been devoted to sight-seeing at Thermopylae, the day before that the king's fleet was occupied in advancing from Arapha to Histiaea α. 23 αἰτία. These nine days, in α., are accounted for. The first of these nine days is the day in which the army, according to the festival of Artemision, which occupies some date, exact or approximate, as *heralds* with the engagements at Thermopylae, ending these three days it would appear that the forces had arrived at Plataea on the twelfth day after its arrival at Arapha, both events included. The fleet apparently leads the army in the possession of Athens, but what interval separated the arrival of army and of fleet Hist. does not specify. If Xerxes occupied the Athenian Acropolis less than a week after leaving Thermopylae, having in the meantime ravaged at least Phocia and destroyed Histiaea and Thebes, his advance was a terrible rapid one. In fact it is hardly possible. The lag of the fleet may have been an interval pressed, but the arrival of fleet and army in Attica may have accelerated the apparent interval being an illusion due to Hist's method in separating the accounts of simultaneous operations, and completing relatively the story of one series before entering on that of the other. He himself is here more concerned with the material mass than with the temporal metron of the forces (p. Appendix VI § 2).

4. ἀεὶ μὲν τοὶ δοκῶν: the construction

τε καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς νηυστας πάντας, πλὴν τῶν πέντε πολλῶν τῶν ἐπεμνήσθημεν πρότερον τὰ οὐνόματα. ὅσῃ γὰρ δὴ προ-
15 ἔβαινε ἐσωτέρω τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὁ Πέρσης, τοσούτῃ πλέω ἐβηαὶ οἱ εἵπετο.

67 Ἐπεὶ ὦν ἀπίκато ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας πάντες οὗτοι πλὴν Παρίων (Πάριοι δὲ ὑπολειφθέντες ἐν Κύθῳ ἐκαρaboκεον τον πολέμον κῆ ὑποβήσεται), οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ὡς ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὸ Φύληρον, ἐνθαῦτα κατέβη αὐτοὺς Ξέρξης ἐπὶ τὰς νῆας, ἐβέλων
5 σφ. συμμείξαι τε καὶ πυθίσθαι τῶν ἐπιπλεόντων τὰς γνώμας.

13 τε post Τηγίους οἰα. α 14 ἐπεμνήσθην B, Stein¹, Holder, van H. || προσέβαιναν V) B: 15 ἐσωτέρω α 67. 1 ἐπείτε? van H. || ἀπίκατο P: ἀπίκετο B || οἱ τοι οἰα. γ 3 δ B: τῇ α 4 νῆας B || θάλιον B 5 συμμείξαι van H., Stein² - συμμείξαι || ἐπιπλεόντων B

in 480 B.C. to punish them for their 'unpatriotic'; cp. α 121 *infra*. They were a *terramata* subjected to Athens cp. 9 105, and *assumed* *gouiza* γ at five talents cp. 4 1, *Scylax* p. 91.

Ἀνδρίους: for the position of Andros cp. 4 25 & 31. For the subsequent operations against it, cp. 106 B. *infra*.

Τηγίους: for the position of Tenos cp. 4 33, 6. 87; for the subsequent punishment of Tenos and its island, cp. 2 19 *supra*.

13 τῶν πέντε πολλῶν. Not including the Arginæ and Euboean towns, so-called states have been enumerated in the Greek navy in: α 18 *supra*, 72, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

14 τῶν ἐπεμνήσθημεν πρότερον τὰ οὐνόματα: the *terramata* back in to α 14 *supra*. The grammatical construction is remarkable. cp. 6. 126. But the normal text, especially *terramata* here, might be taken as of reference or limit, rather than as directly objective.

ἐπείβαινε ἐσωτέρω τῆς Ἑλλάδος: cp. α 66 *supra* τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσπίδα. He has here rather more the appearance of a going *epitaph*, *epitaph*, even limited to the *epitaph*.

67 1. ἀπίκατο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας. cor-
rected, both as to time and place, but
below into *δωδεκον ἐς τὸ Φύληρον*. The
city name might pass for the country,
cp. 6. 17.

2. Πάριοι had paid dearly for bloodism

in 480 B.C.; cp. 6. 133-5. They now
remained behind" (*ὑπολειφθέντες* cp.
I 61, 9. 53) in Kythnos - staff of the
patriotic side, α 46 *supra* and like the
Athyreans in the west, *ἐκαρaboκεον*
των π., cp. 7. 163. This attitude of the
Parians seems to show - like the *disser-*
tion of the Lemnians and the Tenians -
that the islanders by no means regretted
the triumph of the king as a foreign
conqueror.

3. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ: the *de* *consequent*,
after a parenthesis; cp. 7. 90 *loc. cit.*

τὸ Φύληρον, α 86 *supra*. In 6
116 it is described as 'at that time
(480 B.C.) the Athenian arsenal (*armament*)'

perhaps because in the narrative there
the remark is of especial point in view
of the threatening pause of the Persian
fleet in the offing; or perhaps because
when Hdt. wrote that passage he had
a personal acquaintance with the Attic
harbours, which he still lacked when
writing this, *Introd.* 14 6. 7.

4 κατέβη αὐτοὺς Ξέρξης: the king
doubtless rode, or was driven down in
his open chariot or covered carriage cp.
7. 41 *supra*; he surely would not be
walking from Athens. But it was an
effort of condescension; for Xerxes
might have summoned the council of
war to Athens if he had merely wished
to take advice. The king has not re-
viewed his fleet properly since Doricor,
or at least since Themis cp. 7. 41, 100,
127.

5 σφί: not the ships, but the men,
or their commanders. τῶν ἐπιπλεόντων
cp. 7. 98 *supra*. With *συμμείξαι* cp.
α 66 *supra*.

δε εἴουσιν γνώμην με δίκαιον ἐστὶ ἀποδείκνυσθαι, τὰ τυγχάνω
φρονέουσα ἄριστα ἐς πρήγματα τὰ σά. καὶ τοι τάδε λέγω·
φείδω τῶν νεῶν μηδὲ ναυμαχίην ποιεῖν. οἱ γὰρ ἄνδρες τῶν
10 σῶν [ἰνδρῶν] κρείσσονες τοσούτο εἰσὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ὅσον
ἄνδρες γυναικῶν. τί δὲ παντὶς δέει σε ναυμαχίῃσι ἀνακινδυ-
νεύειν; οὐκ ἔχεις μὲν τὰς Ἀθήνας, τῶν περ εἵνεκα ὁρμήτης
στρατεύεσθαι, ἔχεις δὲ τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα; ἐμποδῶν δέ τοι
ἴστανται οὐδεὶς· οἱ δὲ τοι ἀντέστησαν, ἀπήλλαξαν οὕτω ὥς
15 κείνους ἔπρεπε. τῇ δὲ ἐγὼ δοκίμῃ ἀποβήσεσθαι τὰ τῶν ἀντι-
πυλόμενον πρήγματα, ταῦτα φράσω. ἦν μὲν μὴ ἐπειχθῆς
ναυμαχίην ποιούμενος, ἀλλὰ τὰς νῆας αὐτοῦ ἔχῃς πρὸς γῆ
μένον ἢ καὶ προβαίνων ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον, εὐπετέως τοι
ἐς ποτα χωρήσει τὰ νεῶν ἐληλυθας, οὐ γὰρ οἰοί τε πολλὸν
20 χρόνον εἰσὶ τοι ἀντέχειν οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἀλλὰ σφέας διασκέδῃς.
κατὰ πόλιν δὲ ἕκαστοι φεύξονται. οὔτε γὰρ σῖτος πᾶρα σφί
ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ταύτῃ, ὥς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, οὔτε αὐτοὺς οἰκίς, ἦν
σὺ ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐλαίνης τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν, ἀτρεμίειν

9 νεῶν B P. πικίς B. ποίειν : τοί, γὰρ : 10 ἰνδρῶν καὶ l.
dicitur : τοσούτο AC, Stein¹, 1 older, van H τοσούτων 11 οἱ
Holler, van H. 12 εἵνεκα B, van H. ὁρμήτης B, Stein¹ 14
ἀντέστησαν. ἀνίστανται B | ἴσταν B 15 κείνους : δ' AP. δοκίμῃ B
17 προβαίνων B | νῆας B. 18 ἢ καὶ B 21 πᾶρα δέ σ. δέ
πόλιν P. πᾶρα δέ σ. πόλιν δέ τοι B | σφί Stein¹ σφίσι 22
αὐτοὺς B 23 ἐλαίνεις R | ἀτρεμίειν B l'e

illustrated by the context (it has as much as only with, even as with τὸν).

9. οἱ γὰρ ἄνδρες . . γυναικῶν : cp. 7. 10 πᾶσι, where our author says as usual is said of the fighting on land, and c. 48 infra, where Xerxes remembers this difference and with a difference (p. 4, 17), which shows how bitter was the battle even to the Hellenes. In the routing the best of the Hellenes would make a slight exception for the Persian contingents (cp. c. 30 infra).

12 ἔχεις μὲν 'thou art in possession of . . ἔχεις just before, locy.

ἦν μὲν μὴ στρατεύεσθαι cp. 7. 1. Athens is the only place mentioned. 'The rest of Hellas' was liable to be forced to furnish contingents of 5000 king, so long as Peloponnesians, to say nothing of the West, remained.

15. ἀντιπυλόμενος = ἀντιπυλόμενος cp. 7. 236, 4. 134, 140.

17 ἢ καὶ προβαίνων ἐς τὴν Πελο-

πόννησον. Atticism too is combined with the idea mentioned and related to Demosthenes, 7. 236 supra, of an advance on the Peloponnesos, but with a difference: the advance to advocate a weak blockade of Salamis and an advance by the army (cp. below, φε εὐ ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐλαίειν τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν). Such an advance, she argues, will disorganize and scatter the Hellenes—apparently that is the Hellenic host at Salamis, who are to be moved and encouraged to break up κατὰ πόλιν. They must be looking for a ναυμαχία, an shortage of provisions would in any case compel them either to fight or to starve. 'Before just as I say so, such as I say so,' is Atticism; just as distinctly the plot plan to that described in Demosthenes, 7. 236 supra, the Hellenes the Hellenes of the Hellenes, which, a bit from the superior, the Hellenes could have had for over; the Hellenes the Hellenes were across the water cp. 7. 236 supra.

ἰτέρποντο τῇ ἀνακρίσει ὡς ἀπολεομένης αὐτῆς. ἔπει δὲ ἀνθ.
νεύθησαν αἱ γνώμαι ἐς Ξέρξην, κάρτα τε ἥσθη τῇ γνώμῃ τῇ
Ἀρτεμισίης, καὶ νομίζων ἔτι πρότερον σπουδαίην εἶναι τότε
πολλῷ μᾶλλον οὐκ. ὅμως δὲ τοῖσι πλέοσι πείθεσθαι ἐκέλευε,
10 τὰδε καταδύξας, πρὸς μὲν Εὐβοίῃ σφίεας ἐβελοκακίειν ὡς οὐ
παρεοντος αὐτοῦ, τότε δὲ αὐτὸς παρεσκευάστο θεήσασθαι
ναυμαχέοντας.

70 Ἐπεὶ δὲ παρήγγελλον ἀναπλέειν, ἀνῆγον τὰς νέας ἐπὶ

8 ἀνακρίσει. α: κρίσει B. κρίσι Hilder, van H. ἐπειδὴ B. ἐπειτὶ
van H. 7 ξέρξην B: | τῇ ἀρτεμισίῃς AB: τῆς ἀρτεμισίης 9
πλείοσι B 11 παρεσκευάστο celeris, θεήσασθαι pos. Daber, van H.
70. 1 ἐπειδὴ B. Hilder, van H. παρήγγελλον Δ' V. παρήγγελλον sic
Valekenner, van. II || ἀναπλέειν B: || νέας B:

χρωστος. Deceptus. α. was he among
Actium's rivals he c'

διὰ πάντων, as in 3. 27.

8. The meaning of ἀνακρίσει *discep-
tatio* appears to be guaranteed by
ἀνακριόμενοι 9. 55 infra, otherwise
σπασμαι or κρίσι might rather be
expected here: c. 1. App. C II.

9. ἔτι πρότερον 'still earlier'—just
as we say, *ἔτι* being used with any
comparative. τοῦ ἀνθρώπου δὲ—and not
εὐνοίας γὰρ—*ἔτι*, though no word *ἔτι*
would give an excellent sense with the
temporal adverb, σπουδαίην, sc. τῇ
γνώμῃ.

10. καταδύξας, as in 3. 27.

ἐβελοκακίειν is imperfect

ὡς οὐ παρόντος αὐτοῦ, in his
absence, as matter of fact, a reason in
Xenias' mind, though not suggested as
a reason which had been in their minds.

11. τότε δὲ, but now—*αὐτός*, though
in the *oratio obliqua*—'he has made all
preparations to sea them right at sea.

παρεσκευάστο: the preparation, in
mould, or active sense is *τοιμακαὶα*.
Cp. App. C III.

70. 1. ἐπεὶ δὲ παρήγγελλον: what in-
terval, if any, intervened between the
resolution of Xerxes to do battle and the
departure of the fleet does not appear.
The grammatical subject of παρήγγελλον
is also obscure, is it αὐτὸν ἢ τὸν τῶν
σφετέρων τυράννων καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων c. 87
supra, or is it not rather αὐτὸν τῶν βασιλέων
ἀναγνόντων (7. 97)? Whatever it is, the
subject of ἀνῆγον is different: those
who issue and those who execute one
and the same order cannot be identical.
Hdt. apparently assumes that the whole
fleet was together at Salamis.

ἀνῆγον κτλ.: though ἀνῆγον is the
imperfect, παρήγγελλον δὲ ἀνῆγοντες is a
perfect as in, and here the assumption is
that the ἀναπλοὶς was not accomplished:
it was for ναυμαχίαν ποιεῖσθαι that
daylight failed. The exact position,
however, occupied by the fleet, when
this daylight was carried out completely,
is not clearly defined by the words ἐπὶ
τῇ Σαλαμίνι. Leake, followed by Grote,
argued that the movement here described
took the Persian ships right into the
straits, and ended in their being drawn
up in battle array along the Attic shore,
facing the Greeks in the bay of Salamis.
That argument is in so far justified as
it gives point to the statement imme-
diately succeeding τὸν μὲν πο-
νεύσαντων πολεμῶν, for this statement
seems to imply that the Persians have
reached a position in which they have it
in their power to deliver an attack.
Necessarily, if so conceived the situation
(as far as he had any clear and definite
conception in the matter), but nevertheless
Leake's theory cannot be correct or true to the facts. For
evidence given elsewhere (cp. Appendix
VI § 3) it is possible that the Persian
fleet entered the straits by daylight and
took up a position in order of battle
opposite the Greeks in the bay of
Salamis. Nor is the words of Hdt. to
this purpose, which no doubt represent
what he had heard or read, of necessity
imply any such absurdity. The Persian
ships moved from Phaleron upon Salamis
to attack the Greeks, and reached a
position in battle-array, but whether
that position was within or outside the
straits is not expressly stated, nor is

72 ἡμέρης. οἱ δὲ βοηθησάυτες εἰς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν πανδήμι οἷδε ἦσαν Ἑλλήνων, Λακεδαιμόνιοι τε καὶ Ἀρκάδες πάντες καὶ Ἠλείοι καὶ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Σικωνιοὶ καὶ Ἐπιδαύριοι καὶ Φλειάσιοι καὶ Τροιζήνιοι καὶ Ἑρμιονέες. οὗτοι μὲν ἦσαν οἱ βοηθησάυτες, καὶ ὑπεραρρωδιόντες τῇ Ἑλλάδι κινδυνευούσης· τοῖσι δὲ

72. 1. βοῦθῆσαντες B, van H. || πανδήμι οἷδε Helder, van H.. πανήμι οἷδε α· πανήμι οἷδε Steen· παρήμι οἷδε B || ἦσαν τ (119) 2 καὶ πούτες RV 4 βοῦθῆσαντες B, ὑπεραρρωδιόντες καὶ βοῦθῆσαντες, van H.)

72. 1. οἱ δὲ βοηθῆσαντες . . . παρ δῆμι: evidently some great credit is taken for this βοήθεια: but here the τὴν or τῶν is used twice, the effort is emphasized πανδήμι, the complete list of folks represented in the muster is given nominatively, the rest of the Peloponnesians are at gratified for their assistance. Yet, in truth, what the Spartans and their allies deserved was a severe reprimand for broken pledges and the selfish abandonment of Attica. The Isthmian wall was no credit to the Peloponnesians, and hardly consistent with Spartan principles (though they had not the wall at Thermopylae). See 7. 1.6 supra. The levy for Plataea was also πανήμι, i.e. the two-thirds of all save αὐτοῖς ἄνδρες and of women, and the figures for Plataea would give a total levy of not less than 42,000 hoplites, while of course, thousands of pedites and of slaves would have been employed upon the wall and building.

2. Λακεδαιμόνιοι. It is perhaps not to be assumed that Sparta sent as many men to the Isthmos in 480 B.C. as to Plataea in 479 B.C. (see below the figures for the latter to be correct, p. 28).

Ἀρκάδες πάντες. Tegea, Mantinea, Orchomenos would certainly be included and probably other places. The phrase is remarkable, as it is only relative to a κοινὸν τῶν Ἀρκάδων. At Thermopylae the Arcadians are represented by 3120 men 7. 202. But what of the Peloponnesians, c. 26,000?

Ἠλείοι. no figure is given for their contingent at Plataea; cp 9. 77 infra. Their contingent at least 1900 hoplites.

3. Κορίνθιοι. if they sent 5000 to Plataea, might certainly send 5000 to the Isthmos, though they have a squadron at Salamis and had only sent 400 to Thermopylae; 7. 202.

Σικωνιοὶ had at least 6000 ships at Salamis (p. 43 supra, and sent 3000 hoplites to Plataea).

Ἐπιδαύριοι - the Corinth repr. sented at Salamis, and by ten ships sent 1st 800 hoplites to Plataea.

Φλειάσιοι have a 4th ed. at Plataea in 479 B.C., but only 200 at Thermopylae, 7. 202 supra, and are unrepresented at Salamis.

4. Τροιζήνιοι have five ships at Salamis, and send 1000 men to Plataea next year.

Ἑρμιονέες have three ships at Salamis, and send 300 hoplites to Plataea.

The list of nine states named as sending contingents to the Isthmos is not, and not on the face of it authoritative. The figures for each contingent are left to be inferred or conjectured, and, what is worse, there may be omissions in it. Were not the Megarians too, who had twenty ships at Salamis, and sent 3000 hoplites to Plataea in 479 B.C., also helped the wall? The order in which the contingents are named is odd, the Peloponnesians at least entirely breaking in the geographical continuity.

5. καὶ ὑπεραρρωδιόντες. i.e. they are more ships, even than their fellow-citizens at Salamis? For themselves, or for the fleet? On the latter would be to their credit: in case of Helles being on the fleet. If so, the βοήθεια at the Isthmos must be conceived as intended to co-operate with the fleet, perhaps Ktemenochos is assisting on the fleet taking back on the Isthmos.

τοῖσι δὲ ἅλ. Π. ἀπὸς οὐδὲν - a sentence which obviously interrupts the ἀποδείξις purpose of the passage. It must be false, so far as the list is concerned, and it is hardly likely to have been strictly true in any case - even of Athens etc.

Κυνούριοι· ἐν δὲ ἔθνος τὸ Ἀχαικὸν ἐκ μὲν Πελοποννήσου
οὐκ ἐξεχώρησε, ἐκ μέντοι τῆς ἐωυτῶν, οἰκίει δὲ τὴν ἄλλοτρίην.
τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἔθνη τῶν ἑπτὰ <τὰ> τέσσαρα ἐπήλυδα ἐστί,
Δωριεὺς τε καὶ Αἰτωλοὶ καὶ Δρύοι περὶ καὶ Λήμιοι· Δωριέων

4 ἀχαικὸν Δ^{BP}: ἀχαικὸν
γ καὶ Δωριέων :

6 <τὰ> Stein³ || τέσσαρα CR

and Aitolians, who came in perhaps together, (4 of Heraklion and Asina, cities of one folk, while (5) in 'the many famous cities' the colonization is close on to disappear altogether in one class.

Ἀρκάδες: to Hdt. the Arkadians are Peloponnesians, cp. 1. 146, 2. 171, and Βαυαρύβου ἀνδρὶς ὅρι. ὅρι. 1. 66, Paus. 1. 68 etc., Mantinea 4. 181 etc., Orobomenos 7. 202; Donakris (8. 74), Mantineia (ibid.), Pongakia (6. 82), Trapodia 6. 127, Paton (ibid.), Doria 9. 35, and indirectly Stymphalia (6. 73), are mentioned among the cities of Arkadia. Arkadians are serving on the king's fleet from Kyros (7. 90), and perhaps as mercenaries in his army (c. 28 supra).

4. Κυνούριοι, mentioned just below as Ionians, and nowhere else mentioned expressly by Hdt. Thuc. 4. 59. 2 enables us to identify their territory: ἀμικροῦνται ἐν Θερμαίᾳ ἢ ἐστὶ μὲν τῆς Κυνουρίας γῆς πολιορκητὴς μετὰ τὴν δὲ τῆς Ἀργείας καὶ Λακωνικῆς, cp. 5. 14. 4, and 4. 2 περὶ τῆς Κυνουρίας γῆς ὅτι αἰ. πέρι διαφύροισι μεθορίας ὅστις ἔχει δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ Θερμαίᾳ καὶ Ἀνθόων πόλιν, ἔσονται δ' αὐτὴν Λακεδαιμόνιοι. The great chapter out of the *logos* περὶ γῶρον ἐν Λακωνίᾳ ἑστῶτος is told above 1. 82 of Cynurian Anthele Hdt. appears to know nothing; and it is remarkable that in one place he speaks of Thyros as the χωρὶς ἐβόατο. All this does not look as if he had knowledge of the operations in the district during the Achaean war (4. 4 n. c., Thuc. 4. 54, 57) or even of the settlement of the Arkadians there after their expulsion in 441 n. c. (8. 91, Thuc. 2. 27. 2).

τὸ Ἀχαικόν: what the strict ethnographical relation of the Achaeans to the Peloponnesians (Arkadians) and Ionians of the Peloponnese Hdt. nowhere clearly indicates. Were they also (in his opinion) Peloponnesians? Topographical vho must place them south of their historic provinces, probably in Lakonia. Historic Achaia, with its Paidekapolis, had been Ionian before it was Achaian, according to Hdt. 1. 145. The relation of the

'Achaiana' of Peloponnesos to the 'Achaiana' of Thessaly is not a problem as with Hdt. concerns himself; cp. 7. 108 supra.

ἐκ μὲν Πελοποννήσου οὐκ ἐξεχώρησεν: is it possible that Hdt. did not trace the 'Achaian' settlements in Italy to the Peloponnese? Or the 'Achaian' in Italy to the same source (cf. 19, 176)? Or does he merely mean by these words that the Achaian stock has not completely exterminated the Peloponneses though it has shifted from one place to another within it? τῆς ἐωυτῶν: ac. historic Lakonia, τὴν ἄλλοτρίην, ec. historic Achaia.

7. Δωριεὺς: the legend of the Dorian invasion, or of 'the Return of the Herakleids, is in part narrated 2. 28 infra, and everywhere presupposed in Hdt., cp. c. 31 supra.

Αἰτωλοὶ, first, apparently to acquaint with a form of the legend, which made Aitolians accompany or guide the Dorian invaders from 'Karpaktes', but he nowhere expressly refers to the legend of Oaxilus (Pausan. 8. 3. 5).

Δρύοι: the 'Dryopian' invasion of the Peloponnese, which left its mark in Heraklion and Asina, is doubtless conceived by the Greek historians as originating prior to the Dorian through it stated, according to one story, from the same quarter or cradle Strabo 434 τὴν Δρυϊνίδα περὶ τὸν γῶρον ποτὶ καθάπερ καὶ τὴν Δωριδα, μετὰ τὸν δὲ τὸν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ἱσχυροῦντο. They had quarrelled with Herakles in their native Dryops, and been banished by him to the South. (Diodorus 4. 37; Strabo, etc.) The geographical positions of the Dryopians in historic times (cp. c. 43 supra) suggests a sea route for the migration—if, indeed, the whole legend be not a fiction, and the Dryopians of historic times fragments of a wide-spread stratum of early population. According to 'Aristotle' ap. Strabo, 373 Dryops was an Arkadian.

Λήμιοι, evidently a consequence of the legend narrated 4. 146; but

μεν πολλαὶ τε καὶ δόκιμοι πόλεις, Λιταίων δὲ Ἰλίου μόνῃ, Ἐρμιῶν δὲ Ἐρμιῶν τε καὶ Ἀσίου ἢ πρὸς Καρδαμύλῃ τῇ Λακωνικῇ. Ἀημιῶν δὲ Παρωρεῖται πάντες. οἱ δὲ Κυνοῦραι ἢ ἀποχθόνους ἔοντες δοκοῦσι μόνον εἶναι Ἴωνες, ἐκδεδωρικευταί

B πόλεις α: πόλεις C 9 ἔρμιων A B: ἔρμιων B, ἔρμιων V. ἔρμιων A C. ἔρμιων B 10 παρωρεῖται B: 11 ἐκδεδωρικευταί. P: ἐκ δὲ δωρικευταί B: ἐκδεδωρικευταί α: ἐκδεδωρικευταί Vaiskhaet, van H: ἐκδεδωρικευταί Dindorf

'Leprosia' is hardly an ethnic designation. Why does not Hdt. here and there mention? Does he expect his readers to know that passage in Strabo? And is this passage of later composition or insertion? (p. Introduction § 9.) But see below.

8. δόκιμοι πόλεις. cf. Σαῖτα, Ἀργεῖ, Ἰλίου, Μελίον, Πάρις, Ἐπίδαυρος, Τίρυνς, etc. This phrase can hardly be quoted as by Herodotus to prove that the passage is 'a later addition' to the work of Hdt. for even if Strabo and others were right in saying that the city of Ἐρμιῶν did not exist at the time of the Persian war still it existed before any part of the work of Hdt. But Strabo probably overstates his case. The town increased owing to a *συναίστησις* some years after the Persian war, Thucyd. II. 2. 471 n.c. p. 4, 148 *supra*, but there was a city of Ἐρμιῶν already; cf. Herodotus II. 2. 815 cited above.

9. Ἐρμιῶν. cf. p. 13 *supra*, in the S.W. of the Argolis peninsula. It was considered as the seat from which there was the shortest cut down to Helos. Strabo, 373.

Ἀσίου: the place here mentioned is on the east coast of Messenia, i.e. on the coast of the Messenian gulf (Strabo 369), not to be confused with the Ἀσίου Ἰσθμῶν, in the neighbourhood of Helos, visited by the Athenians in 427 B.C. (Thuc. 4. 24. 4, though possibly identical with the Ἀσίου mentioned in two other places in Thucydides 1. 14. 1, 6. 93. 3. It may have derived its name from an older settlement in close proximity to Hermione, II. 2. 580, the remnants of which sided with the Spartans in the Messian and Argive wars, and were seized by the Argives, but given a new name by the Lakonian name. Strabo 373, Pausan. 3. 30. 4, 3. 7. 4.

ἢ πρὸς Καρδαμύλῃ: expressly to distinguish it from the one in Argolis,

which, if still existing, was a more village (Strabo 369). But has Hdt. correctly located it, or can πρὸς here mean 'opposite' 'over against'? Kardamyle was in the realm of Messenia of old: *σφαιρὰ δὲ αὐτῆς τῆς Μεσσηνιακῆς κοίτης καὶ τοῦ σφαιρῆτος ἑσπερίοι λεγόμενοι ἀπὸ τῆς Μεσσηνιακῆς Ἀσίου αὐτῆς ἦσαν πόλεις ἃς σφαιρῆτος διώκει ὁ Ἀργεῖος τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ. Καρδαμύλη Μεσσηνία αὐτῆς* (II. 6. 100, 205. Strabo 369. Butcher (p. 154) describes it as situate about 5 miles from Stundera N. of Louktra, and 1 mile (200 paces) from the coast, upon a steep rock, the village still preserving the name *Saferdamyle*.

τῇ Λακωνικῇ to distinguish it from any other place of the same name, e.g. the city in Cilicia mentioned by Thucyd. 8. 24. 3.

10. Παρωρεῖται: according to 4. 148 the 'Paroreatæ' and 'Kakemonæ' had been driven out of their cities by the Messians (i.e. the Lemnians), here Hdt. appears to identify the Paroreatæ with the Lemnians (i.e. Messians) or with a part of them. The two passages must be regarded as independent, even though the Lemnian legend underlies the one. The two peoples stood in the same ground. Strabo 316 *ἐλέγοντο δὲ Ἰωνοὶ καὶ τινὲς τῶν ἐν τῇ Ταυρῶνι ἀνέγονται ὅτι πρὸς τὸ Ἰερίον καὶ τὸ Μύσιον ἀποβήσαντα ἐκ δακρυῶν ἑλποῦν τοῦ Σαρματικῆς ποταμοῦ. The name no doubt means the inhabitant of the Παρωρεῖα, which means 'the high land'—though why L. & S. place this part of Paroreia in 'Arcadia' unless by confusion with the town mentioned in Pausanias 8. 27. 3, is not obvious. The name is found in Thucyd. (Livy 39) and even on the Euxine (C.I.G. 205. 4. 17).*

11. μόνον εἶναι Ἴωνες: Hdt. appears to think it at the 'Κυνοῦραι' were Ionians, and the only Ionians remaining in the Ierapontes. As they occupy their original abode, he must conceive

- δὲ ὑπὸ τε Ἀργείων ἀρχόμενοι καὶ τοῦ χρόνου, ἔοντες Ὀρνέηται
[καὶ οἱ περίοικοι]. τούτων ὦν τῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἔθνεων αἱ λοιπαὶ
πόλεις, πᾶρες τῶν κατέλεξα, ἐκ τοῦ μέσου κατέατο· εἰ δὲ
15 ἐλευθέρως ἔξιστι εἰπεῖν, ἐκ τοῦ μέσου κατημεινοὶ ἐμῆδιζον.
74 Οἱ μὲν δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ τοιοῦτον πόνη συνέστασαν αὐτε
περὶ τοῦ παντός ἤδη [δρόμου] θέοντες καὶ τῇσι νηυσὶ οὐκ

12 ἀρχόμενοι del. Cobet, van H. || καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ [participio] retentioni
Schaefer, Krueger || χρόνου <προϊόντος> Stein³ | ὀρίναται. α
13 καὶ οἱ περίοικοι teal. Stein²: οἱ οἰκ. 6. verba ἔοντες . . περίοικοι nihil
suspecta | τοιούτων 6F² 14 πόλεις α: πόλεις C || κατέατο α
ἐκατέατο 8 15 εἰποι α, van H. 74. 2 δρόμον del. Loueck
απ δρόμον?

the Ionians as originally occupying more ground in the Peloponnese than the historic Achæans.

ἐκδιδωσμένους, 'they have become' more Dorian than the Dorians, or, at least, 'thoroughly dorized' (cp. App. Crit.). But what (s) Hdt. wore the voice of Dorism, apart from diction?—dialect, 1. 1 v. dress, 5. 88; organization, 5. 68; perhaps cult, 5. 72. It is, indeed, curious how little there is to distinguish the Dorians as such; but of course to Hdt. they are the Ἕλληνες κατ' ἔξοχον; cp. 1. 56, 5. 84, 7. 93 etc. At the time Hdt. wrote this passage Thyrea can hardly yet have been in the hands of the Argives; in other words, it makes against the theory of the late composition of Bks. 7-8 (cp. Introduction, § 8) and even against dating the composition, or insertion, of the chapter to the final revision (cp. § 12).

12 ἐν δὲ τε Ἀργείων ἀρχόμενοι καὶ τοῦ χρόνου: the principle is exegetical, after Ἀργεῖοι, χρόνον is in direct regimen from the preposition, 'by their authorship to the Argives and by lapse of time.' Stein's last lesson (cp. App. Crit.), reducing the construction to a simple genit. absol., waters down a forcible phrase.

Ὀρνέηται Orneai is known to the Hærodoti Catalogue, II. 2. 571, in the Mykenesian (or Achaean) group; cp. 1. 8 supra; it certainly was not in Kyrena; cp. Strabo 376 Pausan. 2. 26. 5. If this whole phrase be not as I suspect) a gloss (cp. App. Crit.), it must be inferred, with K. O. Müller (*Dorica* 1. 85, 160, etc.), that Orneai had been reduced by Argos before the Persian war or at least before the date of Hdt.'s composition; and that, like the *Quæritæ* at Rome, the Orneatæ gave

their name to a political state—re-sounding that of the *perioeci* in Loccum.

At the battle of Mantinea in 418 B.C. the Orneatæ are discombed, with the Læonæatæ, as *ἐμμάχοι* to the Argives (Thuc. 5. 67. 2), and the reduction and destruction of Orneai is recorded later, in 415 B.C. (Thuc. 8. 7. 2). The city was at that time occupied by Argive exiles supported by a Lakodæmonian garrison (Diodor. 12. 81. 4).

14. πᾶρες τῶν κατέλεξα: the construction is by alliteration. The phrase, remarkable as a reference back to c. 7.2, might perhaps support the view that c. 7.3 is a later insertion from the author's hand; or was a not Hdt. have used the perfect rather than the aorist of c. 7.2-7.3 has been originally written in *enim* *illius*!

οἱ δὲ ἐλευθέρως ἔξιστι εἰπεῖν. Why should there be any shyness about free speech, free writing? Hdt. has an audience, or a reading public in view, which may be offended by a verdict, in this public forum in the Achaean colonies of Italy? Or in Athens, at a time when the alliance with Argos, as the Achæans might be in the air? The contemporary of the Peloponnesian might have had special interest for exact phrase.

15. ἐκ τοῦ μέσου κατημεινοὶ ἐμῆδιζον. This verdict appears much more severe than the apology for the Argives in 7. 152 supra, and might well belong to a different stratum, a different draft, in the composition of the work.

74. 3. πόνη συνέστασαν: cp. *ἀμύνη συνέσταται* 7. 170, and *ἔχοντι δὲ αἱ πόλεις τὸν πόνη* 1. 206. *ἡστέον* *ἡστέον* that *συνέστασαν* is *pius quam perfectum* in sense, and *compunctum* *κατέατο* 2. 30.

2. περὶ . . θέοντες, cp. 7. 47 *περὶ*

ἐλπίζοντες ἐλλάμψεσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ὁμῶς ταῦτα
τυτθανόμενοι ἠρρώδεον, οἶκ οὔτω περὶ σφίσι αὐτοῖσι δειμαι-
νοντες ὡς περὶ τῇ Πελοποννήσῃ. τῶς μὲν δὲ αὐτῶν ἄνῃς
ἄνδρ' παραστὰς σιγῇ λόγον ἐποίητο, θῶμα ποιούμενοι τὴν
Ἐρμυβιάδω ἀβουλίῃ· τέλος δὲ ἐξερράγη εἰς τὸ μέσον.
σύλλογός τε δὴ ἐγένετο καὶ πολλὰ ἐλέγετο περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν,
οἱ μὲν ὡς ἐκ τῆν Πελοπόννησων χρεὼν εἶη ἀποπλέειν καὶ
περὶ ἐκείνης κινδυνεύειν μηδὲ πρὸ χωρῆς δοριαλῶτου μένοντας 10

3 ἐλλάμψεσθαι CP: ἐλάμψεσθαι = ἐλάμψεσθαι || σαλαμῖνι ἑλλήνων
B: τυτθανόμενοι ταῦτα B 5 πελοποννησία B b | τῶς Κισαῖος ἕως
αἰτῶν = 6 θυμῷ P, B b b' | ποιούμενους = ποιούμενους B
8 αἰτῶν = 9 χρεὼν CP d: | ἀποπλέειν B, van H. 10 δορια-
λῶται :

ἐλπίς = ἐλπίς ὁρμήν might be better
= ἐλπίς ὁρμήν; cp. App. CIII.

τῶς μὲν ὡς περὶ τῇ Πελοποννήσῃ. ἑλλήνων
τυτθανόμενοι ταῦτα (participle of τυτθάνω
= τυτθάνω). Cp. 1. 80 τὸ ἱππεὺς τῷ
ἐλπίς καὶ ἐλπίς ἐλλάμψεσθαι δ' ἄνδρ'.
τῶς μὲν ὡς περὶ τῇ Πελοποννήσῃ
τυτθανόμενοι = if the previous scene and
scene of passion of the first, i.e. of the
scene to compare this with; i.e. of the
scene on the other side probably
= ἐλπίς πρὸς τὴν ἑλλάδα. Moreover,
τυτθανόμενοι, it may be an allusion to
the scene the Greek fleet could not
= ἐλπίς πρὸς τὴν ἑλλάδα, the wall at the
Isthmus would be more than useless.

3. οἱ δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι: the scene shifts
back to the time and place of c. 70
before, but the temper of the Greeks
at Salamis is changed; there they were
pessimistic on their own account, primarily
on account of the Persian invasion
and the defeat and blockade in
Salamis while Peloponnesians were left ex-
posed. Now, on hearing of the wall,
the army, and all (τοὺς πάντας κινδυνεύοντες)
they drop their selfish fears and are
ready to attack ἀρρώδεον, cp. c. 72 and 10.
on account of the Persian invasion.
This argument and motivation is not
very good. The ταῦτα might, perhaps,
be referred or made to include the
message in the Persian invasion—but that
was hardly news (κινδυνεύοντες) to them,
and in any case the point remains that
the Greeks are not really afraid of
the power of a naval battle, but wish
to win it at the Isthmus.

5. ὡς περὶ μὲν δὲ 'for a while—there
was only silent, or at least private,
talk about σιγῇ λόγον ἐποίητο, one man

to another, all expressing their astonish-
ment at the folly of Eurybiades; at last
(τέλος δὲ) they could stand it no longer
—things came to a head the storm
burst upon a meeting came together,
and the whole question was opened
at once. ἐξερράγη, cp. App. CIII: cp.
3. 133 of a similar phrase. ἐρράγη
cp. 3. 133 ἐρράγησαν ἐπὶ τῷ ἐπὶ τῷ
cp. 7. 132.)

Very late, c. 132, but not quite correct.
Is this in the night which has come
over the scene in 70 before? The men
are plainly anxious. Who are the men
or speakers? The general body of
Greeks or only the Spartans? Is the
σύλλογος a public meeting cp. c. 8
ἡγήτορας, or is it the ἀσπασμός? These
points are not clear in the story, or in
the mind of the historian.

3. περὶ τῶν αἰτῶν is rather obscure
and clumsy, even if a reference back to
the discussion reports in c. 68.

9. οἱ μὲν ὡς λέγοντες as though
λέγοντες had immediately preceded some
and sentence.

These would be the Karians, and
perhaps Euboeians, Epidaurians, etc.
They treat the ἀσπασμός as still completely
open to them. This could not be the case
if the Persian fleet had not yet
entered the straits and taken up a
position facing the bay of Salamis.
This party is prevented to fight, but
proposed to change the venue.

10. ἀπὸ, = ἀπὸ the previous lines have
both local and causal force.

δοριαλῶτου cp. 2. 4. The word
looks prehistoric and is found in Xenophon
and Strabo, cp. ἡ αἰχμή? 132 ἀπὸ.

μῆχεσθαι, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ Αἰγινῆται καὶ Μεγαρέες αὐτοῦ
75 μένοντας ἀμυνεσθαι. ἐνθαῦτα Θερμοπύκλῃς ὡς ἔσσωτο τῇ
γῶνῃ ὑπὸ τῶν Πελοποννησίων, λαθὼν ἐξέρχεται ἐκ τοῦ

11 δι: το B

12 μένοντας B ἀμυνεσθαι R ἀμύνανθαι .

12. ἀμύνεσθαι rather suggests though not quite conclusively, that they expect attack and are prepared to act on the initiative. The Athenians, Arginetae, Megarians have a common interest, and pull together; cp. c. 60 supra.

76. 1. Θερμοπύκλῃς ὡς ἔσσωτο τῇ γῶνῃ. a strange phrase to be used of Themistokles! cp. 9. 123 infra. These strategoi obviously had much the best of the argument, cp. c. 80 supra, and he is backed by the Arginetae and Megarians. The phrase is, indeed, a concession to the necessities of the false tradition, which represents the Peloponnesians as resolved, at all costs, to abandon Salamis. But ἔσσωτο τῇ γῶνῃ is of course imperfect, and therefore perhaps not quite correct.

2. λαθὼν ἐξέρχεται ἐκ τ. συνδρίου. This is plainly a meeting of the Strategoi (cp. c. 74 supra) and it would be at least the first recorded in H. H. cp. cc. 49-50, 59-63 supra. It is apparently being held at night—like the previous one—and the night would be reckoned 20 by Attic reckoning, cp. c. 63, 19, on which the Persian army was reported or believed to be moving ἐκ τῆς Ἀκαρόννης, a 70 supra, when the Persian fleet had been transverring all, or most of the day previous, with a view to bringing about a battle; need. These matters, these movements may well have given rise to fresh doubts among Greek Strategoi. Their question would be, whether to assume the offensive, or to await attack: and if the offensive was to be assumed, as at Artemision, cp. c. 9 supra, at what particular point: were the Greeks to advance right out of the straits—as the Persians appeared to desire—and to encounter the king's fleet in comparatively open water? Or were they to sally, or to induce, the Persian admirals to enter the narrow waters, and to expose themselves, in entering, to a flank attack?

It is possible that the Peloponnesians were prepared to go out into the open waters: but more to the Isthmos, the solution of the open water than the scene of the engagement which all

agreed, had to be fought ~~αὐτοῦ ὡς ἔσσωτο~~, and I almost justify the suspicion that the Peloponnesians were now advocating an advance against the Persian fleet in the open waters to the N. of Salamis. But so soon Hypomenes were rash. To fight in the open water off the Isthmos, the day of Kanchosai, with the Peloponnesians immediately in the rear to fall back upon, is one thing, but in the open water off Salamis, another. The risk of being shut up and beset on all sides was, indeed, not in this case inevitable; they might make good their escape, if needs were, to the Peloponnese; but still with difficulty and not without risk of being surrounded and cut off, which would not be possible, in the bay of Kenchrae.

To fight at Salamis, and in the narrow waters between Salamis and the Actaeon, was clearly the plan of Themistokles. But to secure the realization of this plan, the Persian fleet should enter the straits, and it had not yet done so (cp. c. 70 supra). His problem was to bring that movement about. The Persians certainly wanted to fight in the open waters off Salamis: some of the Peloponnesians perhaps preferred to fight in the free open, but also were confined, waters of the bay of Kenchrae.

But the plan of Themistokles had been already endorsed and accepted. The movement of the Persian army towards the Isthmos—if it really was moving thitherwards—could not affect that part. What did affect it was the clear perception that the Persian admirals had apparently no intention of entering the straits: how, indeed, could they venture to do so, with the Greek fleet drawn up in the bay of Salamis ready to charge them a flank? A debate might very well arise among the Greek Strategoi as to the means of inducing the Persian fleet to enter the channel. Such a debate once started the previous question may possibly have been raised again, as to whether the Greek fleet had not better make for the Isthmos. A battle had to be fought somewhere. If the Persians would not fight in closed waters, the battle must

συνεδρίου, ἐξελθὼν δὲ περπεὶ εἰ τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Μήδων
 αἰερα πλοῖον ἐνταλόμενος τὰ λέγειν χρεόν, τῷ ὕνομα μὲν
 ἦν Σικιννος, οὐκίτης δὲ καὶ παιδαγωγός ἦν τῶν Θεμιστοκλέους
 παίδων· τὸν δὲ ἵστερον ταύτων τῶν πραγμάτων Θεμιστοκλῆς

75. 1 χρεὶς α. χρεὶν β; χρεων γ σικιννος δ: σικιννος θα
 Θεμιστοκλῆς κ Βεμιστοκλῆς V. Θεμιστοκλῆς ε ρ τῶν
 πραγμάτων ταύτων β ταύτων γ δ Θεμιστοκλῆς θ

he sought in the open. The bay of
 Phaleron was clearly more favourable to
 the Greek chances than the open waters
 of Salamis. The tale of Themistokles
 relating to the stratagem, undoubtedly related to the
 bay of the straits, but it is extremely
 difficult to believe that in effecting
 the stratagem he acted without the know-
 ledge and co-operation of his colleagues
 on board; if so, therefore, I think to
 believe that at this stage at least the
 question of retaining for the initiative
 was left to the Greeks. The real
 problem before the council was to devise
 a stratagem, a plan by which the
 Persians might be induced at dawn of
 day to be entering the straits. The
 plan devised, employed, perhaps ex-
 ecuted by Themistokles was a bold
 one and to be accepted without dis-
 cussion.

The notion that Themistokles could
 have administered out of the *signalium*,
 the *beac* and *consign* without han-
 dling the elaborate arrange ments remain-
 ing for many, and Aristides
 seems to point that the time is immen-
 se. The Persian fleet already in the
 surrounding the island, are then re-
 ceiving the orders—*all sitting*—with
 the standing men in *admiral* showed.
 However, the perception of the news
 seems to show that the Greek admiral
 was not taken by surprise. The story,
 as told by Aeschylus, is in absolute
 no manner to him the fact that the
 plan of Themistokles was devised as
 much against the Greeks themselves,
 but against, as against the Persians,
 for the same.

1. α τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Μήδων
 It is not clear what is c 70, whether
 himself the Persian fleet, after
 the manoeuvres of the day, as remaining
 at sea, or as retreating to Phaleron.
 The passage seems to imply that the
 admiral at least are ashore, for the
 admiral can hardly be used con-
 ventionally for the fleet at sea. From

Salamis to Phaleron it would take a man
 in a boat some hours to go and return—
 to say nothing of obtaining his inter-
 view with the Persian admiral. The
 admiral α στρατηγοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, cp.
 1. 1 supra make their appearance here
 again, α ἀνέχοντες τὸν ἀσπασμὸν from
 the Greek camp has audience of the
 king himself (Papa, 335 L).

δ. Σικιννος. The name is Greek cp.
 Σικιννος, the admiral, Aeschylus, 1. 345
 makes the messenger a Greek and
 the word, *Them*, is in the young man
 calling this man a 'Persian' (cp 1. 11)
 infra. Themistokles was, no doubt, a
 'domestic slave' and 'paedagogue' or
 tutor. Themistokles had five sons in
 all, *Heracles*, *Them*, 32, but Polystratus
 1. 30, 3 has *παδαγωγὸς τῶν παιδῶν*—so
 perhaps he had only two in all, α c,
 or two of age to have a tutor.

δ. τὸν δὲ ἵστερον . . ἔλθον: the
 messenger, and *ἀνέχοντες*, en-
 durance of a man followed, presumably,
 soon after the battle of Plataea and, of
 course, before the return of Themis-
 tokles in 473 or 472. The rebuilding
 and restoration of Thurium, by the
 admission of citizens, was, of course,
 necessitated by the ruin in the war. cp.
 7. 242 and c 50 supra. The active
 ἐπὶ τῷ ἵππῳ is *κατακτάς*—was the function
 actually entrusted to Themistokles
 Thurium may be expected to have
 'attained' subsequently, but the Thes-
 pians in 424 B.C. were severely handled by
 the Athenians in the battle of Oropos
 (Dionysius 1. 48-9 a misfortune
 which enabled the Thebans shortly after-
 wards to demolish the walls; ib. 133. 1.
 Ten years later there was an offensive
 coup d'état by the attacking party, Thuc.
 2. 65. 3, and the *Thespians* (not sent
 by the Athenians to take part in the
 war of the Athenian alliance) 2. 7. 19.
 3. 26. 3). In the next century Thespi-
 ans in the chief line of the Spartan opera-
 tions against Thebes, during the decade

Θεσπία τε ἐποίησε, ὡς ἐπεδέκοντο οἱ Θεσπιέες πολίτας, καὶ
 χρήμασι ὄλβιον· ὅς τότε πλοῖα ἀπικόμενος ἔλεγε πρὸς τοὺς
 10 στρατηγούς τῶν βαρβάρων ταῦδε. "ἐπεμφέ με στρατηγὸς ὁ
 Ἀθηναίων λυβρη τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων (τυγχάνει γὰρ φρονέων
 τὰ βασιλέος καὶ βουλούμενος μᾶλλον τῇ ὑμέτερα κατ' ὑπερθε
 γίνεσθαι ἢ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρήγματα) φρίσσοντα ὅτι οἱ
 Ἕλληνες δρησμοὺν βουλευόνται καταρρωδηκότες, καὶ νῦν
 παρέχει καλλιστον ὑμέας ἔργων ἀπάντων ἐξεργάσασθαι, ἢν

7 πολίτας S. πολίτας 9 ἐπέμφε ὁ στρατηγὸς α (ν ὁ C) ὁ
 om. αC 11 βασιλέως α || μᾶλλον om. B | κατ' ὑπερθε B 12
 γινέσθαι P- 13 βουλεύονται B 14 ἔργων πάντων B:

preceding the battle of Salamis, Xanthippe, Hdt. I. 64. 5 and 6, and suffered accordingly, but must have enjoyed (the Plataea) a second or third resurrection (after the ruin of Thebes), as in the first century Thebes and Tanagra were the only two flourishing cities in Boeotia: Strabo 403.

9. ταῦδε: the message of Themistocles, by the lips of Xanthippe, as reported by Hdt. differs in several material respects and circumstances from the anonymous message reported by Aeschylus, (i.) In Aeschylus the message is despatched and received by daylight: in Hdt. by night. (ii.) In Aeschylus it is received by the king: in Hdt. by the Athenians. (iii.) In Aeschylus the message leads the king to resolve on action, to wit, the advancement of the fleet: with Hdt. the king was previously resolved to do so in other able. This difference is more apparent than real, as in each case the Persian fleet advances to attack the Greeks supposed to be on flight: but the effect of the difference is to make the Persian preparation more prominent in Aeschylus than in Hdt. (iv.) Far more important, with Aeschylus the message is no way connected with the sender or the messenger, and there is nothing to show or suggest that it was despatched with other than the full knowledge and approbation of the authorities of the Greek side: with Hdt. and the main intention of his tale the message is designed to excite the Greeks no less than the Persians, nay rather to force the hand of the Greeks in the first instance, and compel them against their will, to do battle at Salamis. (v.) As a further difference the message in Aeschylus reports simply a projected

flight of the Greeks: the message in Hdt. proclaims the 'mediation' of the sender, and of a great part of the fleet.

The 'flight' and the 'mediation' might be eternally contrasted in the message as given by Hdt. The flight of the Greeks means that they are not going to do battle, but to escape, and that under cover of night. The message as given by Aeschylus is thoroughly consistent with itself and with the same and circumstances of its despatch. The message as given by Hdt. reports instant flight on the part of the Greeks, but also promises mediation if the flight is stayed and a battle forced on Persia: the 'mediation' has been reported back into the message from the later report of Themistocles.

στρατηγὸς ὁ Ἀθηναίων. what of his colleague? Cp. c. 79 infra.

12 οἱ Ἕλληνες δρησμοὺν βουλευόνται. καταρρωδηκότες: this is virtually identical with the message as reported by Aeschyl. Pers. 227. In itself, that it have been sufficient to induce the Persians to resolve—not on battle, for you cannot fight a flying enemy—but on pursuit, on a forward movement, which would bring a portion at least of the Persian fleet within the straits. At the Greek fleet by that time would be well under way, the Persians might be expected to overtake it and come upon it near in the bay of Eleusis, or in the narrower waters beyond. As the Greek plan of disposition of the Persian armadas certainly included the stopping of the narrow channel, between Salamis and the Megarid, they might have expected to find the Greek fleet thrown into utter confusion when they came upon it by the Eleusis channel.

μη περιύητε διαδράντας αὐτοὺς. οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλήλοισι ὁμο- 15
φρονέουσι οὔτε ἀντιστήσονται ὑμῖν, πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς τε σφέας
ἐνέσθε ναυμαχέοντας τοὺς <τε> τὰ ὑμέτερα φρονέοντας καὶ
τοὺς μὴ." ὁ μὲν ταῦτά σφι σημήνας ἐκποδὼν ἀπαλλίσσεται. 78
τοῖσι δὲ ὡς πιστὰ ἐγένετο τὰ ἀγγελθέντα, τοῦτο μὲν ἐς τὴν
ἡσίδα τὴν Ψυττάλειαν, μεταξύ Σαλαμῖνος τε κειμένην καὶ
τῆς Ἰπείρου, πολλοὺς τῶν Περσέων ἀπεβιβάσαντο· τοῦτο
εἰ, ἐπειδὴ ἐγένοντο μέσαι νύκτες, ἀνήγγιν μὲν το ὑπ' ἐσπέρης 5

18 οἱ τί. ἀντιστήσονται B. οἱ τ' ἐπὶ Schaefer, Holder, van H. | τέ
σφας AB 17 τοὺς <τε> Stein, van H. 78 1 ἀπαλλίσσεται B
2 οἱ τί. 3 ἡσίδα B | Ψυττάλειαν, Del. Cobet, van H. 4
ἀπεβιβάσαντο B: ἀπεβιβάσαν B, Holder, van H. 5 νύκτες μέσαι B
|| ἀπὸ B

78 1. σημήνας it was a significant
message much more than a hint, in
what language was it conveyed? The
Persians would have been well to have
obtained Skintoo's!

2 τοῖσι δὲ ὡς κτλ.: for the formula
ἐπὶ κτλ. cf. 53 ἡσίδα

τοῦτο μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ πρώτῃ ἀκτῇ, on
being convinced of the projected flight
of the Greeks was to land a large force
of Persians on the island of Psittaleia.
Hence, below the matter of the action
was obviously motivated: the island lay
between the mainland, or waterway, of the
coming battle, and the men upon it
would be useful in dealing with wrecks
and men, who had friends on shore.

This motivation is obviously a com-
plete misconception, if the island
Psittaleia is correctly identified with the
island bearing the light-house between
Salamis and Salamis to day, *Leptokou-
ssa*—one small, still long and from 200
to 300 yards broad: Strabo 995, and the
modern, say Leake—for an island in
that position could have no bearing on
the operation of the Persians now in
mind. Even if they were expecting a
battle at all, it was surely to take place
far to the west of this position: unless
indeed they assumed that the Greeks
would be driven back and out of the
channel eastwards by the waves sent
on to the island by the Sigeion gale.
Possibly, however, it is simply that
it was the opinion of the Persians, if
it was the true view of the Persians,
that had been made known on the
previous day, in connection with the
preparations recorded in a 70 *οἱ*
It was not made during the day of the

18th December, then it was probably
only made the next morning, after the
sunlight had begun—where a message
might be thought to place it, or aimed
at its being placed.

In any case, the identification of
Psittaleia is unfavorable to the theory
of Leake and Tente, according to which
the Persian fleet was supposed to be already
by this time in the straits, and
driven up to the waterway backed by the
Attic shore, and facing the bay of
Salamis. (If any island called for
occupation from that position—certainly
in view of the message of the previous
night—would rather be the island of St. George,
or of Lemnos.) It is difficult to see how
Leptokoussa could be said to be *εὐκταρ-
τα* *ναυμαχίας* *τῇ μελλομένη* *ἐκείνῃ*, if
both forces were inside the straits, and
the Persian based on the Attic shore.
The passage implies that the battle was
to be fought between two forces, one
attempting to get out of the straits, and
the other attempting to get in.

6, ἐπειδὴ ἐγένοντο μέσαι νύκτες. On
the phrase cp. 4. 181, 0. 51 *ἐπὶ*. The
night is apparent: that which fell from
the sky and lowered the fall of night
the Persian army had moved in the
direction of the Peloponnesian bay.
Thereafter has taken place the *αὐτοῖσι*
in a 74, the *εὐθὺς* in a 75, the per-
formance of Themistocles and Skintoo
concerning in the previous movement.
Persian movement and attack. The naval
movement which took place from the
light message in Aeschylus begins at
nightfall *ὅρα* 274 for a consequence
of the fundamental discrepancy between
our two chief authorities. For the 6

κείρας κυκλούμενοι πρὸς τὴν Σαλαμίνα, ἀνήγον δὲ οἱ ἀμφὶ τὴν Κέον τε καὶ τὴν Κυνύσουραν τεταγμένοι, κατεῖχον τε

7 Κέον: Δίον Gallag: Ζέαν Pridck, cf. Burman. J. B. 86 80 τὴν αὐτὴ Κυνύσουραν fortasse deventum || κατέχον τ. κάτεχον Bekker. (κατεῖλδον Stein², ορη. ορη.)

B. Gualy's view of the *μακρόν πη* in Hlt.'s account of the *Great Persian War*, 377 ff., and Appendix VI, § 8.

ἀνήγον τὸ ἀπ' ἀσπέρης κείρας the phrase seems to imply that the ships were already at sea, and in position. This implication is consistent with c. 70 supra, where the ships have been left apparently in the water. What, then, was the exact position of 'the western wing': how was the fleet oriented? If the fleet was in the position advocated by Baskin (i.e. *supra*, the western wing would be the right wing, if in a position outside the straits as appears to be here intended in the immediate context, and is alone consistent with Aeschylus, then the western wing might be, and probably was, the left wing. On the former hypothesis the movement here described would have for its purpose the forced entry of the channel into the bay of Salamis; on the latter hypothesis (real) the only tenable one, the movement is, *scilicet*, perfectly and correctly described in terms of an apparently designed to detach a part of the fleet in order to surround and take the island and to bar the western channel, between the island and the Megarid. Such a movement must, indeed, have been undertaken in the course of the Persian invasions; to have omitted it would have been a cardinal blunder; it is actually recorded by Herodotus (1.91.1-2), perhaps not from tradition but from observation. Such a blunder, even at best, is not to be overlooked, or covered, by Hlt. here said by Aeschylus, *Forc.* 128.

8. κυκλοῦμενοι πρὸς τὴν Σαλαμίνα: These words could hardly mean 'surrounding' but a tentative statement in the previous note Baskin, however, understands it to mean 'surrounding', and that is the better view. It may be a kind of what Hlt. himself had a very clear view of the movement; he simply repeats the source's strategy and tactics are not his *forte*, and he may have written this account before he saw the landscape.

οἱ ἀμφὶ τὴν Κέον τε καὶ τὴν Κυνύσουραν τεταγμένοι: *prima facie* this is another squadron, contrasted

with τὸ ἀπ' ἀσπέρης κείρας, and it is one squadron and not two squadrons; it is not οἱ ἀμφὶ τὴν Κέον τεταγμένοι καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ τὴν Κυνύσουραν τεταγμένοι. It is, in fact, the other, or eastern wing. Baskin and Baskin are right against others and Baskin is right in referring to the Κέον with the *αὐτοῖς*, and the Κέον with the *ἐκείνῃ* presented by Maillon. Hlt. has thought the whole Persian fleet to be in the Κέον; and he still more the Κέον would have had to move a squadron from Marathon to Mitylene in a September night, even if the order for moving could have been communicated. Leake describes the Κέον with the long pointed promontory of Salamis projecting due east, and narrowing the channel between Salamis and Lavitica. Κέον he wished to place somewhere on Salamis, or on the Attic coast opposite Lavitica, or even supposed to lead the whole to Phrygia, which last place would be. But such a move is impossible. The Κέον with Λαυτική, a village and an older name, 'Κέον' being also associated with the words quoted below, 77. The name of the Κέον, moreover, was not Κέον but Κέον, better the inhabitants are Κέον, Κέον, c. 1, 44 supra. If the repeated article *οὗ* is an obstacle to the identification of the two place names, it may be derived (*ὁ πρὸς τὴν Κέον*), or explained away, as due to Hlt.'s correction.

But could it mean the Κέον, as Baskin said, be 'the eastern wing'? I say would be, or become so, at least when the western wing had moved out to surround Salamis. It is possible that the geographical mistake represents rather the point of destination than the point of departure. In any case the terms ἀνήγον μὲν ἀσπέρης δὲ κείρας appear to be a concentration of the fleet into a division and separation into two wings, a *prima facie* move, or movement, or indication, direct or indirect. Moreover, each squadron, in carrying out the order, may have undergone a fresh tactical disposition.

7. κατέχον τε μέχρι Μονυχίας:

77 Χρησιμοῖσι δὲ οὐκ ἔχω ἀντιλέγειν ὥς οὐκ εἰσὶ ἀληθείες, οὐ βουλευμένους ἐναργέως λέγοντας περᾶσθαι καταβάλλειν, ἐς τοιαῦτα ῥήματα ἐσβλέψας.

ἄλλ' ὅταν Ἀρτέμιδος χρυσάουρον ἱερὸν ἀκτῇ
5 ἡνυσὶ γεφειρώσῃσι καὶ εἰναλὴν Κυνόσουραν

77 *ἱναῖται* verba οἱ μὲν δὲ κτλ. Stein¹: α νηιο νικητὸς ἡρας ad c. 81. 4 οἶτω δὲ οἱ. β totum cap. χρησιμοῖσι . . ἐνδεκαομῖ, damm. Krieger, van H. 3 ῥήματα οοπὶ. Steinh² πρὶ γματα 4 χρυσάουρον :

4. 22 'perhaps a military term' L. & S., 'to take a little sleep, or to be allowed off duty, to sleep. Stein's interpretation 'to take a moment's nap' to have done with sleep ἀπο, as in 2. 40, will hardly do.

18. *παρηγόρητο*: with object (*ῥαῖτα*), 'were busily engaged in organizing.'

77. This chapter has been challenged; it is attacked by Krieger and by van Herwerden: there are at least seven arguments against its authenticity. (i.) The matter is very abruptly introduced, without any obvious justification in the context. What has a defence of oracles to do with the matings of the Persian fleet on the eve of the battle, or with the discussion of the Greek strategy? (ii.) There is some doubt whether the oracle cited originally referred to Salamis at all, see footnoted notes below. (iii.) The language, not indeed of the oracle but of the writer, is peculiar, and has a style somewhat unusual. Would Hdt. not have expressed himself somewhat differently? (iv.) We should hardly expect to find Hdt. using *βακίαι* instead of *Δελφοί* as his *verbal formula* in his Apology, iv. The defences must have been introduced more fully in c. 283a. (v.) The oracle is a *conventional motif*. (vi.) The passage inserted in β. But these objections are inconclusive: both *verbal* and *cumulative*. (i.) Hdt. makes a digression, and the discussion of the Persian fleet as being the whole *ἑρην* or *Εὐρώπη* in his *explanation* enough for introducing an oracle interpreted to refer to this expedition. (ii.) The *conventional* of the reference is neither here nor there; it is clear that the reference was actually made: why not by Hdt. if by any one? (iii.) Hdt. was incoherent at times, especially when excited. (iv.) *βακίαι* and *ἐνὶ ἑρην* would stand most in need of defence: many might suppose

Bakis, who would hesitate to challenge *Δελφοί*. (v.) The reference in c. 18 pre-supposes this quotation. (vi.) Even if a *verbal formula* like many other oracles, there was time enough between the dates of Salamis and of Hdt. a composition for the invention of the verses. (vii.) The better class of MSS. have this chapter, and the inferior omit not merely this chapter, but a good deal besides: cp. App. B. L. But this chapter is part of an insertion, cp. c. 78 *ὡς ἔστι*.

Stein, who admits the authenticity of the chapter, seems to regard the argument as a reply to the scepticism current at the beginning of the 19th century in war. If so, it would belong to the third, or final draft of Hdt.'s history. But the reference in c. 98 is (I think) in favour of an earlier insertion, and scepticism was not a novelty in 450 B.C. I should be inclined to regard this chapter as belonging to the second draft, and as written near Hdt.'s first visit to Athens. Cp. Introduction, § 8.

2. *καταβάλλειν*, in a peculiar sense, *deceive, recede*. The use in β. 79 is not quite identical *ῥήματα* cp. App. Crit. as a *conventional* *πρόφημα*, if genuine, would be still more peculiar, as used apparently for the times following. Still more peculiar or at least incoherent is the sentence which concludes the chapter. See below.

4. *ἄλλ' ὅταν* κτλ.: the oracle itself has a thoroughly genuine ring. The formula is reproduced by Aristophanes in his parody *Knights* 127 *ἀλλ' ὅταν* κτλ.

Ἀρτέμιδος χρυσάουρον ἱερὸν ἀκτῇ
ἡνυσὶ καὶ ἑρην ἀκτῇ (Aristophanes) is the sense of *ἑρην*, *Εὐρώπη* was the word of 'meal' (cp. L. & S. sub ν. η). Here, of course, *ἀκτῇ* means 'the strand, shore. Went strand.'

(i.) *ἑρην* is derived from Salamis, or a part of Salamis. Pausan. 1. 36. 1 *ἐν*

[ἐς] τοιαῦτα μὲν καὶ οὕτω ἐναργέως λέγουσι Βακιδὶ ἀντιλογίης χρησμάτων περὶ οὔτε αὐτοὺς λέγειν τολμῶ οὔτε παρ' ἄλλων ἐνδέχομαι.

- 78 Τῶν δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι στρατηγῶν ἐγένετο ὠθισμὸς λόγων πολλός· ἤδεσαν δὲ οὐκ ὅτι σφείας περικυκλεύοντο τῇσι νηυσὶ οἱ βαρβαροί, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τῆς ἡμέρης ὥραν αὐτοὺς τεταγμένους.
79 ἐδόκειον κατὰ χώρην εἶναι. συνεστηκότων δὲ τῶι στρατηγῶν ἐξ

12 ἐς del Stein¹: idem nahi vnuim epia (ἐς e verb ἐς τοιαῦτα supra repetitum), μὲν <ἐσβλεψας> e comi. Stein²: a text. γε ep. van H. ἀντιλογίης ἀντιλογίην Heiske, van H.). ἀντιλογίας vol potius δὲ αὐτολογίης, cuius ἔλθειν pro λεγειν, Wesseling arripuit. van H.: αὐτοὺς τε vol τολμῶ οὐκ ἐντις Stein³ || τολμῶ B 78 2 περικυκλεύοντο a: περικυκλεύοντο C: περικυκλεύοντο Fz, H Alder, van H.

ον συνεστηκὼς εἰς τοιαῦτα (p. 7 29 supra).

12. [ἐς] τοιαῦτα μὲν . . . ἐνδέχομαι. αὐτοῖς ἀδmittedly at least μᾶλλον, and perhaps contrary; cp. App. C III ἐς is unnecessary. It might be dittographed from αὐτοῖς supra. There is no direct object expressed in λέγειν. ἀντιλογίης might be supplied with Wesseling, or to after αὐτοὺς or αὐτοῖς after τολμῶ with Stein. Βακιδὶ ἀντιλογίης χρησμάτων περὶ is coll. Stein Bacc B. are together, speaking ἀντιπρὸς Βακιδά and χρ. περὶ χρησμάτων, cp. 7. 5. 7 supra. The great 12 ἀντιλογίης remains in suspense. On Bacc cp. c. 20 supra.

78 1 τῶν δὲ πτλ. corresponds grammatically with τοιαῦτα μὲν just before, and that easily; it corresponds to τῶν δὲ well enough with αὐτοῖς περὶ πτλ., c. 78 ad f., and thus clearly refers to c. 77 for an insertion.

ὠθισμός: cp. 7 295 περὶ; they were not merely skirmishing, or using light weapons, cp. c. 64 supra.

2. δὲ σφείας περικυκλεύοντο πτλ. these words primarily support the theory of Bacc. App. A I § 3) as to the position attained by the Persian fleet (c. 77 supra). The περικυκλεύοντο as a metaphor found its origin of use and for the purpose of closing the Megarid channel is not clearly established or affirmed by H. L., nevertheless it probably underlies this and his manner of expression.

The verb is here improper, but even so a metaphorical use of that is suggested and involved in the manner of the strategos on this occasion. They were sitting up all night the Persian com-

manders fully began at midnight, c. 76 supra and will get as little sleep as the Persian admirals themselves.

3. ὥσπερ τῆς ἡμέρης ὥραν αὐτοὺς τεταγμένους: this phrase implies that the Persian fleet had attained on the previous day a definite position, as in c. 79 supra, that position was vital to the success, and had not returned to port, or anchorage. Where exactly was that position? Probably the line presented the 'bridge' from Kynosoura to Minia a Peloponnese, with Psyllale about the centre of the position. The fleet had now, however, divided, the one wing, the left, moving away west to block the Megarid channel, the rest moving up closer into the channel's other side of Psyllalea, especially the eastern, smaller vessels, no doubt, may have been posted, or standing off the SE coast of Salamis and others held in reserve at Eretria.

79 1 συνεστηκότων τῶν στρατηγῶν for the verb cp. c. 27 supra. As to the tense Bickesley renders it: after the commanders had come to a direct issue, but the sense rather denotes a present or imperfect, 'while the generals were still contesting the matter on board they had come to a decision; and that suits the material sense of the word.

2. Ἀργίῳν. There is a tradition about this, which is ridiculous. Had Aristotle said his story in the same manner? cp. 22 5, the story with which Aristotle has joined. Or would he have said in Argos if the story of the war with Athens had not been composed c. 145 B.C.? Or was he there on the occasion of the Achaean (c. 145

σπεύδουσιν οἱ ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου ἀνάγειν τὰς νῆας πρὸς τὴν
 10 Ἰσθμόν. ὡς δὲ ἐξήλθε οἱ Θεμιστοκλῆς, ἔλεγε Ἀριστείδης
 τάδε. "ἡμέας στασιάζειν χρεόν ἐστι εἰ ἐν τῷ ἄλλῳ καιρῷ
 καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν τῷδε περὶ τοῦ ὀκύτερος ἡμῶν πλέω ἀγαθὰ
 τὴν πατρίδα ἐργασεται. λέγω δέ τοι ὅτι ἴσον ἐστὶ πολλά τε
 καὶ ὀλίγα λέγειν περὶ ἀποπλόου τοῦ ἐνθεύτεν Πελοποννησίοισι.
 15 ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτόπτης τοι λέγω γενόμενος ὅτι νῦν οὐδ' ἦν θέλωσι
 Καρινθιοὶ τε καὶ αὐτοὶ Εὐρυβιάδης οἱοὶ τε ἔσονται ἐκπλῶσαι
 περιεχόμεθα γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν πολέμιων κύκλῳ. ἀλλ' ἐσελθάν
 20 σφι ταῦτα σήμερον." ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο τοισίδε. "κάρτα τε

9 νῆας 2 11 χρεόν AB: χρεών 1 εἰ ἐν τῷ Stem² εἰ τέ τοι
 Götter, Holder, van H., ἐν τε τῷ τε οὐα 2, 13 τη πατρίδι 2 ||
 τοι οὐα 2 || ἴσον 2, hic et alibi prob. Cobet: αὐτὸς cf. van Herwerden vol.
 iii, p. vi 20. 1 τοισίδε Marc., Stein: τοισίδε

11. στασιάζειν, with such a mission
 στάσι turns to goos; 'now, if ever, is
 the opportunity for us to give each
 other in promoting the good of our
 common country.' But the phrase is
 never overbalanced in the mouth of the
 renowned orator, who has merely some
 valuable information to communicate to
 the commander-in-chief of the forces!
 Thus Aristides already forms his own
 performance on the morrow, in a *stasis*
stasis which was to be amplified into
 one of the chiefest episodes of the *deus*
θεῶν 'Ελλάδος *ἡμεῶν*. Or is the phrase
 more than the formula of a stock in
 business question, *δοτέρον αὐτῷ* (so, A,
 and Th) *πλέω διατὰ τὴν πατρίδα ἐργα-*
σόμενοι εἴη.

12. ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτόπτης . . κύκλῳ. If
 this announcement referred simply to a
περικύκλῳ by the Persian fleet inside
 the straits (as in Leake's theory), the
 Greeks themselves in Salamis would
 scarcely have failed to perceive it, and
 Aristides' announcement would have
 been stale news. Or again, if Aristides
 had merely meant that the Persians had
 moved up and blocked the passages east
 and west of Byzantium, that movement
 would not have constituted a *περικύ-*
κλῳ, and a way of escape by the
 Megarid channel would still have been
 open to the Persians. Moreover,
 on neither of these hypotheses is it
 clear how Aristides should have reached
 Salamis. If the bay of *Ἀντικύκλῳ* was
 blocked, he might have landed some-
 where on the east front of the island,
 and made his way overland to the Greek

lager; but he would not have been
 more an *αὐτόπτης* than hosts of others.
 If only the eastern ends of the straits
 were blocked, he might have come in
 by the west—but by the same channel
 the Greeks might go out. The only
 adequate meaning of the passage is
 that both ends, that by Pericles or
 Xenoctira, and that by Megara (Lazenby
 The 2 93-4) are closed and held
 by Persian ships. Probably every one
 knew by this time that such was the
 case with the eastern end, the news
 Aristides brings is that there is a
 squadron blocking the western exit.
 Learning from Aegina he might have dis-
 covered that by crowding the path of
 that squadron on its way, or perhaps
 by having to fly before it. How his
 own ship reached Salamis is not speci-
 fied, but he may have come in by the
Ἀντικύκλῳ. If there were Persian
 ships patrolling the coast of Salamis
 towards the open sea, the *περικύκλῳ*
 would be still more effective, but it was
 complete, as far as the argument re-
 quires, by the closure of both outlets
 from the straits.

13. σήμερον: of important, significant
 news; cp. c. 76 *σήμερον*.

20. 1. ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο: Themistokles
 responds, and gives himself completely
 away. Had he really been playing the
 very dangerous game ascribed to him,
 and after trying to outwit not the Persians
 but his colleagues, he would have known
 how to contain himself in the presence
 of his personal enemy. But perhaps
 we take too much too seriously, and

πεδον τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ὑπὸ τῶν νεῶν τῶν Ξέρξεω παραρτίεσθαι
 ; τε συνεβόλευε ὡς ἀλεξησομένους. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπας
 μετεστήκει, τῶν δὲ αὐτῶν ἐγένετο λογὸν ἀμφισβασίη· οἱ γὰρ
 82 πλεῖνες τῶν στρατηγῶν οὐκ ἐπείθοντο τὰ ἐσαγγελθέντα. ἀπι-
 στεύοντων δὲ τούτων ἦκε τριήρης ἀνδρῶν Τηνίων αὐτομαλίουσα,
 τῆς ἥρχε ἀνὴρ Παναίτιος ὁ Σωσιμένης, ἣ περ δὴ ἔφερε τὴν
 ἀληθείην πᾶσαν. διὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἐνεγράφησαν Τηνιοί
 ; ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐς τὸν τρίποδα ἐν τοῖσι τὸν Βάρβαρον καταλοῦσι.

τὸ ξέρξεω L 6 ἀμφισβασίη || οἱ πλεῖνες γὰρ : 7 ἐξαγγελ-
 θέντα 2 82. 2 ταυτέων : 3 ἀνὴρ Τηνιος! Stein¹² ἀνὴρ
 <τῶν ἐπιφανέων> Schenkl· Τηνιος inser. Krueger 1896, 'Sua pinnas,
 <elo άνήρ> van H. || ἔφερε 'αὐ ἐφασκε' van H. 4 ἀληθῆρην :
 ἐγράφησαν C

has any clear conception of the situation, he just has Leake's interpretation. The result thereby attained is indeed an absurdity, but if a military expert and topographer like Leake could swallow it, why not Herodotus?

3. παραρτίεσθαι here strictly made and received, cp. c. 76 *supra*.

6. μετεστήκει, 'waited', the tense is rather rhetorical than grammatically urgent. For the meaning cp. Thuc. 2. 111. 6 (μεταστέδοντο ἡμεῖς) λόγων ἀμφισβασίη; cp. 2. 14—meaning less than λ. ὁδός; c. 79 and more than the ἀμφισβασίη c. 64. If the παραρτίεσθαι had been simply to the bay of Artemision the truth could have very easily been verified. The reputation of Artemision for δικαιοσύνη αἰν. ἀρετή does not appear to have been as yet established, at least in Peloponnesian circles.

82. 2. ἦκε is perfect in sense, not to say picturesque, evidently ἀπαρτίεσθαι might also well stand here. Cp. c. 83 *in situ*. The parties agreeing with the ships and not with the men (αὐτομαλίουσα) is frequent; and so it is the trireme that carries the truth.

Τηνίων. The Tensians have been mentioned, c. 60 *antea*, as joining the fleet of Xerxes, apparently after Thermopylae Artemision. But the trireme ships are all probably mentioned in the 17 counted to the navy, 7 *antea*. Tensia is located in 4. 28, 5. 87 lying to the east of S. of Andros, and N. of Mykonos, Delos, Rhodes. The ship here in question was probably the one and only Tensian trireme to participate. Tensia paid (as a fine) 3 talents to Athens afterwards.

3. Παναίτιος ὁ Σωσιμένης. Παναίτιος is a grand but not an uncommon name; its chief bearer, son of Nisagoras of Rhoedia, a celebrated statesman, the friend of Ptolemy Aetolus, (Cicero, *pro Muræna*, § 66, etc.). But of the gallant ἀνὴρ) Tensian, and his father's names we know no more is known. The description of the Tensians scarcely looks as though the Greeks on the Persian side doubted of the good cause. Plutarch by a lapse writes Tensians (*Pharsalia* 12, 1. 1 and 11. 17. 3 reports a message, sent by the Tensians and carried by a Tensian, to apprise the Greeks of the king's plans and dispositions, and to promise their aid; desertion; this covers the 'Artemision' and 'Tensian' episodes in Hdt. Stein defends ἀνὴρ (cp. *Ant. Crit.*) by ref. to 7. 11. 52 (the 3 ἄνδρες Βαρβαροί, *Sophocles*, *El.* 96).

4. ἔργον· a daring deed! cp. *Index*. ἐνεγράφησαν . . ἐν τῷ τρίποδῳ. As the inscription is still visible, the statement of Hdt. can be verified. The name of the Tensian appears, not strictly speaking 'on the tripod,' which was of gold, but on the *tridrachm* coin, which was of bronze; cp. 9. 61. It is the fourth name on the seventh coin; the coin has more than three names, and is recorded more deeply than the rest, in Ionic letters, an addition probably made by the Tensians themselves, 'by permission', cp. *Hecataei Mynaei*, No. 19 [1]. Dittenberger 1 [1], *Michel* 1118, and *Appendix L*.

5. ἐν τοῖσι τὸν Βάρβαρον καταλοῦσι. Stein thinks that the word καταλοῦσι must have occurred in the inscription, and quotes Thuc. 1. 102. 3. The word there is *συγκαταλοῦσα*, and

- 5 <τὰ> κρέσσω τοῖσι ἥσσοσι ἀντιτιθέμενα, ὅσα δὲ ἐν ἀνθρώπων φύσει καὶ καταστάσι ἐγγίνεται· παραινέσας δὲ τούτων τὴν κρέσσω αἰρέσθαι καὶ καταπλέξας τὴν ῥῆσιν, ἐσβαίνειν ἐκέλευε ἐς τὰς νέας. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἐσβαίνον, καὶ ἦκε ἡ ὑπ' 84 Αἰγίνης τριήρης, ἥ κατὰ τοὺς Αἰακίδας ὑπεδύμησε ἐνθαῦτα ἀνήγον τὰς νέας ἀπ' αὐτῶν Ἕλληνες, ἀναγαγόμενοι δὲ σφί αὐτίκα

5 <τὰ> Dobree, Holder, van H., Stein² | κρέσσω α | ἀντιτιθέμενα ὅσα δὲ A² ἀντιτιθέμενα ὅσα δὲ (δὲ Holder, δὲ rec., et parietam post ἐγγίνεται post Goussier, van H.) α φύσει καὶ καταστάσι αC || οἱ BC δὲ 7 αἰρεσθαι τις, A¹ καταπλέξας C ῥῆσιν A·B ἐσβαίνον C ἐκέλευσε α 9 ἦγαντ | μὲν: τὰ? Stein² 84. 2 ἦγαντ | οἱ Ἕλληνες L van H.

primarily, to an Athenian audience and imported from an Athenian source; it was no doubt a short speech, though not so short as the brief summary of 'content' thereof, but the *ὁμιλία* was evidently no *ὑμνος* orator. The speech comprised three heads: (1) A series of antitheses, in which the better and the worse, the noble and the base, attributes in human nature, circumstances, and also no doubt actions, were contrasted. His characteristically fails to distinguish clearly between action and circumstance (p. 7, 152 supra). (2) An appeal, or exhortation (*παραινέσις*) to his hearers to choose the better part, liberty, honour, death, rather than slavery, defeat, the yoke and the tax collector, and doubtless to remember that they were fighting under the eyes of their wives and children. (3) An appeal directed into a persuasion (*καταπλέξας τὴν ῥῆσιν*), in which he doubt the gods and heroes were invoked, and Marathon, 'the trophies of Marathon,' even Athens, and prizes were not forgotten. The whole speech but upon the hearers' minds the sense of confidence, courage, unity, intellect, force. One passage from the brief report two points, which well hardly have been absent is the natural heterogeneous source estimate of the opponents and their motives, and some hints of the actual tactics to be pursued.

7 ἐσβαίνον ἐκείνοι ἐς τὰς νέας: doubtless before or after the speech they had embarked on shore, and were better off than the Persians in this respect.

8 οὗτοι μὲν τὰς αὐτῶν ἀντιθέσεις ἀκούσαντες ἡτοίμασαν ἑαυτοὺς ἀντιπαραστήσαντες αὐτοῖς.

ἐσβαίνον καὶ ἦκε ἡ τριήρης

they were done embarking the trireme from Aigina was some, which had left the ranks (*ἀπεσθῆκασι*, on a 41 *οἱ*) for the purpose of summoning tripping, and bringing, the Aigina to the aid of the rest of the fleet. The summary the trireme brought the trireme. But at what point exactly did it reappear in the ranks? If its arrival is to be dated in the morning after the speech of Themistocles, how did it make its way through the enemy, where Aegina had barely got through even under cover of night? Is this trireme any other than the vessel of Aristides? Was not he the envoy despatched to Aigina, from which he returned in a *δὲ τριήρης*?

84. 2 ἀνήγον τὰς νέας ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀναγόμενοι δὲ σφί αὐτίκα. In fact when it was told more than being αὐτίκα, they found themselves attacked by the Persians, *ἰσχυρὰ δὲ β*. Our whole conception of the actual engagement is lost when upon the true interpretation of these words. They look simple enough, but their meaning is obscure. At first sight they might seem to end themselves to Leake's interpretation of the movements recorded in cc. 70, 76 supra, the trireme that advanced out of the bay of Aegina, and made fast as once involved sent to fight, with the king's fleet, which has now advanced to attack. But that were the situation, the two fleets would have been in full view of each other all along since the first attack of dawn, and the moment of surprise, involved in these words, is impossible. The Greeks are taken

επεκράτο οἱ βάρβαροι. οἱ μὲν δὲ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ πρύμνῃν ἀνεκρούοντο καὶ ὤκειλλον τὰς νέας. Ἀμεινίης δὲ Παλλήνεος ἀπὸρ Ἀθηναῖος ἐξαναχθεὶς νηὶ ἐμβαλλεῖ· συμπλακείσης δὲ τῆς νεὸς καὶ οὐ δύναμένων ἀπαλλαγῆναι, οὕτω δὲ οἱ ἄλλοι

3 ἐπὶ 1el. Bekker, Holder, van H. 4 ἀνεκρούοντες Elts καὶ .
 νέας 1mperata hab. Krueger, van H. 5 ὤκειλον 8 || νῆας 2 Παλλήνεος 6m.
 Marc. del. Cossel, Holder, van H. 6 συμπλακείσης A1BC 6
 1 24 2

alone, before their own movement is complete they turn the barbarians in motion against them. Nothing of that sort could have arisen on Leake's hypothesis. Granted that Hdt. so conceived the matter, but what sense is there in saying of two fleets, moving upon each other, front to front, that the one fleet advanced to the attack, and, while it was advancing the other fleet attacked it? Such a statement is only intelligible in the supposition of a flank engagement. If the Greek fleet was emerging from the harbor of Amphipolis, just at the same moment as the Persian fleet was entering the straits, such a situation might arise: either the Greek fleet might cut the Persian column, somewhere between the leading ships, or the head of the Persian column might strike the extreme right of the Greek fleet *en flank*. If the Persian column were two or three ships ahead of it there were two or three lanes in company: the one column between Perittos and between Perittos and the head of Arctius, the other between Perittos and the Attic main body: a more complicated situation must easily arise. The extreme right of the Greek wing might be taken *en flank*, or involved with the left column of the Persian advance, while the right Persian column might have to advance more rapidly to be coming engaged with the Greek left. If such was indeed, the whole situation complicated in this chapter, it is possible that the engagement opened that actual contact with the enemy was effected sooner than Thucydides intended or could have envisaged. We must have desired a large number of the Persian vessels to enter the straits before the actual fighting began.

3 οἱ μὲν δὲ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες other than 'the Athenians,' or other than the one Athenian named! The latter is an assumed supposition. Themistokles and the other Athenian Strategoi knew what

they were about, and were not likely to back water.—*ὤκειλον*, moved, the action of *Amphipolis* of Pallene was advanced and premature. That the Greek right wing oaked water *προμήνη ἀνεκρούοντο*; and, of course, *προμήνη*, is early enough, the Greeks on the right were much nearer the advancing enemy. That they were actually for beaching their ships (*ἀνέκλινον* is probably a bit of popular Attic, contrasted by the main in the strict or the A.R. in the text, who did not understand what was going on, or the tactics of the *Amphipolis*).

4. Ἀμεινίης δὲ Παλλήνεος: this Ameynia was according to [Isodorus] 11, 27, 3, the brother of the poet Arctius who was an *ἐκπαιδιστής*, cp. 6, 114, and according to Plutarch *Themist.* 14, of the date of the battle, cp. 4, 71 in the text of [Isodorus]. The name Pallene (one of the towns of Attic Paḷlaire, cp. 1, 62) belonged to the tribe Antiochia and lay on the spur of Hymettos crossed by the road to Marathon. Ameynia is not an indigenous name, and Ameynos, *Isod.* 4, 114, does not say for his supposed brother's claim, though he supports the Athenian claim by making a Phocian name implicated. The addition of the *Amphipolis* here, if genuine, rather than the patronymic would betray the Attic source, even without the express statement just below, Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν οὕτω λεγούσι, but it rather coincides with an 'A.R.' and may be an interpolation, cp. App. Crit.

5 ἐξαναχθεὶς, passed in force, and he in force, cp. 7, 101 *στρατὶς* of ships, not of *ἀντιπλοῖον*; 'Isodorus' *Isod.* 4, 114, *ἐπὶ τῇ νηὶ* exhibits the verb *ἀναχθεῖς* in all three columns.

νηὶ might be his own (instrumental or an *ἐκπαιδιστής*), probably the latter, cp. *ἐκπαιδιστής* and *ἐκπαιδιστής*, cp. 4, 114, *ἐπὶ τῇ νηὶ* οὐ δύναμένων, cp. τῶν του Ἀμεινίου.

εἶχεν τὸ πρὸς Ἐλευσῖνός τε καὶ ἑσπέρης κερασί, κατὰ δὲ
 Λακεδαιμονίους Ταινάς· οὗτοι δ' εἶχον τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἡᾶ πε καὶ
 τὸν Παιρμῖν. θελοῦσιν αὖτοις αὐτῶν κατὰ τὰς θέμας.

85. 2 πρὸς Σαλαμῖνός Λουσῆκο

3 δὲ Β

4 αἰτίων :

mouth of 'Old Salamis' and N.W. of Eretria. But in entering the straits the Persian fleet would have been steering almost due west, and Eretria would be ahead of it. The description is not one which should be couched far from the circumstances: both its factors may be strictly true not in relation to each other, but in relation to the Persian army that line meaning—whether they were heading into the straits or leaving with their waters towards the Attic coast off Mount Aegaleion. Aἰτίων and their ships to the bay of Eretria.

In either case the Athenians appear to lie on the Greek left. This was the position which their hoplites occupied afterwards in the battle of Salamis, and the right wing was the natural place for the hexastemion, a commander, to occupy, esp. the position of Miltiades, and the position of the polemarch at Marathon: 6, 110, 111. The tactics of the hoplites were naturally determined by the nature of the war. At Artemision, however, the Athenians lay, occupied, apparently the right. There the Persians wished to be nearer in immediate touch with Eretria: the right was taken also the post of honour, the Attic ships at Chalkis might be regarded as being the extreme left of the line. In their own waters it may have been easier for the Athenians to hold the left, but Themistocles might easily persuade in his first station, and make a retreat for the Peloponnesians equally difficult. It is indeed conceivable that had the Peloponnesian vessels at any time actually attempted to fly past the Athenian ships, the hexastemion might have secured the advantage of the winds upon the retreat, and the Persian fleet, if it was not, by Themistocles, prevented of its retreat, by Themistocles, from being able to do so.

4. τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἡᾶ τε καὶ τὸν Παιρμῖν. Aἰτίων here indicates the Peloponnesian ships, as he says 'for Miltiades' in the next line. It seems to be an obvious problem, the solution of which was determined on the complete ignorance of the masters of his senses. From the straits of

Salamis (as W. W. Goodwin *l.c.* p. 212 n. observes) 'the harbour of Eretria and all the lower land of the peninsula almost disappears from view, and the high hill of Miltiades remains a most conspicuous landmark'. The passage here before us, then, may come from a source, possibly even an Ionian source, which was not looking back from the straits of Salamis but was outside the straits, on sea, or even on land, and thought of Eretria quite invisible and Eretria naturally as lying west and east.

If the conception above given of the manoeuvres of the Persian fleet, which, too, might be correct, it will appear possible that the Ionians in the first instance occupied the centre of the Persian line—a position in which it would perhaps have been more difficult for them to manoeuvre. When the Persian position was developed and altered, the Athenians on the left being directed to manœuvre the channel and to block the Megarian channel, and the remainder moved up between Eretria and the island on the one hand, the Attic ships on the other, the left or right contingent may have occupied the left or right centre of the Persian line. In the morning when the Athenian vessels entered the straits in column, and the Ionians were passing to form, they would become the rear of the attacking column, and might easily withdraw back as far as the Peloponnesian fleet. Eretria may be here and Athens as having the position of the Peloponnesians, as 'Eretria' just above. It would, however, be absolutely wrong and misleading if the Persian fleet were drawn up in battle array on the left from the Attic coast towards Eretria to have Eretria the left would then have been further from Eretria, and the right, i.e. the Peloponnesian, further from Eretria. Of a number of theories of the manoeuvres at Salamis this one is the most difficult to reconcile with the evidence, this included and will emerge as such.

4. τὰς Θερμοπύλους ἑσπέρης ἀπὸ τὸν ὁρίζοντα καὶ τὸν ἡᾶ τε καὶ τὸν Παιρμῖν

διαφθειρόμεναι αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων. ἄτε γὰρ τῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων σὺν κόσμῳ ναυμαχεύοντων <καὶ> κατὰ τάξιν, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων οὔτε τεταγμένων ἔτι οὔτε σὺν νύφῃ ποιούντων οὐδὲν, ἐμελλε τοιοῦτό σφί συνοίσεσθαι οἶον περ ἄπειβη. καίτοι ἦσαν γε καὶ ἐγενοντο ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην μακρῷ ἀμείνονες αὐτοὶ ἰωυτῶν ἢ πρὸς Εἰβοίῃ, πᾶς τις προβιμεόμενος καὶ διαιμαίνων Ξέρξην, ἐδόκεε τε ἕκαστος ἰωυτῶν θεήσασθαι βασιλέα.

Κατὰ μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἄλλους οὐκ ἔχω [μετεξέτερος] εἰπεῖν 87 ὑπὲρ κείως ὡς ἕκαστοι τῶν βαρβάρων ἢ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγωνί-

4 καὶ αὐθιχὲς δὲ κατὰ τάξιν δολ. Cohet 5 οὔτε Bouter; οὐ
θ ἡμελλε α87 τοιοῦτοι θ 7 ἴσαν 2 9 τε; τοι B θεμενωθαι
CP: θεμενωθαι 2. θεμενωθαι vel θεμενωθαι. 87 1 μετεξέτερος
vel. θεμεν. Hellen, τὰν H εἶσαι 2, τὰν H 2 ὡς οὐ C

1 84, 159, 2 115, 121) is used rather as its Homeric sense) to mean 'plunder' or 'sack' merely 'devoting'; but cp. 7 125 πᾶσα. We have done with the ἄλκιμα etc. and Ἀργεῖα etc. to the chief naval sources of c. 84 above.

3 ὅτε γὰρ τῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων, the τετα is applied here only to those on the Athenian side cp. 7. 142 etc., c. 11. 17, 182 ἡμεῖς, cp. Ἑλλήνων c. 87 etc., also Ἑλλήνων c. 92.

4 σὺν κόσμῳ is more or less regular, and just below in σὺν πᾶσι κατὰ τάξιν is parallel to τεταγμένων etc. the two words ἄλκιμα of the ἄλκιμα, friend of 'the Spartans', which, however, the Platonists have been unwillingly 'after ἄλκιμα', cp. 10 100 etc., while the experts of ancient Greek on the Persian side, recorded, ἄλκιμα, c. 87, 90, seems to declare a perfect ἄλκιμα of some ἀλκιμα δὲ κατὰ τάξιν to be the command of individual men, the general discipline of crews etc.; τὰς τοὺς ἀλκιμας of ἄλκιμα, and ἄλκιμα keeping its own place, etc. (cp. 10 100 etc.) is interpreted, ἀλκιμα, but it need not be denied of the ἄλκιμα.

5 ἑκάστα, 'was born', 'was one'. σὺν κείνῳ and ἀπὸς mark a division without a difference, the σὺν κείνῳ came more home than the ἀπὸς, and the two words denote one and the same thing, as it came down to the present, or as it went off in the natural order of sequence.

7 ἴσαν γε καὶ ἦνόντο κτλ. Hellen, apparently says two things in one and

since θῶν ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην αὐτὸς, of time, cp. Index) ἀμείνονες αὐτῶν, i.e. they surpassed themselves, cp. 5. 114; and ἐγένοντο ἀμείνονες ἢ πρὸς Ξέρξην 2 ὅτε αὐτοὶ ἐμὲν μὲν πολλὰν ἀνδραγαδίαν ἢ τοῦ θέματος in an exact parallel as there is only one verb in that sentence. But the double redundancy here is not unnatural and the alternative does not so much lie between ἦσαν and ἐγένοντο as between οἶον αὐτῶν and ἢ πρὸς Ξέρξην—the latter verb is rather weaker than ἀλκιμα etc. There is a clear enough general reference back to the account of the progress of Artabanus, c. 8 17 supra as in the words with which the chapter concludes back to c. 8 17 supra. Such explicit references are natural in a work composed for a running gallery.

9, εἰδοὺς τε, at this point is in coordinate grammatically not with the preceding participles but with the personal verbs ἦσαν γε and ἐγένοντο a more θεήσασθαι the matter is observable; each was feeling that the king was here in his power was on him. It must be for a moment, any moment, but that was it enough.

87 1 κατὰ c. 87 supra. 1, namely Iative, there again, 1 4, sequence, or subsequent (cp. 7 100 etc.), etc., thus, respect to ἡμεῖς etc. etc.

οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν ὅτιον, a confession of the limits of his sources. What the historian apparently remarks is the lack of historical material; at least, facts at hand do not much present him.

2 ἑκαστοι: not individual men, but,

ζουτο· κατὰ δὲ Ἀρτεμισίην ταῦδε ἐγένετο, ἀπ' ὧν εὐδοκίμησε
 μᾶλλον ἐπὶ παρὰ βασιλεί, ἐπεὶ δὲ γὰρ ἐς θόρυβον πολλὸν
 5 ἀπίκετο τὰ βασιλεὺς πρήγματα, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἡ
 νῆς ἡ Ἀρτεμισίης ἐδιώκετο ὑπὸ νεὸς Ἀττικῆς· καὶ ἡ οὐκ
 ἔχουσα διαφυγεῖν, ἐμπροσθε γὰρ αὐτῆς ἦσαν ἄλλαι νέες φλῆλαι,
 ἡ δὲ αὐτῆς πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων μάλιστα ἐτύγχανε εὐόσα,
 10 γάρ ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς φέρουσα ἐνεβαλε νηὶ φιλίῃ ἀνδρῶν τε
 Καλυνδέων καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπιπλέοντος τοῦ Καλυνδέων βασιλέως

4 βασιλῆι :: βασιλεῖ || ἐπεὶ γὰρ :: 5 βασιλῆος :: 6 νεὺς B
 || νέος (νῆς ::) || ἡ B 7 ἐμπροσθεν B :: ἔσαν :: νῆς :: 8
 ἐπὶ πρὸς α 10 τε :: δὲ :: hallenberg 11 ἐπιπλέοντος van H. ||
 βασιλῆος ::

as always, in individual acts of men, not
 in general, etc.

8. Ἀρτεμισίην: HGL's counterpoise, as
 the only place where the night battle
 ante under illumination, is seen y of a
 personal kind. From the time. There is
 a clear contrast between in μάλλον ἐπὶ
 back to the *supra* ep. set of after.
 Note the use of ἐπὶ with the comparative.
 It clearly does not stand for ὅτι.

4. ἐς θόρυβον π. ἀπίκετο τὰ β. πρήγ-
 ματα: θορυβοί, confusion; ep. o. 140
 infra (εὐ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ) - ἐπὶ πρὸς
 πρήγματα ep. r. 11 *supra*.

6. ἐδιώκετο ὑπὸ ν. Ἀττικῆς, which
 is a real *supra* (c. 93 *infra*) is the
 only of Athens (On the Asian side
 who that would not have known the
 Attic trireme's name) ἡ διοικῶσα
 the of the only part of the ship.

7. ἐμπροσθε γὰρ αὐτῆς ἦσαν ἄλλαι
 νέες φ. Had Artemisia already gone
 out and was she in sight, how could
 out the Persian of two ships? If
 so, the *supra* is contradicted by the
 Persian *supra*, which held all the
 way to Miletus: c. 70 *infra*.
 But it is possible that ἐμπροσθε refers
 to vessels ahead of her in the Persian
 column, i.e. west of her; that the Attic
 column had actually reached the
 Phoenician ships; and that Artemisia
 was being in upon Artemisia from the
 further east, east of north. Cf. c. 84
infra, ἐπὶ τῷ πρὸς, etc. In this view
 the lines are easily traced: Art. was
 west, east of north. Cf. c. 84
infra, ἐπὶ τῷ πρὸς, and perhaps on the
 left, or in the rear, of the Persian line or
 column, after the development of the

Persian position; if an Athenian vessel
 now remains her, the Greek left has
 already pushed out beyond Byzantium,
 or, if Artemisia was posted not on the
 extreme left, but on the extreme right
 of the Athenian position, then he is
 attack of Artemisia from the right, i.e.
 west of north.

8 ἡ δὲ αὐτῆς :: νῆς. The position
 here indicated suggests that Artemisia's
 ship might not be east of Byzantium;
 but if the *supra* are too vague for
 us to see it had with any clear view
 of the situation. The *supra* here must
 be the *supra*.

9. Ἰδοὺ οἱ: a change of construction,
 apposition, which leaves ἡ οὐκ ἔχουσα
supra; an exact parallel is 7 *supra*.

συνήνικα here carries an unusual
 personal sense, 'unmolested, 'turned out
 well', ep. 4. 17 *infra*, and contr. c. 84
 90 *infra*. The *supra* in question is the
 result, not the immediate result of the
supra. (συνήνικα 'after she had
 done it')

10. φέρουσα ἐνεβαλε νηὶ φιλίῃ: the
supra is not to be used in the
 any of the *supra*, but in the *supra* of
 the lady, and the active participle (*supra*
 φερούσα *supra*, c. 90, 91, d. 102 *infra*,
 is also remarkable: perhaps a compliment
 to a beautiful woman).

11. Καλυνδέων . . Δαρσιθύμου. The
 'καλιθέων' of this passage are hardly
 older (like the 'Καλυνδέων' of 7.
 94 *infra*), nor can Darsithymon,
 their *supra*, or other than Darsithy-
 mus, son of Kalaulos, of 7. 94 *infra*.
 It might seem, indeed, to have meant

γεγονόσιν μοι γυναῖκες, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἄνδρες." ταῦτα μὲν
Ξέρξης φασὶ εἰπεῖν.

Ἐν δὲ τῷ πόντῳ τούτῳ ἀπὸ μὲν ἔθανε ὁ στρατηγὸς ¹⁵
Ἀριαβίγης ὁ Δαρεῖου, Ξέρξης ἐὼν ἀδελφεός, ἀπὸ δὲ ἄλλοι
πολλοὶ τε καὶ ὀνομαστοὶ Περσέων καὶ Μήδων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
συμμάχων, ὀλίγοι δὲ τινὲς καὶ Ἑλλήνων· ἅτε γὰρ νέειν
ἐπιστάμενοι, τοῖσι αἱ νέες διεφθείροντο, καὶ μὴ ἐν χειρῶν
νόμῳ ἀπολλύμενοι, ἐς τὴν Σαλαμίνα διένεον. τῶν δὲ βαρ-
βάρων οἱ πολλοὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ διεφθάρησαν νέειν οἷα
ἐπιστάμενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ αἱ πρῶται ἐς φυγὴν ἐτράποντο, ἐνθαῦτα
αἱ πλείους διεφθείροντο· οἱ γὰρ ὀπισθε τεταγμένοι, ἐς τὸ
πρῶτον τῆσι νηυσὶ παριέναι περιώμενοι ὥς ἀποδεχόμενοι ¹⁰
καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔργον βασιλεί, τῆσι σφετέρῃσι νηυσὶ φευγούσῃσι
περίεπιπτον.

Ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ τοδὲ ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ τούτῳ. τῶν τινες ²⁰

89. 2 ἀριαβίγης C | δε ἐὼν? Kalenberg 5 νῆες cod. l. x | καὶ.
εἰ Κισσός, van H 8 εἰπεῖτε? van H., ἐνφυγῶν B 9 ἀπαρθεὶς B
10 ἐπιστάει B· ἰμπερσάει = 11 βασιλεῖ AB <τῆσι> φευγούσῃσι?
Diedl?

89. 2 πόντῳ cp. c. 114. 7, 24.
ἀπὸ μὲν . . . ἀπὸ δὲ a *trans-*
positum the originally anaphoric
quantity of the preposition; cp. 5. 81
et seq.

3 Ἀριαβίγης cp. 7 17 *parva* in
passage of the Ionian historian (vi. 2).
H. another was a daughter of Darius, as
he was not his, brother to the king.

4 τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων, τῶν ἄλλων
a *transpositum* not adjectival; *hinc* even
and even Media, would hardly come
under the head of *symmachoi*. The
Ionians and Media furnish *hinc* *hinc*,
cp. 7 21 *hinc*, the *hinc* are here not
covered except so far as covered by
symmachoi. Ἑλλήνων seems to refer
primarily to the national forces, but
must cover at least some *hinc* on the
Ionian side; cp. c. 26 *supra*.

5 νέες ἐπιστάμενοι, an *att.* not a
trans., cp. 7. 21, and c. 68 *supra*.
The participle refers not to the *hinc*
forces covered, but to the *hinc* who
survived, even as on their
sides were destroyed, but H. it's way
of putting the case is a little clumsy
in this passage.

6 ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ cp. 9. 43 *hinc*;
a *trans.*, hand to hand, with the *hinc*
and *hinc* of each other *symmachoi*
cp. 9. 43 *hinc*, and the *hinc* *hinc*

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fighting a mortal as on land. These *hinc*
too *hinc* *hinc* *hinc*, but did not get
the chance, *hinc*, again, was it on'y
those who lost their ships that knew
how to swim!

6 δε τὴν Σαλαμίνα διένεον, *hinc*
fight in to Salamis. One might have
expected some of them to have been
picked up on the way. Were there no
Greek ships left between them and the
enemy?

8 αἱ πρῶται: the vanguard, the
leading ships, the head of the column,
the first line, in distinction to αἱ ὀπισθε
τεταγμένοι the rearward, the second
line, the tail of the column, as the case
may be, sailing back upon them behind,
the foremost ships threw everything
into confusion *hinc* *hinc* *hinc*.

10 τῆσι νηυσὶ is a kind of instru-
mental circumstantial, *hinc* *hinc*
active.

11 ὡς ἀποδεχόμενοι τι καὶ αὐτοὶ
ἔργον βασιλεῖ *hinc* *hinc* in view of
c. 87 and c. 85. But was there really
such *hinc* *hinc* *hinc* *hinc*?

11 τῆσι σφετέρῃσι νηυσὶ *hinc*, the
ships on their own sides, *hinc* *hinc* *hinc* *hinc*
their own *hinc* *hinc* *hinc* *hinc*. With
hinc *hinc* *hinc* *hinc* *hinc* *hinc* c.
16 *supra*.

20 1. τὸν τινα θορύβον: a thorough

L

Φοινίκων, τῶν αἱ νέες διεφθάραι, ἰλθόντες παρὰ βασιλείᾳ διεβαλλόν τοὺς Ἴωνας, ὥς δι' ἐκείνους ὑπολόγιστο αἱ νέες, ὥς προδόντων. συνέηκε δὲ οὕτω ὥστε Ἴωνων τε τοὺς στρατηγούς μὴ ἀπολείσθαι Φοινίκων τε τοὺς διαβάλλοντας λαβεῖν τοιούτους μισθούς. ἔτι τούτων ταῦτα λεγόντων ἐνέβαλε νηὶ Ἀττικῇ Σαμοθρηκίῃ νηὺς. ἥ τε δὴ Ἀττικὴ κατέδυτο καὶ ἐπιφερομένη Αἰγιναιὴ νηὺς κατέδυσε τῶν Σαμοθρηκίων τὴν νεα. ἄτε δὲ δὴ ζήντες ἀκοντισταὶ οἱ Σαμοθρηκῆς τοὺς ἐπι-

90. 2 Φοινίκων H. Stephanus: φοίνικες „ ἦες = διεφθάραιτο eod. (διεφθαρῖαιτο P) | βασιλείᾳ = 3 ὑπολόγιστο C | ἦες = ὥς προδόντων dei. Cebet, van H 4 οὕτω <γενέσθαι> οὕτω I Stein². ποῖοις πῶτος οὕτω ezechias? (cp. van H. in I) 5 ἐνέβαλλοντες = 6 τοιούτων = | τούτων = κρη σις B 7 σαμοθρηκίῃ B C σαμοθρηκίῃ ASV 8 αἰγιναιὴ B | σαμοθρηκίων B 9 εἴη = | δὲ δὴ Stein². δὲ P marg., Krueger, Stein², Holder, van H. - δὴ

Herodotean collocation, cp. 7. 143, 148 *supra*. The men in question would of course be of high position kings or what not: it is a pity they are anonymous! Cp. 7. 98.

2. διεφθάραιτο: a pluperfect, and with its full temporal force.

2. δι' ἐκείνους, 'thanks to them.' ὥς προδόντων seems to be added as an explanation not by the Phoenicians, but by the writer: 'it were as well away, and, but for the change of case, might be bracketed as a gloss. What had the Ionians done? Were it the Ionians who had turned tail? Was it not the Phoenicians who had been leading the van? Were they angry that the Ionians had not made way, when they turned to flight? Or did they suspect the Ionians of collusion with the enemy, and of purposely obstructing the passage? Such questions may seem to treat the Ionians too severely. It is in any case evidence of a rivalry and friction between Ionian and Phoenician which was doubtless one of the elements of weakness on the Persian side.

4 συνέηκε: here quite neutral; cp. c. 68 *supra*, οὕτω, 'in the following way'—εἰ δὲ.

τοὺς στρατηγοὺς. not the Persian admirals, but the subordinate (Greek captains, or generals of expeditions).

6 μισθούς: ironical. cp. c. 117 *infra*. Here is not a letter of the Ionians, but he prefers them here to Phoenicians; cp. 7. 23 *supra*.

ἐνέβαλε νηὶ Ἀττικῇ Σαμοθρηκίῃ νηὺς. The verb is naturally used; cp. c. 87 *supra*. The invocation of Attic, Samothracian, and Aeginetan vessels is remarkable. The Athenian squadron ~~was~~ have taken up more than half the Greek lines of battle, the Aeginetans may have been posted (or had some of their ships posted) on the extreme left of the Phoenician contingent, or wing. The Athenian vessel may have come out left of Parosia, and the Aeginetan on the right. The dramatic transposition, which is probably historical, should take place in the outer, not in the inner waters: the action that it occurred under the very eyes of Xerxes is perhaps for the sake of the moral in factum.

The Samothracians are in this account regarded as Ionians: the principal population was Persian, 2. 51: 'Τῆς αἰτίας Σαμοῦ' (Homer, *H* 13. 12) was very naturally believed to have been colonized by Samians, Strab. ad loc. *supra* 7. 4. 3, but the story in Pausanias (1. 10. 1) seems doubtful on their island. Blakely's acerbic remarks that 'Ionian was too common orientalism for Herodotus' and cp. 4. 135, 5. 2, 7. 95 *supra*.

2. ἀκοντισταὶ: armed with the dory, the characteristic weapon of Thracians, of Asia Minor, of the Peloponnese (cp. Appendix II. § 4), which here proves superior to the potency of the baphe. The Samothracian Peloponnese cleared the deck of the heavy infantry, boarded and possessed themselves of the Aeginetan vessel (σχῶν). The amount of *κατακτα*

βάτας ἀπὸ τῆς καταδυσάσης νεὸς βάλλοντες ἀπῆραξαν καὶ 10
ἐπὶ θάλασσαν τε καὶ ἔσχον αὐτήν. ταῦτα γενόμενα τοὺς Ἴωνες
ἐρρύσατο· ὡς γὰρ εἶδε σφεας Ξέρξης ἔργον μέγα ἐργασαμένους,
ἐπράκτετο πρὸς τοὺς Φοίνικας οἷα ὑπερλυπείμενος τε καὶ πάντας
αἰτιώμενος, καὶ σφῶν ἐκέλευσε τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀποταμῖν, ἵνα
μὴ αἰτοὶ κακοὶ γενόμενοι τοὺς ἀμείνονας διαβάλλωσι. 15
γὰρ τιὰ ἰδοὶ Ξέρξης τῶν ἐωυτοῦ ἔργου τε ἀποδεικνύμενον ἐν
τῇ ναυμαχίῃ, κατήμενος ὑπὸ τῷ ὄρει τῷ ἀπέναντι Σαλαμῖνος
το καλέεται Λιγυλῆως, ἀρεπνυθύνετο τὸν ποιήσαντα, καὶ οἱ

11) νεὸς C ἰσὺς z ἀπῆραξαν z 13 τῶν z 14 ἐκέλευε
Jaccobitz 15 διαβάλλωσι R 17 οὐρεὶ OF, van H.

There is remarkable and if the descrip-
tion is correct—and as early as 484 B.C.,
the Persian at least were supposed to be
occupant in that position, cp. G. 12,
15—the battle of Salamis was not simply a
land fight on 'wooden wall' or 'boarded'
beach but a true sea-fight, in which the
ship was used as a weapon, and the warfare
went as much the time of the day as
night, the fighting the whole day, cp. G. 15,
16.

12) ὡς γὰρ εἶδε σφεας Ξέρξης· If the
Persian first ἰδόντες really took place on
sea—then, if Xerxes with his own eyes
saw it, if he was at that moment sitting
somewhere on Mount Aegaeus or on the
Islands—see Jaccobitz, then the scene of
the action would more probably be west
of Salamis. The σφεας rather vaguely
refers to the 'Persians'. In any case the
Persians were at fault; even if the
Dionysianians were Ionians or passed
on over, other Ionians, from Asia and
elsewhere, might have deserted at the
last though the Phoenicians were sup-
posed to have sold of them. There can
be no doubt that σφεας refers to Persians,
Xerxes did not order the Phoenicians to
cut off the heads of the Ionians, and when
he turned himself to the Phoenicians
the act was merely rather than justice.

Heading was a regular formula, cp.
J. 35 above and Phoenicians were
mentioned to it in a Ionian story. But,
even if it is that the king's orders are
executed, ὡς γὰρ διαβάλλωσι seems
to be a motive supplied by the narrator,
and a part of the king's doom.

17) ἀρεπνυθύνετο ὑπὸ τῷ ὄρει Λιγυλῆως.
During at least some part of the day
Xerxes may have been seated somewhere
on a throne, from which he could witness
the fight, "the principal officers of his

household standing around him, the
imperial guard held by an attendant
over his head, and the soldiers by his
side waiting down the names of those
who had distinguished themselves in the
action," Herodotus, *Athena and the Persian*
II 2.6. From Mount Aegaeus you can
overlook the whole bay, and survey the
waters both within and beyond the
island of Salamis—what a view!—
but hardly from a seat ὑπὸ τῷ ὄρει, 'at
the foot of the mountain'. If the seat
of Xerxes was down there, or even down
on the lower slopes, but little above the
water, not much would have been seen
of the details of a battle, even if con-
fined to the straits and bay of Salamis
(Jaccobitz).

18) The words τὸ καλέεται Λιγυλῆως
have a parenthesis: not to say quite like
appearance, but might easily have been
inserted by the author himself, after
making acquaintance with the scene.
To survey all the possible area of action,
to look down into the bay of Salamis as
we look into the bay of Salamis, Xerxes
would have needed to stand high on
Mt. Aegaeus, the matter of the time
was no mere parade, or procession,
as in 4.88, 7 44 above. Nevertheless the
king seemed to sit still in one spot all
the time! He will have ridden to the
foot of the ascent, and have moved up
and about the high ground, attended
by his aides de camp and suite, as
the operations of the battle proceeded.
Surely had he been fixed to one spot,
we should have heard how he sprang up
from his seat, thence and thence thence
thence, ὡς γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ σπινθῆρι? 442
above. If Xerxes had a throne for this
occasion its exact site is hard to define.
The ancients themselves are not agreed

γραμματισταὶ ἀνέγραφον πατρόθει τὸν τριήραρχον καὶ τὴν

19 τὸν τε ἢ Stein¹

It first makes its appearance in the poetical sources: Aischyl *Pers.* 485 ff *ἔδραν γὰρ νῆε πάντος εἰσὶν στρατὸς ἐφ' ἧλας ὄχθον ἀγχι πελάγαιος ἄλος*. It is less likely *ἔδραν* is not necessarily even 'a seat,' much less 'his throne' (the ἀρχιστρατὴς διόφρος preserved afterwards in the Akrota is attested in C. I. A. I. 124, from the stele of Lausann. 1. 27 1), *πάντος στρατὸς* seems to cover army as well as fleet, and some of the army was, if Hdt. is to be trusted, west of Agalaea c. 70 *μῖλια*; *ἐφ' ἧλας ὄχθον* would at any rate suit Agalaea, and the top of Agalaea, but certainly Hdt. a *ὄρε* τῷ *ὄρει πελάγαιος ἄλος* need not be pressed so as to rule out the straits, as though *πελάγαιος* could only mean the high or open seas, but Aischylus is not anyway in strict accord with Hdt. Phaedonides (ap. Plutarch *Themist.* 13) placed the seat of Xerxes *ἐπὶ τῷ Περικλειῶν*—which may be the source of Herodotus 11. 18. 2, so far as the king's position is concerned there is—but how far, how much above the Herakleion? The Herakleion apparently occupied the whole end of the ferry, across the narrowest part of the straits (cp. note to c. 47 *infra*). Akastodoros (Plutarch *l.c.*) located the king far to the west, beyond Meneia, *ἐν μέσῳ τῆς Μεγαρίδος ὑπερ τῶν καλουμένων Κερνίων*. In this position he would have seen nothing at all of the actual battle described c. 113 ff., though he might have seen something worth seeing (cp. c. 94 *infra*). The tradition in Akastodoros deserves, however, less absolute contempt than it has received. The very fact that it is so remote from the apparent necessities of the case should have obtained for it a careful scrutiny (considering that the army or a part of the army, had moved at the night before the battle to the west (c. 70 *supra*), that on the day before the battle Demaratos and Dikarios, eminent members of the king's suite, were on the Thracian plain c. 66 *supra*); that a detachment of the Persian fleet had been sent round Salamis to block the Megarian channel c. 73 *supra*; that the Greeks were perhaps he moved to be in full retreat through the bay of Eleusis c. 76 *supra*), a position overlooking the Megarian

Sound might not have seemed ill chosen for a bird's-eye view of the coming encounter. No one would have suggested it as an unaiding the actual scene of the battle of Salamis. Given the main facts of the battle, granted the obvious supposition that the king witnessed it, and a place was bound to be provided for him *ἐναντίον τῆς Σαλαμῖνος*, pity that the authorities could not agree whether that place was at the top or the bottom of the mountain! That Xerxes actually occupied the Keratia is incredible. Even if he was at Eleusis on the morning of the battle, he would have hurried eastwards when the true state of the case was revealed by the early light. The greater part of the battle he may have actually overlooked from the heights of *Ἰκαρινίον*. The oddity in Aristodem. 1. 2 *καθίστατο ἐπὶ τοῦ Περικλίου ὄρους* is surely a variant for Agalaea, the whole for the part. Baskerley's ingenious hypothesis that Xerxes began on the top of the mountain and then descended to the neighbourhood of the Herakleion does not really bear out his own conclusion that "all the varying accounts may have some truth in them," *cf.* *supra* Akastodoros, nor does it square with the probable course of events: for at what hour did Xerxes start on the top of the mountain? Did he spend the night there? If not, the unexpected course of events in the morning would probably have upset the plan of ascent. In any case you in every start at the bottom not at the top of a mountain once up no doubt you are sure to come down. The traditional site of the *Throne of Xerxes* is on the hill, fronting the road to the ferry, a little beyond the supposed site of the Herakleion. Letting Baskerley's *Demost.* p. 108 suggested the rocky promontory of *Κερνιόνη*, which projects into the bay about three-quarters of a mile beyond the head of St. George, as the point from which Xerxes witnessed the battle commencing as it does an admirable survey of the straits. It is now occupied by a powder magazine. The partial coincidence between the modern name of this promontory and the Keratia, in Akastodoros is curious.

οἱ γραμματισταὶ ἀνέγραφον: we have seen these historians at

πάλει. πρὸς δὲ τι καὶ προσεβόλλετο φίλος ἔων <Ἰωσι> 20
 Ἀριαράμνης ἀνὴρ Πέρσης παρώνων τούτου τοῦ Φοινικίου
 παθός. αἱ μὲν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Φοίνικας ἐτράποντο.

Τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ἐς φυγὴν τραπομένων καὶ ἐκπλέοντων 91
 πρὸς τὸ Φάληρον, Λίγνηται ὑποστάντες ἐν τῷ πορθμῷ ἔργα

20 ἐτι τι bekker δ' ἐτι B: δὲ ἐτι ceteri προσεβόλλετο C. προσε
 λάβετο Reiske, van H. || Ἰωσι ceteri. Stein, approb. van H. Ἰώνων ante
 ἔων Albrecht. cp. comment. infra

ποτα, under most favourable circum-
 stances, 7. 100 supra. Exactly
 the same ἀναστρέφει may have con-
 sidered the nature of Theonator and
 Ἰωσις, but H. will surely have
 considered them. cp. c. 26 supra.

19 παρόντων: cp. 6 14, but not
 exactly a stroke touch, the patron-
 ymism plays a prominent part in the
 Persian lists, e.g. 7. 61 ff. But τὸν
 τράπαλον καὶ τὴν πάλιν sounds
 certainly, mainly for the sake of Greeks;
 what if not a πάρος but an ἔθνος were
 suggested? The whole sentence seems
 good, the πολὺν εἶνος in very seriously
 being and would be better placed at the
 end of c. 26 infra tollit.

21 τῶν δὲ πάλ. This is a further
 expansion of the escape of the Ionians
 and of the doom (παθός) of the Pho-
 enicians, but the juxtaposition is peculiar,
 and the text perhaps corrupt; cp. App.
 C. The texts vary between τῶν καὶ
 δὲ προσεβόλλετο in of doubtful sense
 and τῶν καὶ προσεβόλλετο.

φίλος ἔων is obvious: πρὸς οὐρανὸν
 καὶ Ἀσιατικούς! Ἰωσι is conjectural.
 The καὶ μὲν, καὶ οἱ μὲν δὲ πάλ.,
 suggests interjection. Does the context
 suggest anything much further than
 ἐκπλέοντων? See following note.

προσεβόλλετο might be a verb, e.
 cp. a phrase, although if Asiaτικός in
 the context it is certainly a verb, and
 may be interpreted contributed
 somewhat 'as to the disaster of the
 Phoenicians'; contrasted with Phoeni-
 cians (ceteri): Bekker cp. Bekker: Stein
 compares Eurip. And. 284 ἀναστρέφει
 καὶ δὲ πάλιν τὸν ὀνόματι Bekker
 seems to prefer with Lange to take
 προσεβόλλετο as also cp. y, and παρώνων
 with ceteri. παρώνων, 'present at the
 disaster' surely wrong! Bekker
 reads προσεβόλλετο and understands
 Asiaτικός to have stated the law of
 the Phoenicians; φίλος has been taken
 as there παρὸς τῶν Ἰωνων (Bekker,

amicus regis (Valia) of the Phoenicians
 (Bekker).

I am inclined to suspect that the
 real verb has here disappeared, and that
 προσεβόλλετο may have come in from
 lower down, where τοῖς προσεβόλλετο
 αὐτῶν ἡ ἀχαιὴν νηὶ (7 36 supra), or
 some similar phrase, seems to have
 dropped out after οἱ μὲν δὲ. Perhaps
 the text in this passage ran τῶν δὲ πάλ.,
 καὶ ἐκπλέοντων φίλοι ἔων πάλ., in which
 case Asiaτικός was a friend of the
 Phoenicians, and the conjectural Ἰωσι
 must be omitted. With ἐκπλέοντων
 τῶν cp. 1. 127 προστάται, d. 49
 προστάται, 2 28 (δυνάμεις), though I
 must be confessed that πάρος is not
 in the same category.

21. Ἀριαράμνης. His name suggests
 that he was an Achaemenid; cp. 7. 11
 supra.

21. 1. τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ceteri, no
 doubt, Greeks on the Persian side, but
 would scarcely be used unless Phoenicians
 and other non-Hellenic folk were
 included.

ἐκπλέοντων πρὸς τὸ Φάληρον. If
 the barbarian line had been all parallel
 with the Attic shore, then, when driven
 back and put to flight, the ships would
 naturally have run aground under
 Mount Aigeion. The fact that they
 make use of the straits for Phaleron,
 though not perhaps in itself conclusive,
 favours the view that this was the
 natural line of retreat. Phaleron, not
 Peiraia, is their goal, or base; cp. cc
 35, 6, supra.

2. Λίγνηται ὑποστάντες ἐν τῷ πορθμῷ.
 The Argonauts will have made their
 way out of the straits to the right of
 Peiraia, unless the Argonauts here
 mentioned has come up during the
 action, from home (cp. 5 46 supra),
 but the vessels here would surely have
 been of ἀριστα πλοῦς. ὑποστάντες
 suggests their being posted in ambush,
 lying in wait, or at least 'waylaying

ἀπεδείξαντο λόγου ἄξια. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν τῇ θορύβῳ ἐκεραίζον τὰς τε ἀντισταμένας καὶ τὰς φευγούσας τῶν νεῶν, οἱ δὲ Αἰγινῆται τὰς ἐκπλεούσας· ὅπως δὲ τινὲς τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις 92 διαφίνοιν, φερόμενοι ἐσεπιπτον ἐς τοὺς Αἰγινῆτας. ἐμβαῦτα συνεκύρουν νέες ἣ τε Θημιστοκλῆος διακουσα νέα καὶ ἡ Πολυκρίτου τοῦ Κριῦ ἀνδρὸς Αἰγινῆται νηὶ ἐμβαλοῦσα Σιδωνίῃ, ἣ περ εἶλε τὴν προφυλάσσουσαν ἐπὶ Σκιάδῳ τὴν Αἰγιναιήν, 10 ἣ ἐπ' ἧς ἐπλεε Πυθέης ὁ Ἰσχενοῦ, τὸν οἱ Πέρσαι κατακοπέντα ἀρετῆς εἶδεν· αἶχον ἐν τῇ νηὶ ἐκπαγλεόμενοι· τὸν δὲ περιγρούσα ἅμα τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι ἤλω <ἦ> νῆς ἡ Σιδωνίη, ὥστε Πυθέην οὕτω σωθῆναι ἐς Αἶγινα. αἶς δὲ ἐπέειδε τὴν νέα τὴν Ἀττικὴν ὁ Πολύκριτος, ἔγνω τὸ σημεῖον ἰδὼν τῆς στρατηγίδος, 10 καὶ βάσας τὸν Θημιστοκλέα ἐπεκερτόμησε ἐς τῶν Αἰγινητέων

91. 4 νῆων 2 92. 2 νῆες 2 3 αἰγινητέων B 4 Ἰσχενοῦ
H. Stephanus: Ἰσχένον 6 νῆι B, cf. c. 90. 6 7 ἦ, acc. Stein²
8 νῆα 1 9 ἔγνω re! Stein² 10, 12 Θημιστοκλέα (ba) 2

the foe, as they would do if they were covered by Psittaleia. ὁ πορθμός might doubtless refer to the water under the straits (W. of Psittaleia) primarily; but it is used, c. 76 *supra*, distinctly of the more open water to the east, and that interpretation seems to give a better sense here.

Ἰσχε ἀπεδείξαντο λ. 85: cp. 7. 211. Three achievements helped to win them the prize, cp. c. 93 *infra*.

3. ἐν τῇ θορύβῳ might almost seem to be locative, in contrast with ἐν τῇ θορύβῳ the Athenians betraying, meaning (δεσφάζον, c. 86 *supra*) those within in the matter whether offering resistance or trying to escape, the Aeginetians waylaying those who were getting out, so that if they escaped (διαφ.) the Athenians inside Psittaleia, they fell headlong φ. ἰσπ., among the Athenians ambushed outside.

92. 2. συνεκύρουν: cp. συνεκρούει c. 87 *supra*. The anecdote which follows is remarkable, *inter alia*, in its bearing on the problem of Hist. a composition. 'Polykritos son of Krios an Aeginetan,' is introduced, without the slightest apparent reference to the story of the meeting of his father Krios with King Xerxes, c. 59 *supra*. Perhaps this is the earlier passage and the earlier anecdote, the identity of Polykritos and Themistokles having revived, or generated, the story of the meeting of Krios 10-11 years earlier, cp. Introduction,

§§ 7-8. The Sidonian ship must have been originally on the right of the Persian line, or at the head of the Persian column. (By this time the Greek right has probably all pushed out well past Psittaleia, but the Athenians were still c. 91 *supra*.)

4. ἣ περ εἶλε . . ἐκπαγλεόμενοι: an important reference back to the story told 7-10 *supra*, with close verbal coincidence unimpeachable except to a reader. ὥστε . . ὅπως is one thing, ὅπως ὥστε another, cp. c. 90 *supra*.

9 τὸ σημεῖον . . τῆς στρατηγίδος: the admiral's flag, or enough, whatever it was: cp. τὸ ἐπιστήμιον τῆς πόλεως (cf. Athenians c. 88 *supra*). That the ship was an Aeginetan he would have known before identifying it as the flag ship. Themistokles was assured, not the only Athenian Strategos at Salamis: probably all nine others were there—dearer ἀπὸς Θίμει but he was certainly γνησιώτατος—and how then had a thoroughly distinctive and unmistakable position or crest K. O. Müller, *Aeginetia* p. 126, suggests that Krios was commander-in-chief of the Aeginetians: if so, he had supported Themistokles' plans, c. 54 *supra*. Or was he perhaps captain of the ship which had run the blockade to invoke the Aeginetians?

10 βάσας ἐπέειδεν, 'after a loud cry (perhaps Themistokles very naturally reproached Themistokles in bitter

τὸν μηδισμόν ἀνείδισαν. ταῦτα μὲν νυν νῆϊ ἐμβαλὼν ὁ Πυλάριτος ἀπέρριψε εἰς Θηματοκλῆα· οἱ δὲ βείρβαροι τῶν αἰρέεσσι περιγέγοντα, φεύγοντες ἀπίκοντο εἰς Φάληρον ὑπὸ τῶν πεζῶν στρατῶν.

Ἐν δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ταύτῃ ἤκουσαν Ἕλλήνων ἀρίστα 93
 Αἰγινήται, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀνδρῶν δὲ Πολύκριτος τε ὁ
 Αἰγινήτης καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι Εὐμένης τε ὁ Ἀναγυράσιος καὶ
 Ἀμεινίης Παλληνεύς, ὃς καὶ Ἀρτεμισίην ἐπέδωκε. αἱ μὲν νυν

11 <τῆ> οὐλ Reiske, van H. 13 ἦγε s 23. 3 Ἀθηναῖος s
αὐτογγραφεύς B 4 - ὁ Πάλλης van H : ὁμοιότης παλλεύς R_{II}
εἰσελά B : ἀπεδίωξε s

terms with reference to the charge of
medusa against the Argonauts — a rather
strange passage, containing an obscure
allusion — nothing having previously
been said of any charge of 'medusa'
against Argona except the old charge
brought in 431 B.C., cp. d. 49 supra and
Thucyd. c. 21 in that. With
disregard to the old reference in 5.
81. One is almost tempted to think
that the Attic and Argonaut ship had
collided (*metastallen*). The construction
does not bet the materialy, *ἀντιπρὸς*.
c. 4. 142. 1. 81. 153

11. ἐπὶ τῶν πλοίων ὑπὸ τῶν πτερυγίων στρατῶν.
 under Phalaron, under cover of the im-
 agined - which cannot, therefore, all
 have marched westward, cp. c. 70
 above. Doubtless the Persian land-forces
 had lined the whole coast of the straits
 during the day.

83. 1. ἤκουσαν Ἑλλήνων ἐρευνα
 Διγυγῶν, i.e. the Argonauts, among
 strangers or contestants, obtained the
 ἐρευνήματα or the prize. When was
 the award made? Immediately at or to
 the end of the Athenian row obtained
 the award for Αἰετίζουσα, cfr. c. 15
 supra. For εἶ, ceteris de ceteris c. 7. 16,
 c. 88. 2. 128, and c. 3. 131. The
 end of the Aekeda may have contributed
 to the Argonautian award. It was played
 at the moment had begun the fight,
 c. with the trireme which had won the
 first prize and; cfr. c. 84 supra. The
 Argonauts perhaps regarded this award
 as an incentive to themselves but it was
 made not for the weight of triremes,
 but for weight in the triremes, not for
 the service of health and love, but
 simply for collective and individual
 victory in the actual engagement, and
 we need assume that it was instantly

unfair. Hdt's account of the battle is perhaps less than justice to the action of the Greek side. The Athenian orator in Thuc. I 74 does not actually claim large the award, and Themistocles had not much to complain of (cc. 128, 126).

2. 4. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10.

ἀνδρῶν 84 included in Ἑλλάδα
ἀνδρῶν, which therefore has no use.

Πολυκεριτος: ε. 92 σελιδα.

3. *Eidryps* & *Anayuporios*: 10 Kumanan of the form of *Anayuporios* (of the tree *Prosthemmatia* atate to MK, of *Hymenites*, and comparing the day and night of the model in *Var*, named from the *dryops* *anayuporios* *prosta*, striking been tree; cp. L. & S. and *Archaeos* on *Early Wonders*, 1, 2028). The *Formal* *an* shows the official character of the *reunio*, but of this *Kumanan* nothing more appears to be known. Is it possible that *Hat. Puc. c. 14 signa*, translated to *Amoyan* what belongs to *Kumanan* *Amoyan* has enough to his credit without that? (pp. n. 8). There is here a clear reference back to that *Prosta*.

4 αἰ μὲν, οὐκ ἐν . . πρότερον ἤ
 ἤλω: a very pretty conditional sen-
 tence. 'Had he known that Artemisia
 was alive, he would not have abandoned
 her cause until he had captured her or
 been himself taken prisoner.' τῶντι is
 rather loose, as her ship has not been
 captured: αἰ μὲν οὐκ ἐλθε οὐκ ἐ-
 λθαινομεν is not exactly a periphrastic form
 of conditional sentences, though it is
 certainly detectable in two dependent
 sentences, ex. cxxx. 10, and App. 102.
 The verbs ἤλω and ἤλω in the indicative
 appear to be con-ⁿ necessary to the con-
 struction of the previous βαρυνά τινος

- 5 ἔμαθε ὅτι ἐν ταύτῃ πλέει Ἀρτεμισίη, οὐκ ἂν ἐπαύσατο προ-
 τερὸν ἢ εἰλέ μιν ἢ καὶ αὐτὸς ἦλθ. τοῖσι γὰρ Ἀθηναῖσι
 τριηράρχοισι παρεκελεύετο, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἄεθλον ἔκειτο μυρία
 δραχμαί, ὅς ἂν μιν ζῶν ἔλῃ· δεινὸν γὰρ τι ἐποιεύντο γυνάεκα
 ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας στρατεύεσθαι. αὕτη μὲν δὴ, ὥς πρότερον
 10 εἴρηται, διέφυγε· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, τῶν αἱ νέες περισσε-
 γήουσιν, ἐν τῷ Φαλήρῳ.
- 94 Ἀδείμαντον δὲ τὸν Κορίνθιον στρατηγὸν λέγουσι Ἀθηναῖοι

ὁ πλῶσι ἢ Ἀρτεμισίη 2 7 παρεκελεύετο Clz 8 τοῖς 2
 10 εἴρηται Plerupqua II addit μοι van H. ἢ διέφυγε om C || ἦσαν
 Φαλήρω del. Krueger approt. van H. || ἦσαν 2 || γὰρ 2 94. 1
 Κορινθίων Naber, van H. 'sed fortasse insuetudinem est στρατηγός'.

that *she* has to be mentally supplied in not happy. The double use of ἢ, comparat-
 ing, and simply alternative, is noticeable.

6. Ἀθηναῖων τριηράρχοις· the *τρία*
τριηράρχοι is used freely of the ship-
 captains, or commanders, on both sides,
 and of any folk; though at Athens
 a special form of the *τριηράρχα* had
 previously already been instituted; cp.
 Appendix I II § 4.

7 παρεκελεύετο: a strict temporal
 pl. p. from *παρεκλέω*· cp. c. 15
αἰετός 2. 102 (absolutely).

μύρια δραχμαί. 100 minai, or
 1½ talents, say £100, which at the then
 value of money might be multiplied by
 at least two to give the equivalent.

8, ὅς ἂν μιν ζῶν ἔλῃ. (or) 'what-
 ever took her alive.' What did they
 intend to do with her? It was hardly
 slavery that prompted the proclamation:
 yet was not their guardian duty
 of the feminine gender? (note note) I.
 184, 2. 70, 122, 122, 7. 114.

9. δεινὸν . . . στρατεύεσθαι, 'they
 took it sorely to heart that a woman
 should be on the war-trail against
 Athens'—8 *ωδύμεθα* 7 75 etc. There
 was the precedent of the Amazons!
 Cp. 2. 27 *ἄφρα*. That was had ended
 with a wedding.

10. ὥς πρότερον εἴρηται: an explicit
 reference to c. 87 *ἡγήσατο* μοι would
 make the phrase less like a gloss.

10. ἦσαν δὲ . . . ἐν τῷ Φαλήρῳ. This
 sentence is a repetition of the concluding
 words of c. 82 but with a difference:
ἀνέστη is replaced by *ἦσαν* (action
 by condition), τῶν αἱ νέες περισσεύουσιν
 by τῶν αἱ νέες περισσεύουσιν *ἡγήσατο* by
ἡγήσατο, and ἐν τῷ Φαλήρῳ by ἐν τῷ

Φαλήρῳ (motion by rest). Even *καὶ* of
 ἄλλοι is a point. But cp. App. (cit.
 94. 1 Ἀδείμαντον c. 5 *ἡγήσατο*, and
 cp. 7 27.

Μήγουσι Ἀθηναῖοι: the story here
 is from Athenian sources in a trans-
 parent bit of scandal, due to the rivalry
 and jealousy of Athens and Corinth in
 and after the Persian war. It is improb-
 able, if not absurd, in itself: it is con-
 sidered by the Corinthians, who were sup-
 ported by the rest of Greece (Plutarch
de Hdt. malis, 30 has an easy task in
 refuting it, by the evidence of extant
 monuments, and epitaphs and stories
 [see Chrysostom (1) says, *de* 37 7 and
 Tüchsen II. p. 294, that the first draft of
 Hdt.'s history did not contain the story
 and that Hdt. inserted it to revenge
 himself for the refusal of the Corinthians
 to give him money. The act (of com-
 position) and the explanation can be a
 bit stretched. The explanation is
 itself 'naught', and (as Plutarch
 shows) the anecdote is hardly less to the
 discredit of the Athenians than of the
 Corinthians—one might indeed say
 more.

The story might well be an addition,
 an insertion, by the author, in a second
 or third draft; it has the air of an
 anecdote, and Hdt. uses below one of
 the rare imperatives (*φάτω* *ἔχει*) which are
 most suggestive of oral sources; cp. In-
 troduction, §§ 9, 10. But since the
 story must be, had the Athenians so
 excuse, no peg on which to hang the
 anecdote! If detachment of the Persian
 fleet had been sent to circumnavigate
 Salamis, and to harry or penetrate the
 Megaric channel, a squadron of Greek

αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχάς, ὡς συνέμισγον αἱ νέες, ἐκπλαγέστα τε καὶ ὑπερδύσαντα, τὰ ἰσθία ἀειράμενον οἰχεσθαι φεύγοντα, ἰδόντας δὲ τοὺς Κορινθίους τὴν στρατηγίδα φεύγουσαν ὡσανύτως οἰχεσθαι. ὡς δὲ ἄρα φεύγοντας γίνεσθαι τῆς Σαλαμίνος κατὰ ἵπρον Ἀθηναίης Σκιρῖδος, περιπίπτειν σφί κέλητα θείῃ πομπῇ.

3 καταρχὰς AB || νῆες c 3 τὰ δὲ διὰ Krueger 4 φέρονται C
3 τὸ ἵπρον z, van H. , σκιρῖδος B

ships must have been detached to confront the 'barbarians' and keep them out. The 40 korinthian ships may have been detached on this service (c.p. the service of the 53 Athenian ships at Salamis c. 480 *supra*), and may even have had some fighting to do on their own account. The Athenian travesty need not be brought down to the date of the Archidamian war in 481 *supra*; the first Peloponnesian war in 468 *supra* would be a possible occasion; but there was a real friction enough in 480 *supra* for a feat of mutual scandal to be not all out.

3 ἀντίκα κατ' ἀρχάς: ep. 2 28 *supra*.
συνέμισγον: here of hostile encounter, ep. 1 183, 4 127, v. 14; of friendly converse, ec. 67, 70 *supra*, etc.
3 τὰ δὲ ἰσθία ἀειράμενον: ep. a. 56 *supra*.

4 τοὺς Κορινθίους: all forty vessels: c. 43 *supra*, what of the Argives, etc., and Ionians, making together ten vessels, c. 45 *supra*. The Athenians forget to account for them; but probably they ascribe them to the Korinthians for better or worse.

5 ἀρα, still the Athenian reporter, the word has a touch of undervalour here, even if it betokens 'an advance in the action' (Abel) as in 7 14 9 4.

ἐνθ' ἵπρον Ἀθηναίης Σκιρῖδος. According to *Leake*, 1. 36, 4 the oldest temple of Athena-Skiras was at Phaleron, and had been founded by a diver from Delos named Skiras, who had fallen in the war between the Eleians and Athenians, and had been found, by them near a tortoise, which afterwards, as well as the place was known by the name. The temple here in question cannot be the one at Phaleron, it is partly on Salamis. Strabo 204 gives Skiras as an old national deity, 'from some hero' and therefrom derives as the title of Athena. The Skiras cult is not far off, ep. a. 70 *supra*. σκίροι

means hard, harsh (σκληρός), and appears in the names of rough places, ep. Σκιρῖς. The connexion with σκίρον Σκιρῖδος (ep. Strabo *l.c.*) is doubtless based upon a *Volks-etymologie*. The temple on Salamis may have had no previous connexion with the temple at Phaleron. As to its position: (1.) *Steph.* places the temple of Athena Skiras on the extreme southern point of Salamis I; the *apocryph* Σκιρῖδος is mentioned by *Herodotus*, *Solon* 9, as apparently in the neighbourhood of a *χρὴς* τῇ πρὸς τῇ Εὐβοίᾳ (sic) ἀποφύκουσα, and, in *Mor.* 870 = *de Hist.* in 39, this episode is located *περὶ τὰ ἄγωνα τῆς Σαλαμίνος*—which would perhaps suit that 'end' of Salamis best. If this view be correct the line of the Korinthian flight would lie outside the island, and be quite inconsistent with any of the theories of the battle-line. (2.) *Leake*, *Topogr. and Rem.* ii. 171 *ff.*, identified the spot with 'the north-western promontory of Salamis' now occupied by a monastery of the *Παναγία Παντοκράτωρ*, the Virgin brought to light. The monastery stands on the site of an *Hermitic* building. This position would suit the argument better, and the continued existence of a sacred building is in its favour. (3.) *Westermann* and *Hofstadter* makes it the extreme western promontory of Salamis, near-by Megara. This location suits best with the suggestion above made as regards the true services of the Korinthians; moreover, if one were concerned to rationalise the incident of the *révolte* this position would be the most interesting: a message carried from the Greek fleet across the waters west of Salamis, and then by boat to Phaleron, might easily have 'met' the Korinthians as they made their way out of the straits.

6 πομπήσαντες, 'encountered,' a. 89 *supra*.

κέλητα: here inevitably a boat, ep. 7. 24 *supra*, θείῃ πομπῇ 4. 152 *etc.*

τὸν οὕτε κέκμηνα φαῖναι οὐδένα, οὕτε τι τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς
στρατιῆς δὴ εἶδῃσι προσφέρεσθαι τοῖσι Κορινθίοισι· τῇ δὲ
συμβάλλονται εἶναι θεῖον τὸ πρῆγμα. ὥς γὰρ ἀγχοῦ γενέσθαι
10 τῶν νεῶν, τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ κέλητος λέγειν τάδε. "Ἀδείμαντε,
σὺ μὲν ἀποστρέψας τὰς νέας εἰς φυγὴν ὄρμησαι καταπρυδου-
τοὺς "Ελληνας· οἱ δὲ καὶ δὴ μικῶσι ὅσον αὐτοὶ ἥρῳτο
ἐπικρατήσαντες τῶν ἐχθρῶν." ταῦτα λεγόντων ἀπιστέειν γὰρ
τοῦ Ἀδείμαντος, αὐτὸς ταδε λέγειν, ὥς αὐτοὶ οἶοι τε εἶεν
15 ἀγόμενοι ὁμηροὶ ἀποθυήσκειν. ἢ μὴ μικῶντες φαίνονται οἱ
"Ελληνες, οὕτω δὲ ἀποστρέψαντα τὴν νέα αὐτῶν τε καὶ τοὺς
ἄλλους ἐπ' ἐξεργασμένοις ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὰ στρατύπεδον, τούτους
μὲν τοιαύτη φήτις ἔχει ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, οὐ μὲντοι αὐτοὶ γε
Κορίνθιοι ὁμολογέουσι, ἀλλ' ἐν πρωτοῖσι σφείας αὐτοῖς τῆς
20 ναυμαχίης νομίζουσι γενέσθαι· μαρτυρεῖ δέ σφι καὶ ἡ ἄλλη
Ἑλλάς.

95 Ἀριστείδης δὲ ὁ Λυσιμάχου ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, τοῦ καὶ

7 φάναι C 8 τῇ δὲ Stein⁽²⁾ (et Mœlvig, Hilder, van H.:
τῇδε δὲ 10 νῶν: αἱ γὰρ C 11 καὶ | φυγεῖν B | ὄρμησαι B.
Stein¹ 12 αὐτοὶ: αὐ B 13 ἐπικρατήσαντες Stein², van H.:
ἐπικρατήσαι 14 καὶ ὥς? Stein², te del. Cousin, van H.: ἐπικρατήσαντες
ἐπὶ τοῖς ναυ. ἔστιν? van H. 16 ἀποστρέψαντες τ | νῆα: 17
ἐξεργασμένοις C 20 μαρτυρεῖ cod. A, Helder, van H.

7. τὸν οὕτε . . οὐδένα. 'It was
never discovered that any one had de-
spatched the boat,' rather than 'it was
evident that no one had despatched the
boat'—a *θετερος* would make the point
clearer. But there was a *καὶ* just
nothing at the moment in evidence to
suggest to the Corinthians the super-
natural character of the occurrence.

οὕτε τι . Κορινθίοις: the
meaning is clear, but the expression is
involved: 'and the Corinthians whom
it approached knew nothing of the
fate of the boat'; i.e. *προσφέρεσθαι*
τε c. K. εἶδεν τῶν ἀπὸ τ, στ εἶδον.
The participle is essentially a part of
the predicate τὰ ἀπὸ as cf. note
from: cp. 4. 84 τὰ ἀπὸ τούτων των
ποταμῶν.

9. συμβάλλοντας *concurrent*, as of
Athens, cf. *λέγωντες*.

9. τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ κέλητος: a false
parallel to *καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς* just
above: *metaphor* as *ἀποθυήσκειν* *meta-*
lism.

11. ἀποστρέψας apparently means
'having turned tail,' or having turned

back, cp. c. 87 *εὐμεν*, which shows
that *τὰς νέας* is here *superfluous* cp. 4.
43. The word is repeated below, of the
return from flight.

ἐς φυγὴν ὄρμησαι: the verb is
apparently perf. pass. unaccompanied: cp.
Aph. 1. 1. καὶ δὲ = *ἐπὶ* 4 102 *κατα-*
πρυδούς cp. 7. 127, 9. 7, 11 etc.

12. ὅσον αὐτοὶ ἥρῳτο, 'to the
height of their own prayers,' i.e. of the
Greeks.

14 ὥς αὐτοὶ ἀποθυήσκειν is the
men in the boat (their number is not
given) offered to be treated as hostages,
to go bail, for the truth of their state-
ment. Yet *Ἀθηναῖοι* bettiest depart,
apparently convinced by the generous
offer! ἀγόμενοι, *metaph.*, 'of their own
accord.'

17 ἐπ' ἐξεργασμένοις ἐλθεῖν: cp. 9.
77 *εὐμεν*.

τὸ στρατύπεδον, the host, cp. c.
11. 7, 9, 34 11 *εὐμεν*.

19 φήτις ἔχει cp. 7 3 *εὐμεν* and
Introduction, § 19.

95 1. Ἀριστείδης. Ἀθηναῖος, cp.
c. 78 *εὐμεν*. To have the full description

ἐς τὴν Ψυττάλειαν νήσον ἀπέβησε ἄγων· οἱ τοὺς Πέρσας τοὺς ἐν τῇ νησίδι ταύτῃ κατεφόνευσαν πάντας.

96. Ὡς δὲ ἡ ναυμαχία διελέλυτο, κατεκρούσαντες ἐς τὴν Σαλαμίνα οἱ Ἕλληνες τῶν ναυηγίων ὅσα ταύτῃ ἐτύγχανε εἶναι, ἑτοίμοι ἦσαν ἐς ἄλλην ναυμαχίην, ἐλπίζοντες τῆσι περικούσασιν νηυσὶ εἶτι χρήσεσθαι βασιλέα. τῶν δὲ ναυηγίων πολλὰ ὑπολαβίων ἄνεμος ξέφυρος ἔφερε τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐπὶ τὴν ἡύονα τὴν καλεομένην Κωλιάδα· ὥστε ἀποπλησθῆναι τὸν χρησμόν τὸν τε ἄλλον πάντα τὸν περὶ τῆς ναυμαχίης ταύτης

6 νήσον del. Cobet, Holder, van H. 7 νησίῳ (P: 96. 1 κατεκρούσαντες CP. κατεκρούσαντες: 2 ταύτῃ α. ταύτῃ ἰτα B 3 ἑτοίμοι CP: ἦσαν: 4 βασιλῆα: 5 ὑπολαβίων C ὁ ἄνεμος: 6 ἐξέφερε τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς Lex. Vindob. p. 181 6 ἀποπλησθῆναι Valla (ut interpretatur eis): ἀποπλησθῆναι Baumann, ἀποπλησθῆναι Abicht, van H.: ἀποπλησσαι

6. Ψυττάλειαν c. 76 *supra*. According to Steph. Byz the island was named from Ψυτταλοι; but what of them?

ἀπέβησε ἄγων· he headed the landing party ἀπὲς τὴν νῆσον. The last sentence of the chapter leaves this sentence, the story of which is preserved by Pictorelli *op. cit.*

96. 1. διελέλυτο m. p. There is no corresponding fighting *supra*, Aeschylus, *Pers.* 428, does not say that the action *supra*, but that the weeping and wailing lasted *ἐπὶ* αἰσώσῃ εὐκτοῖς δὲ ἀφρίδατο. But plainly implies that the battle was over, in time a preparation for the Greeks to apprehend a fresh attack.

κατεκρούσαντες, to land. In the *Ελληνισμὸς* it is always used of dragging the vessel down into the sea.

2. ὅσα ταύτῃ . . . εἶναι ὄντα: i.e. not yet driven by wind or current to the Attic coast, see just below. They would easily miscount themselves of the wrecks west of Psylladeion. Evidently at first they did not realize the magnitude of their success, or the depression of the enemy, but expected (ἀπεκρούσαντες) that the king would order a fresh attack.

3. τῆσι περικούσασιν νηυσὶ not *αἰσῶσι*, or so much, those which had returned to Phaleron (c. 72 *supra*), as the squadron which had moved round the island the night before, and were *etc.* (perhaps almost intact, c. 76 *supra*). The text may originally have proceeded Σελήνη δὲ καὶ c. 97 *infra*, the intervening passage has the air of a *καταρτήσιον* (cp. 7 171), or *προσθήκη* (4. 30, added

in his second draft by Hdt. after a visit to Athens; cp. Introduction, § v.

5 ὑπολαβίων as in 7 10 *supra*.

τὴν ἡύονα τὴν καλεομένην Κωλιάδα· Kolias is a cape or promontory (αἰμαήτοι ἀπὸ τῆς, Steph. Byz., some twenty stades from Phaleron, cp. Pausan. 1 1. 5 ἀπὸ τῆς δὲ σταδίου ἐκαστοῦ ἀπὸ Κωλιάδας . . . Κωλιάδος δὲ ἐστὶν ἑσπέρια Ἀφροδίτης ἀγάλμα καὶ ἐκτεταταὶ δὲ ὁμοειμέναι θοαὶ. See also the identification of Kolias with *Ζαγὸς Γεννητός* (cp. *supra*), the eastern point of the bay of Phaleron, is endorsed by Mehlhoefer: *Stupa* 398 p. 408 it appears it further south, in the neighbourhood of Anaphlystos (cp. Hdt. *supra*, Pausanias, *loc. cit.*) as in 7. 44 *supra*.

3. ὥστε . . . τὸ ἐρημνόν, the sentence and argument of the passage are remarkable: what let us argue concerning to say a that *τὸν χρησμόν* ἀποπλησθῆναι δὲ ἐλπίσιν πάντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας, *ὡς τὸ πολλοὶς ἔπειτα πρότερον τῶν ἐν χρησμῷ ἀναγεγραμμένων* Ἀθηναίων ἀνδρῶν χρησμοδοτοῦ εἰρημνόν, but having started on the fulfilment of prophecy, he is led to say a good word in passing for the much more extensive and less obscure prediction of Bakis. When he started, *τὸν χρησμόν* may have been intended for the prophecy of Lyagastor, but as it is diverted to Bakis, the case is resumed in the words *τὸ ἐρημνόν δὲ χρησμῷ*.

7. τὸν τε ἄλλον πάντα . . . Βάκιος. On Bakis cp. c. 77 *infra*. There was presumably extant in Hdt.'s time a pretty

εἰρημένον Βάκιδι [καὶ Μουσαίῳ], καὶ δὴ καὶ κατὰ τὰ ναυίγρια
τὰ ταύτῃ ἐξενειχθέντα τὸ εἰρημένον πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι, πρότερον
τούτων ἐν χρησμῷ Λυσιστράτῳ Ἀθηναίῳ ἀνδρὶ χρησμολόγῳ, ἵο
τὸ ἐλελήθει πάντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας.

Κωλιαῖδες δὲ γυναῖκες ἐρετμοῖσι φρέζονσι.
ταῦτο δὲ ἐμελλε ἀπελάσαντος βασιλέως ἔσεσθαι.

Ξέρξης δὲ ὡς ἔμαθε τὸ γεγονός πάθος, δέσας μὴ τις τῶν 97

8 καὶ Μουσαίῳ = 'fortasse opuria' Stein, *scilicet* : verba tunc χρησμῶν.
ἐξενειχθέντα *genuina esse dubit.* van H. 9 ἐξενειχθέντα CR 10
ταύτων = 11 Ἀλέλῃθι? Stein? 12 φρέζονσι Jouch. Kahn.
φρέζοντι 13 ἀπελάσαντος βασιλέως = 97. 1 τῶν τις Kruiger,
van H.

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φρέζοντι 13 ἀπελάσαντος βασιλέως = 97. 1 τῶν τις Kruiger,
van H.

8 καὶ Μουσαίῳ = 'fortasse opuria' Stein, *scilicet* : verba tunc χρησμῶν.
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van H.

ἰώωνι ὑποβῆται τοῖσι Ἕλλησι ἢ αὐτοὶ νοήσωσι πλέειν ἐς
τὸν Ἑλλησποντον λύοντες τὰς γεφύρας, καὶ ἀπολαμφθεὶς ἐν
τῇ Εὐρώπῃ κινδυνεύσῃ ἀπολέσθαι, δρησμον ἐβούλετο. θέλων
δε μὴ ἐπίδηλος εἶναι μήτε τοῖσι Ἕλλησι μήτε τοῖσι ἰωαντοῦ, ἐς
τὴν Σαλαμῖνα χῶμα ἐπειρᾶτο διαχοῦν, γαίλους τε Φοινικηίους

2 ὑποβῆται? Stein², van H. 4 ἀπολέσθαι κινδυνεύσῃ Cante-
P. ἀπολέσθαι κινδυνεύσει C¹re. ἀπολέσθαι κινδυνεύσαι ε. ἐβούλετο Pe
5 ἐπίδημος B 6 γαίλους libri, van H.

long run, the more prudent course was
outlined; see p. 108 *infra*.

3. ἀπολαμφθεὶς: c. 11 *supra*.

4. δρησμόν: c. 4 *supra*.

5 ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνα χῶμα ἐπειρᾶτο
διαχοῦν, 'he attempted (more than
sought) to construct a mole right across
to Salamis,' from the mainland Hill,
unfortunately does not locate the struc-
ture. The time, the place, the nature
of the work, and its purpose, are all in
doubt. The likeliest place would be
on the line of the existing ferry, both
because that is the shortest way, and
also because the island of St. George
offers a ready-made pier or point d'appui
for the structure, though not on the
direct line, which would be less than a
mile across. Kienias, *Revue*, vi, G. liii, n.
§ 67, p. 147, locates the mole, and dates
the attempt before the battles of de
Salamis, *αὐτοὺς εὐθὺς ἐπὶ στενότεραν τῆς*
Ἀττικῆς (Ποσειδέων καλεῖται) ἐχώσθη
χῶμα ἐπὶ Σαλαμῖνα πρὸς ἐπ' αὐτῇ δια-
βήται διασπασαμένον. The attempt is frus-
trated by Themistocles and Aristides,
who procure a truce from Aegis, and the
failure makes a sea fight necessary. The
plan may be right, 'the narrowest part
of Attica' being taken to mean the
narrowest part of the straits between
Attica and Salamis, the time, of course,
appears to be better in Hdt. To con-
struct a mole, or bridge of boats, all
across the straits, while the Greeks were
in possession and without a naval battle,
was impossible. Moreover, before the
naval battle such a work would have
been inconsistent with the naval tactics.
If it had run (as Hdt. supposed) from
the Haraklion to Kynosura, it would
if completed have kept the king's fleet
out of the straits, and the Greek fleet
made. But even running from the
extreme point of *Alkaramanga* to the mo
of St. George, or (and) on to the actual
shore of Salamis, it could not have been

seriously undertaken before a naval
victory had cleared the Greek ships out
of the bay; and it would have interfered
with any design of circumventing
the island ferry. Alexander, indeed,
attempted to take Tyre with a mole,
while the Tyrians had command of the
sea, *Attica* 2, 18. But the two cases
are not parallel. Tyre was a fortified
island of men, dimensions, half a mile
only off the coast, and not in any way
embayed; moreover, Alexander failed,
until he had secured command of the
sea, to capture the place. (How soon
is wrong on this matter of fact.) Thus
a serious attempt to bridge the channel
to Salamis was absurd and impossible
without an antecedent naval victory;
after a naval defeat, still more so. It
follows that, if any such attempt at all
was made it was a feat, or it was some
work completely misunderstood by Hdt.'s
sources and himself. If the plan had
been carried out, the beginning of a mole or pier may
have been started, and this work may
have been begun before the naval engage-
ment, in confident anticipation of a
victory. After the naval defeat such
projected operations had become useless,
and must have been abandoned. In
regard to the form of the structure
itself, the χῶμα may have been intended
to serve as a small pier leading on to
the round ships, which would support
some sort of roadway, and could be
tugged into position after the Greek
fleet had been defeated. It is noticeable
that, even according to Hdt., prepara-
tions for another naval battle are also
on foot; i.e. command of the sea must
be regained before the connection with
Salamis could be established, over which
the land forces might pour into the
island. Is it not also possible that the
projected or attempted structure was
rather of the nature of a wharf or jetty
or pier, for embarkation and so on, and

συνίδεε, ἵνα ἀντί τε σχεδὸν ἐώσῃ καὶ τείχεος, ἀρτέτό τε ἐς πόλεμον ὥς ναυμαχίην ἄλλην ποιησόμενος. ὁρῶντες δὲ μιν πάντες οἱ ἄλλοι ταῦτα πρήσσοντα εὐ ἠπιστάτο ὥς ἐκ παντός εὖσα παρσκεύασται μένων πολεμήσειν. Μαρδόκιον δ' οὐδὲν ἰο τεύτων ἐλάνθανε ὥς μάλιστα ἔμπειρον εἶναι τῆς λαοῦ διανοίας.

Ταῦτά τε ἅμα Ξέρξης ἐποίει καὶ ἔπεμπε ἐς Πέρσας 98 ὀφελίστα τὴν παρούσαν σφί συμφορὴν. τούτων δὲ τὸν ὀφελὸν ἐστὶ οὐδὲν ὁ τι θάσσον παραγίνεται θνητὸν ἔν. οὕτω τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι ἐξυίρηται τοῦτο. λέγουσι γὰρ ὡς ὁσίων

8 ὁρῶντες C: ὁρῶντες Γα, Stein¹, van H. 9 εὐ del. Krueger
10 παρσκεύαστο s 11 τούτων s || εἶναι om. R 98. 1 τε
cm S 2 παρσκεύασται Ρι παρσκαίαν τούτων : 3 ἐστὶ Plu
4 ὁσίων Stein, van H: ὁσίων A: ὁσίων

was never intended to reach the opposite shore!

10 εὐ ἠπιστάτο: i.e. merely 'were to be concerned,' 'army believed', cp. α. 28 supra.

12 ἐκ παντός νόου παρσκεύασται, 'that the king 'has completely made up his mind': the verb, though passive in form, has obviously a middle force.

13 Μαρδόκιον cp. α. 68 supra.

14. ἔλάνθανε: not merely 'escaped,' but 'discovered'; Mardonios saw through the king's ruse. He had most know *signs* of the king's mental ways' διανοίας. cp. α. 64 supra.

98. 1. ἐπεμπε. was the postal route really carried all round the Aegean, from Athens to the Hellespont, and so on to Susa? Was there no system of signalling? Cp. 9. 3 supra. The *postulatio* with το ἅμα καὶ may be nothing, the word for special emphasis is not obvious.

2 σφί would seem to refer primarily to the Helles, where the *symphora* was not, strictly speaking, war-zone at least until the news arrived. It may be taken to cover all *ἑσπείας*—those at home being involved unwittingly in the disaster to those abroad. The word can hardly be taken simply with ἀγγελίστα—*and to Helles* is practically rather less so than ethereal.

3. ἐστὶ οὐδὲν ὁ τι θάσσον παραγίνεται θνητὸν ἔν. 'there is nothing which comes along so fast and yet is mortal.' This saying has almost a touch of *autopsia* and is more forcible than the stereotyped *ὅτι θνητὸν* (but cp. 2. 69 for the two in combination). There are two points

in which this account of the Persian postal service has a special interest for the problem of Hdt.'s composition: (1) This passage conflicts with 8. 105 *ὅτι καὶ ταχύτερα σφάντι ἐπὶ τῷ ὁμίῳ, ὅταν ὦσιν, ἢ μὴ ἀπολασθήσιν τοῖς Ἰσθμοῖς τῆς θάλας ἐν ᾧ τοὶ μετρηταὶ σπύλλεσθαι, οὐδὲν ἀσφίον ἀποσφένθαι*. Ht., *that* have forgotten the old passage in writing the other (1. A more important point: the Persian postal service is taken for granted in 8. 128 without description and the very term itself, ἀγγελίον here explained—is used. The substitution of ἀγγελίον for the substitution of the gloss for the text.) This passage, therefore, would appear to be of earlier composition than 8. 128, although one must admit that the description of the post has not been introduced at the first possible occasion even in these books (e.g. α. 53 supra). In 1. 210 the horse is described as *ἐνδοξὸν τὸν θνητὸν ἐν ὅλῳ σπένθαι* statement not inconsistent with this passage, but in a different genre.

4. ὅτι . . ἐξυίρηται τοῦτο, 'this event—now the Persians have secured by the invention of those special messengers: or, perhaps, 'this institution of messengers is a Persian invention for securing extraordinary rapidity. Stein reports *ὅτι οὐκ ἀσφίον*, comparing 4. 200 *τοῖς μετὰ δὲ σφάντι ἐπὶ τῷ ὁμίῳ*. But there too *ὅτι* may be merely moral, referring to the method of discovery just provisionally described. Others, again, merely refer the whole sentence to what follows, as Hawthorn, 'and this is the method of

ἔαν ἡμερέων <ῆ> ἢ πᾶσα ὁδός, τοσούτοι ἵπποι τε καὶ ἄνδρες
 διεστώσι, κατὰ ἡμερησίην ὁδὸν ἐκίστην ἵππος τε καὶ ἀνὴρ
 τεταγμένος· τοῖς οὔτε νυφτός, οἶκ ὄμβρος, οὐ καῦμα, οἷ
 νύξ ἔργει μὴ οὐ κατανόσαι τὸν προκείμενον αὐτῷ δρόμον τὴν
 ταχίστην. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρῶτος δραμὼν παραδιδῶι τὰ ἐντεταλμένα
 10 τῷ δευτέρῳ, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος τῷ τρίτῳ· τὸ δὲ ἐνθεύτεον ἦδη
 κατ' ἄλλον <καὶ ἄλλον> διεξερχεται παραδιδόμενα, κατὰ περ
 <ἐν> "Ελλήσι ἢ λαμπαδηφορίῃ τὴν τῷ 'Ηφαίστῳ ἐπιτελείουσι.
 τοῖτο τὸ δρόμημα τῶν ἵππων καλέουσι Πέρσαι ὕγαγρήιον

5 ὁ add. Schaefer, Stein, Holder, van H. 6 ἵπποι B. ἵππων τε
 καὶ ἀνὴρ om. z 7 τεταγμένοι z || οἷτε: οὐ τι z Schaefer: οὐ Cobet
 8 ἔργει z | ἐντῷ z, van H. 'An ἐντῷ?' 11 καὶ ἄλλοι
 Valla αὐτὸν σπεῖν αὐτὸν 12 αὖ add. Stein? (παρὰ? Stein) || λαμπαδο-
 φορίῃ B 13 ὕγαγρήιον R. nota verba τοῖτο . . ὕγαγρήιον γλαυ-
 γλαυσεῖα sustuleria?

it' which will hardly do. It is un-
 likely, by the way that 'the Persians'
 invented this courier service, or imperial
 post, though Xenophon, *Curat.* 3 c. 17 f.,
 ascribes it to Kyrenæ, and Buxtorf on
 general grounds—to Persians. The in-
 vention may be taken to be centuries
 older than either, and to have been
 employed by all the great empires and
 kingdoms which were now merged in
 the Persian. It is substantially one with
 the system of the Prairie Post, or *Long
 Horse*, described by Mark Twain in
roughing it, a. viii.

λέγουσι: with this admission we
 reason upon hearsay, or it may be a
 proverbial or idiomatous *ἀποφικαλισμός*.
 ἢ πᾶσα ὁδός, if it referred primarily to
 any actual route, would probably be the
 Royal Road described in 5 52 f., along
 which no doubt the Asiatic posts
 travelled. But the word is here of
 purely generic significance.

9 διωτάται, 'are posted at intervals'
 of a day's journey in *εἰσήμεροι* no doubt.

7. τοῖς οὔτε νυφτός καὶ (z Mark
 T. a. 1 c. "No matter whether it was
 winter or summer, raining, snowing,
 hailing or freezing, or whether his
 'host' was a level straight road or a
 stony trail over mountain crags and precipi-
 ces, . . . he must be always ready to
 jump into the saddle and be off like the
 wind! There was no idling-time for a
 pony-rider on duty. He rode fifty
 miles without stopping, by day, by
 moonlight, starlight, or through the

blackness of darkness just as it
 happened.'

8. μὴ οὐ κατανόσαι a simple instance
 of the idiom, which follows not merely
 the expletive negative οὐτε, but the
 implicit negative in ἔργει, = *καὶ οὐκ*
 εἰ. The repetition of οὐτε by οἷα is
 rhetorical: nearly the same sequence
 in 1. 182 αὐτῷ after τοῖς relative
 αὐτῶν = *καὶ οὐκ*.

11. διεξερχεται ἐκ τὰ ἐντεταλμένα—
 presumably *tabulae*, 7. *ἡνὶ εὐρεῖα*, cc
Βυβλία, 3. 128, 5. 14 in which passage
 one *πῶς* apparently carries the *βιβλίον*
 from sender to recipient.

κατὰ περ <ἐν> "Ελλήσι ἢ λαμπα-
 δηφορίῃ, just as in Greece the torch
 races, with which they celebrate the
 Festival of Herakleia. The reference
 is to such a performance as that described
 by Plato, *Rep.* 328 (in honour of Herakles),
 though the λαμπὰς ἀφ' ἑσπῶν is there
 treated as a novelty *καὶ οὐκ ἔσται*.
 Nor is the point of the comparison in
 Hdt. the presence of horses, but the
 passing of the torch from one man to
 another λαμπαδία *ἑστὸς διαδουμένων*
 ἀλλήλοις. The method described by
 Pausanias 1. 30. 2 of the race from the
 Akademeia to the Akropolis, in which
 each competitor carried a lighted torch
 if he could all the way, would not
 offer a true analogy. In a 105 Hdt.
 mentions a λαμπὰς at Athens in honour
 of Pan—probably of the latter type.

13. τοῖτο . . καλέουσι Πέρσαι ὕγαγ-
 ρήιον has an unfortunately *γλαυκὸν* in

ἡ μὲν δὴ πρώτη ἐς Σούσα ἀγγελίη ἀπικομίνη, ὡς ἔχει 99
 Ἀθήνας Ξέρξης, ἔτερψε οὕτω δὴ τι Περσέων τοὺς ὑπολει-
 φέντας ὡς τὰς τε ὁδοὺς μυρσίῃ πάσας ἐστόρεσαν καὶ ἐθυμίῳ
 θυμίσματα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν ἐν θυσίῳσι τε καὶ εὐπαθείῃσι. ἡ
 ἐξ δευτέρῃ σφί ἀγγελίῃ ἐπεσελθοῦσα συνέχεε οὕτω ὥστε τοὺς 5
 αἰθῶνας κατηρεῖζαντο πάντες, βοῇ τε καὶ οἰμωγῇ ἐχρέωντο
 ἀπλῆτρ, Μαρδόκιον ἐν αἰτῇ τιθέντες. οὐκ οὕτω δὲ περι-
 τὰν ἰσὼν ἀχθόμενοι ταῦτα οἱ Πέρσαι ἐποίουν ὡς περὶ αὐτῷ
 Ξέρξῃ δειμαίνοντες.

99. 3 ὡς τὰς τε: ὥστε τὰς τε van H. || μυρσίῃσι: s
 1 αἰτοὶ καὶ van H. || ἦσαν s || θυσίῃσι: εὐθυμίῃσι Naber: θαλίῃσι
 van H. || εὐπαθείῃσι codd. s || 5 ἐπεσελθοῦσα Ruaeke, Stein², Holder,
 van H.: ἐπελελθοῦσα || τοὺς τε coni. Stein², recorp. van H. || 6 κατηρεῖ-
 ζαντο Cobet, Holder, van H., Stein²: κατερρήζαντο || καὶ βοῇ coni. Stein²,
 recorp. van H.: βοῇ δὲ τε! Kal anberg || ἐχρέωντο P, van H. || 7 αἰτίῃσι P
 8 ἔτερψε αB:

a. variance, and might easily be an
 addition, even if from the author's hand.
 The fact remains that the word ἀγγαρίων
 is also to be read 3. 126, naturally
 used, cf. note above. It was familiar
 to Greece before the late of Hist. No
 doubt as, ἀγγαρίων ἀπὸ φηκτός δι
 φηκτός δι᾽ ἀγγαρίων τοῦτο ἔστιν
 of the fire signals crossing the Aegean;
 cp. 3 infra. ἀγγαρίων is found
 in NT, αγγαρία and αγγαρίων in
 Late Lat. Suda has articles on
 ἀγγαρία, ἀγγαρία (via), ἀγγαρία, οἱ δὲ
 διὰ τὴν ἀγγαρίαν οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ καὶ
 ἀγγαρία τὰ δὲ ἀνομήτα ἡρώδια. In
 the Roman Empire the word had come
 to be used for any communication or in-
 formed service. H. C. R. ap. Rawl.
 derives the word from ἀγγαρία, 'a man
 fit for every sort of work' 'a messenger'
 ('a light trustworthy man, wont to be
 sent on errands'), and notices that
 numerous derivations are still known
 throughout India and Persia as
 elsewhere.

99. 1 ἡ μὲν δὴ πρώτη ἐς Σούσα. cp.
 1. 54 supra. H. never allows any con-
 sideration that Susa was not a Persian
 city, as he says it plainly counted in the
 West as the metropolis of the Persian
 empire, τοὺς ὑπολειφέντας, 'those
 who had stayed behind' cp. 5. 61. c. 67
 supra. 2 αἰτοὶ καὶ. As if there were
 but a few of them! The passage may
 be reinforced by some and ancient
 recorded one from Phrygias, of
 even Aeschylus.

V. L. I. FI. II

9. μυρσίῃ, 'myrtle (boughs),' Att.
 μυρση, the part from which not
 merely wreaths, but a delicious juice
 (myrra was procurable, cp. 1. 132, [4.
 196], 7. 54.

4. ἦσαν ἐν: ἐν εὐπαθείῃσι occurs 1. 22,
 191, ἐν θαλάσῃ 3. 27, but ἐν θυσίῃσι in
 van H. (Stein). Schweighauser defends
 ἐν θυσίῃσι here. The conjunction of
 θυσίας and εὐπαθείας is no offence, cp.
 Stal. *ἐπισημαίνω* at Her. 365 a. Aristoph.
Clouds 324 has *θεῶν θυσίας θαλάσσης*

5. ἐπεσελθοῦσα. cp. 4. 163 of a
 stepmother, *λέγει ἀπολύτως* 1. 32
συνέχεε Stein, taken to be the coroll., cp.
ἔτερψε αἰσός. Th. 10. 247 ἐπ' ἀρ' ὅδωρ
ἔχευε.)

6. κατηρεῖζαντο: cp. 3. 66, Aeschyl.
Pers. 528.

βοῇ . . ἀπλῆτρ: cp. 7. 211 supra,
 9. 21 infra.

7. Μαρδόκιον ἐν αἰτῇ τιθέντες. not
 for anything specially connected with
 the thing, but for having urged the king
 in the first instance to undertake the
 expedition; the phrase therefore con-
 stitutes an implicit reference to 7. 5 ff.
 supra.

περὶ τὸν νόον . . περὶ αὐτῷ Ξέρξῃ.
 'it was not grief among about the thing
 (that had been lost), but fear excited on
 the king's person lest he would never
 return.' The *κρίτων* and *δίκτων* are
 not mere stylistic variations. Just
 below the account of περὶ Πέρσας is, of
 course, fully yative.

M

- 100 Καὶ περὶ Πέρσας μὲν ἦν ταῦτα τὸν πάντα μεταξύ χρόνον γεγόμενον, μέχρι οὗ Ξέρξης αὐτὸς σφεα ἀπικόμενος ἔπαυσε. Μαρδόνιος δὲ ὄρων μὲν Ξέρξην συμφορὴν μεγάλην ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίης ποιούμενον, ὑποπτεύων δὲ αὐτὸν δρησμοὺν βουλεύειν ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, φροντίσας πρὸς ἐωυτόν ὥς δώσει δίκην ἀναγνώσας βασιλέα στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ οἱ κρέσσον εἴη ἀνακινδυνεύσαι ἢ κατεργάσασθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἢ αὐτὸν καλῶς τελευτήσῃ τὸν βίον ὑπὲρ μεγάλων αἰσθηθέντα· πλέον μὲντοι ἔφερε οἱ ἢ γνώμη κατεργάσασθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα· 10 λογισάμενος ὦν ταῦτα προσέφερε <οἱ> τὸν λόγον τούδε. "δεσποτα, μήτε λυπεο μήτε συμφορὴν μηδεμίαν μεγάλην ποιεῖν τούδε τοῦ γεγονότος εἵνεκα πρηγματος. οὐ γὰρ ξύλων ἀγίων

100. 1 πάντα τὸν καιρὸν τὸν πάντα τὸν Κρουεγερ 2 γινόμενον Bekker, van H. 'an γινόμενα? Stein? | σφεα van H, Stein', σφεας 3 ὄρων CP, Stein', van H. 6 Ἀθηναίων CP Bz 8 βασιλ. 9 7 κρίσιν ABKSV | ἀνακινδυνεύσιν van H | ἢ αὐτὸν . . Ἑλλάδα om. B: eadem bis R 9 πλέον C¹: πλεον ε || οἱ om. E? | ἢ om. B κατεργάσθαι V. κατεργάσασθαι Colbet, Hader 10 οἱ αὐτ. Σινηπ¹², van H. 11 μηδεμίαν ε || ποιεῖν van H.

100. 1. ἦν ταῦτα . . μέχρι οὗ . . ἔπαυσε: H. it. apparently forgot that he is going to recall Xerxes at Sardis a month before of 9. 104 infra. The passage again looks as if it might have been borrowed from a scene on the stage. ἦν ταῦτα a very bald phrase, γεγόμενον is a remarkable tautology, and an unnecessary sentence; Stein suggests γινόμενα.

3. Μαρδόνιος δὲ: this bald analysis of the motives of Mardonius may be compared with the account of the motives of Aristagoras in a somewhat similar situation 6. 36. Not that the prior passage is of earlier composition, though referring to an earlier date; rather, perhaps the light of Chabrias there, compared with the procession of parties here suggests a more accomplished style. Evidently Greek readers were great & eager to account for the commission of Mardonius after the Persian defeat at Salamis: reaching the actual date of September 480 B.C. as they do, too much in the midst of after events.

ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίης . . ἐκ τῶν Ἀθ: the one ἐκ naval, or nautical, the other purely local; neither temporary.

δρησμοὺν βουλεύειν: c. 87 supra. Hdt. somewhat artistically calls Mardonius as a warrior or strategist.

2. δώσει δίκην, he will be called to account. : c. p. c. 111 infra.

8. καλῶς τελευτήσῃ τὸν βίον ὑπὲρ μεγάλων αἰσθηθέντα a stately phrase, exactly descriptive of the actual and, as it were, subjective fate of Mardonius, which is thus presented with a touch of tragic irony. Mardonius is indeed the real hero of the story in these Books; Xerxes is too capricious, too stupid, to incur sight but the common possession which has a ready begun in the Introduction, § 11. αἰσθηθέντα a better take with βίον, notwithstanding Dindorf. H. 6. 27. 2 οὐκ ἀπὸ λαῶν ἀναγὰς αἰσθηθέντα ὑπὲρ μεγάλων

9. πλέον, εἴρη: an exact parallel, 3. 77 ἐγένετο αὖτε τι Δαρειὺς ἢ γυνὴν εἴρη: "just such an event as Darius was expecting." προσέφερε just before is an elegant (an "unconscious iteration"), and ὁπότεν φέρον ποιεῖται still c. 62 supra.

11. λυπεο τοῦ the force of the indifference should not be missed, nor the chabrous inconsistency (p. App. Crit.).

12. οὐ γὰρ ξύλων κτλ. Mardonius is made, rightly enough, to assert the *de facto* superiority of the Persian land forces over the Greek, and the sequel justifies his anticipation (so the writer is wise after the event) that no Greek army would venture to stay his progress. But two points are omitted in the argument of Mardonius: 1. the question of the commissariat, now the fleet was

- 23 δεδήληται τῶν πηρημίτων, οὐδ' ἑρείς ὅκου ἐγευόμεθα ἄνδρες
κακοί. εἰ δὲ Φοίνικες τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ Κύπριοι τε καὶ
Κίλικες κακοὶ ἐγένοντο, οὐδὲν πρὸς Πέρσας τοῦτο προσήκει
τὸ πάθος. ἤδη ὦν, ἐπειδὴ οὐ Πέρσαι τοι αἴτιοι εἰσὶ, ἡμῶι
πείθεο· εἰ τοι δέδοκται μὴ παραμένειν, σὺ μὲν ἐς ἡβια τὰ
30 σκευτοῦ ἀπέλαυνε τῆς στρατιῆς ἀπάγων τὸ πολλόν, ἐμε δὲ
σοι χρὴ τὴν Ἑλλάδα παρασχεῖν δεδουλωμένην, τριήκοντα
μυριάδας τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπολεξάμενον.”
- 101 Ταῦτα ἀκούσας Ξέρξης ὡς ἐκ κακῶν ἐχάρη τε καὶ ἤσθη.
πρὸς Μαρδόνιον τε βουλευσάμενος ἔφη ὑποκρινέσθαι ἰκότερον
ποιήσει τούτων. ὡς δὲ ἐβουλευέτο ἅμα Περσέων τοῖσι
ἐπικλήτοισι, ἔδοξέ οἱ καὶ Ἀρτεμισίην ἐκ συμβουλίην μετα-
5 πέμψασθαι, ὅτι πρότερον ἐφαίνετο μούνη νύουσα τὰ ποιητέα
ἦν ὡς δὲ ἀπικέτο ἡ Ἀρτεμισίη, μετασπασάμενος τοὺς

23 ἑρείς codd. 2, Holder, van H. 29 μὴ om. C. | παραμένειν B |
τὰς εἰς τοι (sic) a 30 δε σοι libri, Holder: δε τοι van H. 101. 2
ὑποκρινέσθαι Biedler: ὑποκρινέσθαι van H.: ὑποκρινέσθαι codd.: ἀπο-
κρινέσθαι 2 3 τούτων 2 || ἐβουλευέτο van H. 4 ἐπὶ συμ-
βουλῇ BPa van H.

23. ὅκου ἐγεύομεθα, 'that we Persians
in any case enjoyed.'

23. Φοίνικες Κίλικες: just as in
Aristian's speech c. 64 *supra*, except
that Mardonios substitutes 'Phoenicians'
for 'Pamphylians.' This representation
is hardly good art or history. A Persian
would more probably have spoken of
the 'Ionians'; Hdt. voices Greek
prejudice. Besides, his account of the
battle (ep. c. 90 *supra*) may have attested
his corroboration of this speech.

27. οὐδὲν πρὸς Πέρσας . . τὸ πάθος:
yet what of the *Hydarnis*? What of
the Persians on *Psittania*? Hdt. is
compressing this speech for Mardonios
has added an historic probability to the
ethical interest. Mardonios is ultra-
Persian: the Persians are four times
painted in half a dozen lines!

29 ἤδη τὸ σκευτοῦ: ep. 4. 76, 80
5, 14 15, etc. Persia might be meant,
or perhaps Asia, more at large.

30, ἐμὲ δὲ σοὶ χρὴ. The proposal put
into the mouth of Mardonios is no
unreasonable one: he was to get rid
of the king, 12 of the mob *τῆς*
στρατιῆς, 13 of the fleet, but to leave a
large force of picked men wherewith
to effect the complete rout of Hellas. The
dismissal of the fleet was, perhaps, a
doubtful expedient, yet probably neces-

sary to cover the Asiatic coast, and to
prevent a movement in India, or the
larger Indian. The figure 300,000 is
an over-estimate, unless we reckon the
whole land force, which is doubtful.
Cp. Appendix II. § 5.

101. 1. ὡς ἐκ κακῶν ἐχάρη τε καὶ
ἤσθη: a play, *τὸν τοῦ γοῦ* (the Thuc.
7. 42. 2 *τὸ δὲ πρότερον στρατεύσει* *ὡς ἐκ*
κακῶν ῥῶμη *ταῖς ἐγχεσσοῖς* 8 *etc.*

2. βουλευσάμενος . . ὑποκρινέσθαι.
'how I let him know after consultation.'
Or 'before replying, he must first take
advice'—the latter is preferable.

3. Περσέων τοῖσι ἐπικλήτοισι: the
privy councilors, ep. 7. 8 *supra*.
Mardonios no doubt among them, as
two *τοὺς συμβούλους* Περσέων just below.
ἐβουλευέτο, imperfect. Aristonius was
not present at the Privy Council of
Persians. The Council of War had been
a different matter, c. c. 67 *supra*.

5. ὅτι πρότερον ἐφαίνετο . . ἦν: a
reference to c. 63 *supra*, an acquaintance
with which is implied. Hdt. writes for
a reading public.

6. μετασπασάμενος: ep. c. 81 *supra*.
The king *μὲν* Aristonius the commander
of discipline; not were y the councilors,
but the guard of 'Immortals.' Apparently
only Xerxes and Aristonius were present
at the interview, yet Hdt. can report

Ἦσθη τε δὴ τῇ συμβουλῇ Ξέρξης· λέγουσα γὰρ ἐπέτυχ· 103
 χαιε τὰ περ αὐτὸς ἐνοε. οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰ πάντες καὶ πᾶσαι
 συνεβούλευον αὐτῇ μνεῖν, ἔμνευε ἂν δοκέειν ἐμοί· οὕτω
 καταρρωδέηκε. ἐπαίεσας δὲ τὴν Ἀρτεμισίην, ταύτην μὲν
 ἀποστέλλει ἀγούσαν αὐτοῦ τοὺς παῖδας ἐς Ἐφεσον· νοθοὶ γὰρ 5
 τινὲς παῖδές οἱ συνέσποντο. συνέπεμπε δὲ ταῖσι παισὶ φύλακον 104
 Ἑρμοτιμον, γένος μὲν εὐντα Πηδασέα, φερομενον δὲ οὐ τὰ
 ἐυτετρα τῶν εὐνούχων παρὰ βασιλεί· [οἱ δὲ Πηδασέες αἰκνύουσι

103. 1 δὴ om. B || συμβουλῇ BRz, Holder, van H. 2 ἔμνευε van
 H.; ἐπένεε s || καὶ πόσαι συνεβούλευον habet Kaichenberg 3 μνεῖν C
 4 καταρρωδέηκε P || ταύτην τὴν B 5 τοὺς em. a 6 συνέσποντο
 s; συνέποντο C 104. 2 πηδασέα B 3 βασιλεί AH οἱ
 ἰδ. . . Ἑρμοτιμος ἦν damn. Val. Kenner, eccl. Stein, Holder, a textu eloc.
 van H.

the original draft of the Books. The
 starting of Athens is an incontestable
 fact. But cp. 2. 18 infra.

103. 1. Ἦσθη τε. The advice of Ar-
 temisia was a positive pleasure to Xerxes;
 cp. 102. 11-12, it is noted so exactly
 as to his own mind! λέγουσα γὰρ ἐπε-
 τέχων· p. c. 101 ad p. c. The τε here
 has no real function; the main theme
 is the action of Hdt.'s own eye, of δοκέειν
 ἔμνευε, that all the men and women in
 the world could not have persuaded Xerxes
 to remain, a little dramatic in the grammar
 of his narrative, which should have
 been an *ἐκτελέσας*.

3. οὕτω καταρρωδέηκε, 'so utterly was
 he overcome with terror'—the p. p.
 is rather intensive than temporal in
 character, cp. 1. 68.

5. εἰς Ἐφεσον: the terminal part of
 the Books. Kuntl. cp. 6. 34. Artemisia
 only came west by sea; perhaps on the
 very night after the battle.

6. οἱ δὲ πρ. ἄλλοι, as the other παῖδας
 just before makes clear. ἑκτονος might
 have been expected there; Hdt. treats
 the king's men as the rest of
 the subjects, and so prefers the
 demonstrative to the possessive pronoun,
 cp. 1. 87 supra, where, however, ἡ δὲ
 αὐτοῦ τὸν αὐτοῦ.

The only queer word of Xerxes was
 (or let us use the word Aristot.) cp. 2. 61,
 114 supra, 2. 109 infra, by whom he
 said four words including *Ἀτακτατα* his
 command, cp. 7. 125 126 supra and two
 derivatives; cp. Rowlands, iv. 266.
 Hdt. is the only other word named by
 Hdt.; cp. 9. 119. Name of these sons
 of Xerxes will have been odd enough to

some of his captives. The fact that
 the words were sent home with Artemisia
 would suggest, what the probable age
 of Xerxes would confirm, that the παῖδες
 in question were quite young. The
 commission was no doubt a mark of
 royal favour, and received as such; yet
 as there no 'manner in Hdt.' is not so
 the case of Artemisia!

104. 2. Ἑρμοτιμον: the name is
 doubtless formed in honour of the god
 Hermes (not the river Hermeis), and is
 borne by several historical persons
 (Aegina's father, Plutarch, *Per.* 24, a
 philosopher of Hlasomenai, prior to
 Anaxagoras, Aristot. *Metaph.* 1. 1. 984 a,
 a say-saying of the later Socr. who
 gives his name to a lineage of Lesbian s.
 γινώσκω, 'by birth, a man of Lesbos, *metra*
αὐτοῦ Pothos, or Pothoson, 5. 121—
 'usual to name' of the 'Anaximenes'
 at the court of 'in the king's eyes')
 φέρειναι τοὺς δούλους, a proverb from
 the *Protagoras*, *Isid.* 26. 637 b.

3. εὐνούχοι: 7. 147 supra is a strictly
 Homeric term for a thoroughly un-
 Hellenic institution, at least in the
 classic period—*οἱ τῶν εἰσὶν ἔχοντες*.
 From the numerous fact of these con-
 siderable *αὐτοῦ* *ἐκτελέσας* was with
 military associated with the word, and
 so completely dominated the etymol-
 ogical meaning that Aristotle (no
 humorist) applies the term to *frank*
 without word (cp. L. 4. 8. 366 v. c.).
 Anaxagoras' idea that Hermetism ex-
 hibits the first historical instance of the
 great position of the *Chamareae*, and
 that the influence of the *Democritus* first
 made itself felt in the reign of Xerxes,

ὑπὲρ Ἀλικαρνησσοῦ· ἐν δὲ τοῖσι Πηδάσοισι τοιτέοισι τοιόνδε
 5 συμφέρεται πρῆγμα γίνεσθαι· ἐπεὶ τοῖσι ἀμφικτυόσι πᾶσι
 τοῖσι ἀμφὶ ταύτης οἰκέουσι τῆς πόλιος μέλλῃ τι ἐντὸς χρόνου
 ἔσεσθαι χαλεπὸν, τότε ἡ ἱερεὶα αὐτοῦ τῆς Ἀθηναίης φύει
 105 πώγωνα μεγαν. τοῦτο δὲ σφὶ διὰ ἤδη ἐγένετο. ἐκ τούτων
 δὴ τῶν Πηδασέων ὁ Ἑρμότιμος ἦν] τῷ μεγίστῃ τίσις ἤδη
 ἀδικηθέντι ἐγένετο πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν. ἀλόντα γὰρ

4 ἀλικαρνησοῦ α || Πηδασέωνι ε || τοιτέοισι ΒΡα, Holder 5
 φέρεται ΒΗ= Ηολδερ 7 ἱέρη Β 105. 1 τοιτέων :

is not merely contrary to the evidence of *Ktesias, lora*, 5, 9, 11, 20 (ed. Gilmoro, §§ 36, 42, 43, 51, etc.), but in itself a pure bubble. Hdt. himself mentions τῶν πωγων τῶν εὐσποράων at the end of *Antiquities* 1.117 and of *Atticities* 2.4, and the large barons of the oriental kings will have employed these unfortunates in still earlier ages. Xenoph. *Cyrus*, 7. 5 (of course asserting the institution to be true).

of δὲ Πηδασίης—ἔγνετο. This passage occurs in several, almost countless versions in 1.175. Are both passages genuine? If not, which of the two is genuine? Or are both spurious? Rawlinson accepts them both, seeing no more difficulty in such a digression by author than by copyist. Vachsmut first challenged this passage and regarded the genuine text as having run *καὶ Πηδασίης τῷ μεγίστῃ πᾶσι καὶ*. Stein accepts and develops his arguments: 1. The notice suits the context better in Book 1 (where Hdt. is recording the maintenance offered to Hargages by the Persians); 2. Strabo 811, in citing, cites from Bk. 1, not from this passage; 3. The passage copy is not thoroughly Herodotean and betrays a Stoic edit by incorrect terms the manner of the Hellenistic age; thus (a) for *αὐτοῖσι* we have *τοῖσι*; *ἐπελπίουσι* the interpolator here has *τοῖσι ἀμφικτυόσι*—*giving out advice*; (b) *πᾶσι* is an addition, and an exaggeration; c the preparation is incorrectly mixed with genuine of peace, probably suggested by the failed *ἀμφικτυόσι*; d *ἐντὸς χρόνου* is an interpolation perhaps suggested by *ἐντὸς χρόνου* α. 113 infra, Stein); (e) *χαλεπὸν* is the larger variant for the Herodotean *δυσχερὲς* or; (f) so too *φύει* for *τοῦ*; g *συμφέρεται* is also hardly in order. These arguments are cogent. 4. The most remarkable difference between the two passages is that

the miracle has happened by birth, in Bk. 8, as against you there in Bk. 1. That is regarded as an oversight: a careless one. Had the interpolator held the opinion that the 8th Bk. or the story of the Persian war, had been composed by Hdt. previously to the composition of the rest of the work, or of Bk. 1, he could not have forged a better bit of evidence! Moreover, he has inserted the name of the Persians here (say that theory at the earliest possible change) rather than in Bk. 5. 1-1, or Bk. 8. 20, in either of which contexts the note would be more consonant with the context. It is impossible to maintain the authenticity of this passage in view of the objections; the other on the testimony of Strabo, is genuine. This verdict sacrifices on the altar of truth a telling argument in favour of the priority of these Books. Fortunately enough remains to prove it (cf. Introduction, §§ 7, 8).

105. 2. τῷ μεγίστῃ τίσις ἤδη αὐτοῦ more forcible than *μεγίστη δὲ τίσις—καὶ πάντων ἀνδρῶν ἤδη καὶ*, α. 106 infra. The story of this miracle and view *δὲ* is in Hdt.'s best manner, or at least in a thoroughly characteristic vein, with the usual which he owns. Whether it originally stood in this place might be doubted; incidentally the view is fully endorsed that the King's objective was "Athens" (cp α. 9b *ἀπὸ τοῦ*).

3. τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν. This formula occurs five times in these Books, α. from Hdt. α. 200 *καὶ* 7. 20 α. 106, 124, 8. 37, 84, twice on the lips of his Asiatic personae 7. 27 α. Persian; 9. 78 α. Artabanus. (cf. *ἀπὸς ἡμῶν* α. 111 and contrast τῶν ἐγὼ εἶδα 7. 235. It might well have occurred in 7. 10 α. 8 *ἐκ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας . . ἀνδρῶν*, α. 9 *καὶ* 9. 35 *μοῖνοι δὲ . . πολέται*. Hdt. will not add *ἀνδρῶν* here, or even *ἀνθρώπων*,

αὐτῶν ὑπὸ πολεμίων καὶ πολεόμενον ὧνεται Πανιώνιος ἀνὴρ
 Χίος, δε τὴν ζῶν κατεστισατο ἀπ' ἔργων ἀνασιωπῶν· ὅκως
 γὰρ κτήσαιοτο παῖδας εἶδος ἐπαμμένους, ἐκταμῶν ἀγνέων
 ἐκάλει ἐς Σάρδις τε καὶ Ἐφεσον χρημάτων μεγάλων. παρὰ
 γὰρ τοῖσι βαρβάροις τιμιώτεροι εἰσὶ οἱ εἰνούχοι πίστιος
 εἴκεκα τῆς πάσης τῶν ἐνορχίων. ἄλλους τε δὴ ὁ Πανιώνιος
 ἐξέταμε πολλούς, ἅτε ποιεύμενος ἐκ τούτου τὴν ζῶν, καὶ δὴ
 καὶ τούτου. καὶ οὐ γὰρ τὰ πάντα ἐδυστύχεε ὁ Ἑρμότιμος,
 ἀπικνεύεται ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων παρὰ βασιλέα μετ' ἄλλων δόρων,
 χρόνου δὲ προϊέντος πάντων τῶν εἰνούχων ἐτιμήθη μάλιστα
 παρὰ Ξέρῃ. ὥς δὲ το στράτευμα τὸ Περσικὸν ὄρμα βασιλεὺς
 ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἔων ἐν Σάρδισι, ἐνθαῦτα καταβάς κατὰ δὴ

1 καιώνιος B 2 ζῶν C: ζῶν B (cum ὁ εὐρεται R) || κατεστή-
 σατο Colach, van H 3 ἐκταμῶν Reiske, Stein²: ἐκτομεν 7
 ἐκάλει ἀγνέων? Stein² || σάρδις τε καὶ ἐς B 9 εἰνέον RS: εἰνέε V
 10 ορχίων B: ἐνορχίων P 11 ποιεύμενος B || τούτου ε 12 ζῶν C
 13 μάλιστα ἐτιμήθη παρὰ βασιλεῖ Ξέρῃ (sic) B 106. 1 ὄρμα σ,
 Stein²: ὁ βασιλεὺς: 2 ἐνθαῦτα δὴ (δὲ R) B

ἄλονται. ἐπὶ πολεμίων ἀνασιωπῶν
 συνε δὲ αὐτὸν ἀνασῶπῶν of war; the
 Trojan conflict 108-109 A.D.] from 16-18
 years previous to the date required for
 the story seems to offer a new enough
 occasion. (p. the theatre of the bar-
 barians and their repeated subjugation,
 B. 2, 32. Stein however, suggests a
 possible explanation.)

1 Πανιώνιος ἀνὴρ Χίος Panionios,
 a man and a Chian. He did not remain
 at home. His name is, perhaps, signifi-
 cant of the Panionian associations of
 the period, when produced the 'Ionia
 history': his relation suggests that the
 notorious wealth of the Chians was
 partly due to the trading (p. 1100),
 B. 2, 32 and the whole passage on Chios,
 Athenaeus 6 26-27-28-29, where later
 also this passage of H. is cited.

2 ἐπὶ τὴν ζῶν κατεστισατο. ἐπὶ τὴν ζῶν
 ἀνασῶπῶν o. 108-109. Panionios was
 not the only Greek that had engaged in
 this trade; the Carthaginians were
 perhaps taxed with the same brush;
 p. 3 44.

3 εἶδος ἐπαμμένους, 'possessed of
 beauty.' L. & N. give ἐπὶ τὴν ζῶν
 ἀνασῶπῶν. Homer at least, only con-
 tains the expected forms of the verb.
 The participle is perf. (passive in form,
 active in force).

4 ἐκταμῶν ἀγνέων: the double
 participles are rather awkward, but not

so awkward as if both were in the
 present tense (as in the preceding
 act¹), cf. App. Crit. ἀγνέων is used
 a frequentative of ἀγνέω used in the
 middle 7. 33 supra; here perhaps
 especially suitable for 'bringing to
 market.'

7. 4 Σάρδις τε καὶ Ἐφεσον. the
 great markets for such wares from their
 position on the Royal Road (vide 6. 12
 34); and also perhaps with a local
 demand for the temple of Kybele and
 Artemis (Stein).

παρὰ γὰρ τοῖσι βαρβάροις καὶ:
 the difference between Helene and
 Asiatic culture is emphatic; the remark
 is, however, only intended to apply to
 slaves.

8. πιστός. τῆς πάσης, faithfulness
 fidelity, in all respects. For the
 antithesis compare, Euripides op. 4. 32
 δοχεύω, 4 100.

106. 1 τὸ στράτευμα τὸ Περσικόν.
 the word στράτευμα is used both for
 'expedition' and 'army or host',
 here perhaps with δυνάμεις rather in the
 latter sense. It was a 'Persian' army,
 not merely political, but in the main
 ethnically, while at Sardis in 481-480
 B.C. op. 7 26. 40, and the passage is
 an undoubted homonym to the fact.

2 καταβάς (from κίβητι to the coast,
 κατὰ δὴ τὴν πύλιναν on some
 other) business. Perhaps Panionios

τι πρῆγμα ὁ Ἑρμῶτιμος ἐς γῆν τὴν Μυσίην, τὴν Χίοι μὲν
 μένοντα Ἀταρνεὺς δὲ καλέσται, εὐρίσκει τὸν Πανιώνιον ἐμβαῦτα.
 ἐπιγναὺς δὲ ἔλεγε πρὸς αὐτὸν πολλοὺς καὶ φιλοῦνς λόγους,
 πρῶτα μὲν οἱ καταλεγὼν ὅσα αὐτοὺς δι' ἐκείνου ἔχοι ἀγαθὰ,
 δεύτερα δὲ οἱ ὑπισχνεύμενος ἀντὶ τούτων ὅσα μιν ἀγαθὰ
 ποιήσει, ἢ κομίσας τοὺς οἰκέτας οἴκη ἐκείνη, ὥστε ἱποδεξι-
 μειον ἄσμενον τοὺς λόγους τὸν Πανιώνιον κομισαὶ τὰ τέκνα
 καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα. ὥς δὲ ἄρα πανοικίῃ μιν περιέλαβεν, ἔλεγε
 ὁ Ἑρμῶτιμος ταῦδε. “ὦ πάντων ἀνδρῶν ἤδη μάλιστα ἀπ’
 ἔργων ἀνοσιωτάτων τὸν βίον κτησάμενε, τι σε ἐγὼ κακὸν ἢ
 αὐτὸς ἢ τῶν ἐμῶν τις σέ προγόειον ἐργάσατο, ἢ σέ ἢ τῶν σῶν
 τινα, ὅτι με αὐτ’ ἀνδρὸς ἐποίησας τὸ μηδὲν εἶναι; ἐδόκειέ

3 μὲν οὐκ, B, Holder 4 ἀγαμέμνων B: Ἀγαμέμνων Holder || παῖσιαν B
5 ἔλεγε δὲ αὖ B 7 τοιούτων ε 8 ποιήσει B, ποιήσειεν || κομισά-
μενος B || οἰκίτης: κωίδης CP: || ἐλῶ ταν II. || ἀποδεδίμενον com, Stead,
rec, van H. 9 παῖσιαν B || τὰ <τε> van H. 12 σε del. Codd.,
Holder, van H. 13 τίς σε CP, Stead² τίς B, Holder, van H.,
τις σε || προγόνων om, B, Holder, van H.

was a reformed character by this time, with a wife and army of servants, and only engaged in lawful trade: all too good for the vengeance. But I, if I am hardly supported.

1. *qhv rhy blwng* the term is
partitive or restrictive, and plainly not
used with the same extension as in 7. 4X
see *et.*, as the next words prove

the *ἀλλὰ μὲν νομίζω* 'Αταρνεὺς δὲ καλίστη. Cp. 1. 180 *ἄλλοι τῶν Μοιρῶν Ἀσπιδόθετος*. The dreadful story of the field of blood told 1. 180 Cp. 1. 12 *ἔκρητα*. The specification here was hardly necessary after that passage. The notice here is probably reprinted from the 'Source, and without any memory of the other passages. "Is absence of a cross reference is suggestive of H L's method of work."

4 observed that he was looking for him, it is a small, dark dog apparently.

6. *Epizootic*, as heretofore 'recognition' has tormented her, not have been a more cruel at the time of his capture.

ὁ παραλέγων, of a series, cf. lat. *ser-*
7. 119.

7 *ενορχήστρους*. H. a. apparently
more freely both forms *ενορχήστρους* and
ενορχήστας. Cp. 7. 104, 105 B. 100,
2 1st etc

and in return for

Η ΤΟΥΣ ΟΙΚΕΤΕΣ ΤΑ ΤΕΛΗ ΑΝ ΕΝ
 ΤΥΧΗΝ ΕΙΣΤΗ, ΕΡ' Α ΔΙΣΤΗ.

ἀκέρη με ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ, Σέβας.
Οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ Σέβας.

triodigameros dorsiventer, this construction is paralleled in Tab. 6 12 2 *dorsiventer dorsiventer dorsiventer* is a common alternative, stands at times almost partially constructed; esp. c. 14 sqm.

10. πωρομένη. ἡ. 3^η εὐρυα.

πρωλαβί: ερ. προηλθε αλ' ελε,

11. 457. 40 12 0. 105 100/100

The Agency is here (and there used
perhaps) of industrial 'works' for a
judgment. The formulae may be. It would
be very late here! (e. g. 100 years).

τὸν βίον κτησάμεν· αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ οὐ
τῆς βίᾳ κατασφύσεται ὁ νόμος.

Ti ou tyu arā : a vendetta might have justified her cruelty of Panionios to Hermetimos—as it now justifies that of Hermetimos to Panionios.

11. ὅτι με διὰ δούλου ἐκείνου τοῦ
μὴν εἶπαι, "that thou hast said to me,
be, instead of a man, the most exalted."
τὸ μῆδεν, ἀλλ. α. 88 εντα ούδενος ἀλλ.
ἐστίνες ἀλλ. ἀντ. 1. 52 α. 8' κινεῖται
αὐτοῦ μνησθ. οὗτοι τὸς ἀφελόμενοι ἐν τῷ
ἀποστ... number of words possesses in
no form like this. Cont. 1st Lancia
216 ὑ πωλῶσι τὸς ἀδελφοὺς ἐκείνους

ἰδοὺς τι θεοὺς ἄφῃαν οἷα
ἀμνησὺν τότε, εἰς οὐρανὸν ἔλθουσιν

τε θένον λήσαιν όλα ἐμψαυῶ τότε· οἱ σε ποιήσαντα ἀνοσία, ἡ
 κόμῃ δικαίῃ χρωμένοι, ὑπήγαγον ἐς χεῖρας τὰς ἐμὰς, ὥστε
 σε μὴ μεμφασθαι τὴν ὑπ' ἐμέ τοι ἐσομένην δίκην." ὥς δὲ
 οἱ ταῦτα ἀνείδισε, ἀχθέντων τῶν παιδῶν ἐς ὄφιν ἠναγκαζέτο
 ὁ Πανιώνιος τῶν ἐαυτοῦ παιδῶν τεσσέρων ἐόντων τὰ αἰδοῖα
 ἀποτάμνειν, ἀναγκαζόμενος δὲ ἐποίησε ταῦτα· αὐτοῦ τε, ὥς αὖ
 ταῦτα ἐργάσατο, οἱ παῖδες ἀναγκαζόμενοι ἀπέταμνον. Πανιώ-
 νιον μὲν νυν οὕτω περιήλθε ἢ τε τίσιν καὶ Ἑρμώτιμος.

Ξέρξης δὲ ὥς τοὺς παῖδας ἐπέτρεψε Ἀρτεμισίῃ ἀπάγειν 107
 ἐν Ἑφέσῳ, καλέσας Μαρδόνιον ἐκέλευσέ μιν τῆς στρατιῆς
 διαλέγειν τοὺς βούλεται, καὶ ποιεῖν τοῖσι λόγοισι τὰ ἔργα
 περὶομένον ὅμοια. ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην ἐς τοιοῦτο ἐγένετο,
 τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς κελυσσάτος βασιλέως τὰς νέας οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐκ

15 οἱ δὲ σε? Sten? 16 χρίσταισι P, van H || ἐς οὐ. B || χέρας
 C¹ 17 μέμφασθαι Cobet, van H || τοι: του B 18 ἀνείδισε
 C¹ 19 ταυῖος B | τεσσάρων C 20 ὥς: ὅς P 21
 παιδῶν B 22 τε οὐ. B || ὁ Ἑρμώτιμος (P, van H. 107, 1
 ἀρτεμισίῃ ἐπίτρεψε C² 2 ἐκελεύει B, Heiberg 3 τοῖς ἀν-
 τιστοιχεί 2 4 περιώμενον eod. Krieger || ὅμοια C², van H. ||
 τοιοῦτον B: 5 βασιλῆος 2 || νῆας B:

close the eyes of his) in such deeds as
 lead to what thou continuest.

16 κόμῃ δικαίῃ χρωμένοι the
 Dorian justice to this is strictly anthro-
 pomy, hic. Cp. Introduction, § 11.

ὥστε σε μὴ μεμφασθαι, *frontere*
 'say, 'so that thou shouldst find no
 fault with . . . so that of you should have
 no fault to find with.' Not merely, 'so
 that you have no right to complain that
 I am unmyself, you!' Cp. Xenoph.,
 Hec. c. 2. ὅτι ἐν δὲ τις μὴ θαυμάσῃται,
 ὥστε μὴ μεμφασθαι τὴν διαίτη. Plato
 Laws 716 πεισοχῶν τιμοῦσιν οἱ μεμψήται
 τῇ διαίτῃ καὶ τῇ ἐκείνου καὶ πολλὰς ἀράων
 ἀσπίδας ἐκείνου. The artistic infinitive
 π in the future participle is redundant.

20 ἀποτάμνειν, *passive*: he should
 be tortured.

22 περιήλθε ἢ τε τίσιν καὶ Ἑρμώ-
 τιμος is it possible that this should
 have meant to spoil his grim story with
 a post? Yet he does never so much
 personify the person, seeing not yet to
 hurry. Cp. 3. 4 σάου γὰρ μοι περιήλθε
 ὁ θάνατος. L. & S. render the word here
 'came at last upon.' (permeated up
 about what was unpermeated, and in c.
 6 σπρῆν 'permeated,' in *prolativum habens*.
 See Introduction on *clausulae* should I
 be right not so much in a *zeugma*

περιήλθε) as in a *passivum* (ὃ τε τίσιν
 καὶ Ἑρμώτιμος, 'permeated in the person
 of Hermotimus his hands on Panionius.'

107. Ξέρξης δι the narrative
 remained from c. 103 *supra*: the story
 of Hermotimus, though a *historia* is
 hardly an insert on it will have be-
 longed to the earliest deposits in H. H.'s
 memory and knowledge.

3 διαλέγειν, *intermittere*, to divide the
 'chance' and the 'costs'; cp. c. 113 *infra*
 τοῖς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς διαλέξεως.

ποιεῖν τοῖσι λόγοις τὰ ἔργα
 περιώμενον ὅμοια: *terminantur a limbo*
termini; as *fiat* *procedit*, *termini*. Or 'so far
 as in him lay.

4 ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην. Is this
 merely a conventional tale of days
 H. H. use it with conscious design? No
 change of day has ever noticed since the
 dawn of *time*. On that showing
 the day here is the day of battle and
 the night is the night of that very day.
 There seems no reason to doubt it is
 exact, though it suggests that the battle
 was over *ergo* before a *postquam* *quodammodo*
 before noon!

ἐς τοιοῦτο ἐγένετο: things went no
 further, *ἐγένετο*, *termina*, as in c. 6 *supra*.

6. οἱ στρατηγοὶ, *the admirals*, cp.
 c. 76 *supra*.

τοῦ Φαλήρου ἀπῆγον ὀπίσω ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὡς τάχως
 εἶχε ἕκαστος, διαφυλαξούσας τὰς σχεδίας πορευθῆναι βασιλεί.
 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγχαυ ἦσαν Ζωστήρος πλείοντες οἱ βάρβιροι, ἀνατεί-
 νουσι γὰρ ἄκραι λεπτὰ τῆς ἡπείρου ταύτης, ἔδοξαν τε νέας
 εἶναι καὶ ἔφηνον ἐπὶ πολλόν· χρόνῳ δὲ μαθόντες ὅτι οὐ νέες
 εἰεν ἀλλ' ἄκραι, συλληχθέντες ἐκομίζοντο.

108 Ὡς δὲ ἡμέρη ἐγένετο, ὁρώντες οἱ Ἕλληνες κατὰ χώραν

8 τάχως B 7 ἔσχεν B φυλαξούσας B βασιλῆα : βασιλεῖ
 B ἔσαν : || πλείοντες B P 9 τῆς ἡπείρου, ταύτης B : Ἀν τῆς ἡπείρου
 ταύτης? Kallenberg. Ἀν ταύτης, ταύτας? van H. ἡμῶς B. 10 νέες
 C νέες 108 1 ἐγένετο C P : ὁρώντες (: ὁρίοντες B, Steinh,
 van H.

ἐκ τοῦ Φαλήρου. ἐκ τὸν Ἑλλή-
 σποντον: from out the bay of Phaleron
 into the Hellespont from whence they
 had come (ὀπίσω). Did they go direct,
 or all round by the route they had come
 by? They apparently reached the
 Hellespont, cp. c. 117 infra.

8 ὡς τάχως εἶχε ἕκαστος, each one
 as fast as he could. . . The picture pre-
 sented is of a shattered fleet streaming
 across the sea in a hasty and style.

7. Διαφυλαξούσας . . . βασιλεί, "in
 disposition παρεῖναι, ποσειο quid cunctis
 habere videtur" Koehle διαφύλαξ.
 ὥστε αὐτὸν πορευθῆναι, Selbstschutze
 Perhaps πορευθῆναι is rather an exaggeration,
 or even a telos introduced after διαφυ-
 λαξούσας, and showing a purely ethical
 motive (so B) Stein cp. c. 64 χλαίνας
 ἐκείνουσθαι πορεύειν, and καταβῆναι 7
 25 πορεύειν a less exact parallel.

8. Ζωστήρος, Strabo 308 describes
 it as a large promontory, next the delta
 of Aegæus. It is certainly identical
 with the three headed promontory near
 the modern Ἰσπύ. Γεωγραφικὰ 1 31. 1
 mentions that there was an altar there
 Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ
 Ἀθρονί, and οὐρανίου τῶς αἰνῶς : τῶν
 μὲν οὖν Ἀθῶν τοὺς παῖδας ἀναβῆναι ἐφ' ἑσπε-
 ροῦσθαι δὲ τὸν Ζωστήρα ὅτι νεομῆνη,
 καὶ τῷ χωρίῳ διὰ τοῦτο γενέσθαι τὸ νόημα.
 The promontory might perhaps be
 called Ἰσπύ, for a ζωστήρ is a waistband.

9 ἄκραι λεπτὰ τῆς ἡπείρου ταύτης.
 It is possibly merely γρηλίζο=ταύτη, or is
 Hdt. writing as in Euripo? Stein cp.
 2 401 which does not settle the point.
 Zoster itself is a large promontory;
 but its three headlands may be referred
 to as ἀκραι λεπτὰi. Bawlinson, however,
 remarks that "it is not very likely they
 could have been mistaken by the Persians

(sic) for Ἰσπύ." Theophrastus *ἡσπύας*.
 25 line δὲ θελήσει τοιοῦτος τις εἶος πᾶσαν τὰς
 ἀκρας φασκεῖν ἡμολογεῖσθαι.

10 ἐπὶ πολλόν, of space, as in 2, 32,
 not of t. no, as in 2, 119.

11 συλληχθέντες: perisse in forma,
 media in forma ἀκομίζοντο, "they
 continued their voyage; cp. κομίζοντο
 c. 118 infra.

108 1. ἡμέρη, apparently the day
 after the battle. Hdt. has spent the
 night on the Persian side (cp. 97 107).
 The Greeks had retired into the bay of
 Salamis again (c. 96 supra) quite
 ignorant of the magnitude of their
 success, and expecting to have the
 struggle renewed as at Artemision)
 upon the following day. The Persian
 was not dissipated at once even with the
 return of the sun: the Persian army was
 still visible on the Attic shore, and the
 sight created a presumption that the
 fleet was not far off. If so, the presump-
 tion was ill founded; the army might
 have remained in order to cover the
 retreat of the ships. It seems unlikely
 that news of the flight of the king's
 vessels had not reached the Greeks,
 but it would have been quite impossible
 for the Greeks to leave Salamis, while
 the king's and forces were in occupation
 of Attica, even if no visible threat of an
 assault upon Salamis (cp. c. 97 supra)
 was being. Hdt. has hardly envisaged
 or grasped the strategic situation in this
 case.

οἱ Ἕλληνες: the Greeks at large,
 but more particularly the commanders.

κατὰ χώραν μένοντα τὸν τὸ πῦρ
 the same army as was manning, on the
 night before the battle, to the attack of
 Poloponnesos, c. 70 supra. It is of
 course, possible for us, with two or three

μένοντα τὸν στρατὸν τὸν πεζὸν ἤλπιζον καὶ τὰς νέας εἶναι περὶ Φάληρον, ἐδόκευ τε ναυμαχῆσειν σφίας παραρτέοντό τε ὡς ἀλεξήσομενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπύθοντο τὰς νέας οἰχωκυίας, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ἰδόκεε ἐπιδιώκειν. τὸν μὲν νυν ναυτικὸν τὸν Σίρξω στρατὸν οὐκ ἐπείδον διώξαντες μέχρι Ἀνδρου, ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἀνδρον ἀπικόμενοι ἐβουλεύοντο. Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν νυν

2 νῆας B; 4 ἐπεὶ τε! van H. | δ' B | νῆας B; || οἰχωκυία R;
 ὡχωκυίας BV 5 τὸν μὲν στρατὸν τὸν Σίρξω R. τὸν μὲν ναυτικὸν
 στρατὸν τὸν Σίρξω BV

columns of Persian infantry and cavalry at our disposal, to harry us the day after to-morrow; but it remains a mystery on Hdt.'s own account.

2. εἶναι περὶ Φάληρον: whether the Persians had retired on the previous day, c. 93 *supra*. Ships at Phaleron, or in the bay, would be invisible to the Greeks at Salamis: a matter of conjecture or speculation (ἡλπιζον).

3. παραρτέοντο: p. c. 81 *supra*.

4. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπύθοντο: Hdt. fails to specify the exact time at which, or the means by which, the Greeks were informed of the flight of the king's fleet. If they no sooner learned it than they proceeded to pursue αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα, we might note that they only learnt the retreat of the fleet after the evacuation of Attica and Aegina by the arm. v. But, if the fleet evacuated Salamis immediately after the battle, it had a long start of the Greeks, who, whatever they might dream or decide to do, could not leave Salamis unprotected until they were assured that the Persian army too was in full retreat. Was the pursuit of the Persian fleet seriously intended? It would certainly not have been lightly undertaken, or without arduous debate. Hdt. reveals not less a debate at Andros, but the Helonae can hardly have retired to Andros, whatever the object of that movement, without a previous council and discussion. Hdt. was naturally omitted to report a debate at Salamis, after the victory.

4. μέχρι Ἀνδρου. The island of Andros, one of the 'Kykliades' (p. 5, 37), lies between Euboea and Tenos (p. 4, 38), and is about 80 K. miles south from Salamis. It has evidently 'ruined', (p. c. 84 *supra*), and has special reasons for mourning, (p. 7, 115 *supra*).

7. ἐβουλεύοντο: the scene, the speakers, the subject, of this council, or debate,

are all open to challenge. For reasons above given the Greek fleet can hardly have quitted Salamis in pursuit of 'the living Medes': if the Greeks put into Andros, which was a Persian outpost or stronghold, it must have been with the intention of 'harassing' or garrisoning the island for the good cause; the attack on Andros, and the medising islands, will have been involved upon before the Greeks left Salamis. Ht. treats this operation as a matter of course, or as the obvious alternative to a pursuit of the 'barbarian' fleet (c. 111 *infra*); but it will have required an express decision, even if covered by the general vow against the medismen (7, 152). Again Eurymenes here appears as taking part in the debate, and as the opponent of Themistokles; dramatic, and perhaps constitutional, propensities are better observed above in the accounts of the debates before Salamis, where he is than elsewhere Athenian, or in the valuation of this very anecdote, which pits Aristides against Themistokles (see Appendix VII, § 2). The Spartan has perhaps come in as the exponent of the characteristically Lakedaemonian policy, not to pursue a flying foe. The plan ascribed to Themistokles is here expressed in almost eulogistic terms, or as combining numerous objects: διὰ τῶν τε πρὸς ἐκείνους τὰς νῆας πλεῖν ἵππων ἐπὶ τῇ ἑλῇ, ἀποκτείναντες τοὺς ἡγεῖρας τῆς ἐπὶ τῇ ἑλῇ πλεούσας ἁλῶν τ. γ. The first phrase may be ambiguous, covering alike operations against the islands (the Kyklades in encirclement and a passage through them without touching; but the idea of pursuing the Persian fleet and of making for the Helospont to destroy the bridges could only be harmonized on the assumption that the Persian fleet had made for the Helospont; and even so, the pursuit of the

γνώμην ἀπεδείκνυτο διὰ νῆσαν τραπομέιους καὶ ἐπιδιώξαντας
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 10 γεφύρας· Εὐρυβιδῆς δὲ τὴν ἐναντίην αὐτῇ γνώμην ἐτίθετο,
 λέγων οἷς εἰ λύσουσι τὰς σχεδίας, τοῦτ' ἂν μεγιστον πύτων
 σφι κακῶν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐργάσαιο. εἰ γὰρ ἀναγκασθεὶς
 ἀπολαμφθεὶς ὁ Πέρσης μένει ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ, πειρώτο ἂν
 ἡσυχίην μὴ ἄγειν, ὡς ἄγοντι μὲν οἱ ἡσυχίην οὔτε τι προ-
 15 χωρεῖν οἷον τε ἔσται τῶν πρηγμάτων οὔτε τις κομιδὴ τὸ
 ὀπίσω φανήσεται, λιμῶ τὲ οἱ ἡ στρατιὴ διαφθερέεται, ἐπιχει-
 ροῦντι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἔργου ἐχομένῳ πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν
 Εὐρώπην οἷα τε ἔσται προσχωρῆσαι κατὰ πόλιν τε καὶ κατὰ

9 ἀπεδείκνυτο B 10 νῆας B: πλέειν B: 12 σφίς B:
 σφίς = || κακῶν B || ἐργάσαιο R: ἐργάσαντο SV: ἐργασάιο Dindorf,
 Oubet, Kallenberg, van H. 13 ἐν τῇ εὐρώπῃ μένειν B ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ
 hic ex fine cap. translata susp. Kallenberg || πειρώτο ABz 15 <ἐ> τὸ
 Oubet quod olim impugn. Schweighauser) 16 φανέται? Krueger
 διαφθαρέται α: διαφθαρείται van H. | ἐπιχωρεῖν B

fleet might involve a second engagement, which might prove an obstacle to destroying the bridges. Possibly all three ideas (i. the destruction of the bridges; ii. the pursuit of the fleeing Persians; iii. the violation of the ionizing islands) were traditionally and jointly associated with Themistokles, but they should not have been given to him in one breath.

10 γνώμην ἐτίθετο: a variant upon the more common γν. ἀπεδείκνυτο (cp. just above), perhaps used here out of regard to the commanding position of Eurybiades, or perhaps simply from the analogy of voting, as in c. 123 τὰς ἐπὶ τῷ ἑσπέρῳ. The opinion ascribed to Eurybiades that the destruction of the bridges would be a national calamity for Greece is vividly related (i.) by the apocryphal proverbially ascribed to Xerxes (in a different anecdote) c. 9¹ supra; (ii.) by the logical facts, the bridges having been destroyed without injury to Xerxes, c. c. 117 infra.

11 τοῦτ' ἂν . . ἐργάσαιο: as ἐργάσαντο was naturally in passive, the construction is with a doubt and after the verb c. 79 supra, of which νοθεῖς is subject, σφι being, of course, ethical dative. Cp. App. Crit.

14 ἡσυχίην μὴ ἄγειν: a national equivalent for ἐπιχωρεῖν, or ἔργον ἔχουσαι (phrases used below, perhaps

suggested by the speaker's desire that the Persian should ἡσυχίην ἄγειν (Steinh.). The argument which Themistokles ἄγειν μὲν οἱ πύτων seems far-fetched: the destruction of the bridges is to compel the Persians to the conquest of Europe, the victory at Salamis and the consequent superiority of the Greeks at sea are ignored. The whole passage seems like an estimate of the necessity for active and offensive movement on the invader's part before the invasion, or at least before his defeat, a necessity which was not conditioned simply by the existence or non-existence of the bridges; cf. Appendix 1, § 1.

15 τῶν πρηγμάτων, his plans' προχωρεῖν, 'to advance': προσχωρεῖν just below comes in rather incidentally.

κομιδὴ τὰ ὀπίσω: cp. η ἀκομὴ ἦν ἔσται τὸ ὀπίσω d. 131, and η εἰς τὴν κομιδὴν c. 120 infra: α in a different sense d. 134 infra.

16 οἷα τε ἔσται προσχωρῆσαι. The bridge is said to be πάντα τὰ α τ. Εὐρώπῃ, 'all the parts of Europe', i.e. all Europe, but the speaker is perhaps to be taken only to refer to the Ionian and Aeolian, though Thracian may never have been. Hellenic tribes—γ. 1, 110 supra, and 'Europe is Asia' and again suggested as the ultimate reason of the war. The harvest of Helios would hardly suffice for the universal conquest of all Europe.

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 Cobet, Kallenberg, viii H, 13 ἐν τῇ εἰρώπῃ μένειν B ἐν τῇ Εἰρώπῃ
 hic ex fine cap. translata susp. Kallenberg || πειρῶτο AR: 15 - ἂν - id
 Cobet et hoc olim impugna. Schweighauser) 16 βαρύνεται? Kallenberg ||
 διαφθαρείται α διαφθαρείται viii H. 1, ἐπιχωρῶντι B

that might involve a second engagement, which might prove an obstacle to destroying the bridges. Possibly all three ideas (i. the destruction of the bridges; ii. the pursuit of the King's emissaries; iii. the violation of the meeting islands) were traditionally and tightly associated with Themistocles, but they should not have been given to him in one breath.

10. γνώμην ἐτίθετο: a variant upon the more common γνώμην ἀπεδείκνυτο (cp. just above), perhaps used here out of regard to the commanding position of Eurysthenes, or perhaps simply from the analogy of voting, as in c. 123 ἡ γνώμη ἐτίθετο τῷ δήμῳ. The opinion ascribed to Eurysthenes that the destruction of the bridges would be a national calamity for Greece is doubtless related, (i) by the apprehension previously ascribed to Xerxes (in a different anecdote) c. 97 supra, (ii) by the logic of facts, the islands having been destroyed without injury to them; cp. c. 1.7 infra.

11. τοῦτ' ἂν . ἐργάσαιτο, as ἐργάσαιτο can scarcely be passive, the construction is with a longhiac after the verb (c. 79 supra), of which τοῦτο is subject, σφί being of course, attributive. Cp. App. CII.

14. ἡσυχίην μὴ ἄγειν, a curious equivalent for ἐπιχωρεῖν, or ἔργον ἐχέειν, ῥήματα used below, πορὰ α

suggested by the speaker's desire that the Persians should *ceasing drive* Steen. The argument which follows ὥς ἄγουσι μὲν οἱ κτλ.) seems far fetched: the destruction of the bridges is to compel the Persian to the conquest of Europe; the victory at Salamis and the consequent superiority of the Greeks at sea are ignored. The whole passage seems like an estimate of the necessity for active and offensive measures on the invader's part before the invasion, or at least before his defeat a necessity which was not conditioned merely by the existence or non-existence of the bridges, cp. Appendix IV. § 1.

15 τὰς πραγμάτων, 'his plans, projects', 'to succeed', προσχωρεῖν just as αἰνέειν is rather misleading.

κομιδὴ τὰ ὀπίσω cp. ἡ κομιδὴ ἡμῶν ἐστὶν τὸ ὀπίσω c. 131 and ἡ κομιδὴ κομιδὴ c. 126 infra, α in a different sense; c. 14 infra.

18 οἷά τε ἔσται προσχωρῆσαι. The subject appears to be πάντα τὰ α τὴν Εὐρώπην, all the parts of Europe; i. e. all Europe, but the speaker is perhaps to be taken only to refer to the Hellenized portions, though ὅσα may cover non-Hellenic tribes cp. c. 3, 116 supra and Europe is again and again suggested as the ultimate Persian object etc. The imports of Heras would have a sufficient for the universal conquest of all Europe.

(αὐτοὶ γὰρ μάλιστα ἐκπεφυγόντων περιημέκτων, ὀρμέατό τε
 5 ἐς τὸν Ἑλλάσποντον πλέειν καὶ ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτῶν βαλόμενοι,
 εἰ οἱ ἄλλοι μὴ βυθίσαιτο) ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε, "καὶ αὐτὸς ἤδη
 πολλοῖσι παρεγενόμην καὶ πολλῶ πλέω ἀκήκοα τοιούδε
 γενέσθαι, ἄνδρας ἐς ἀναγκαίην ἀπειληθέντας [νενικημένους]
 ἀναμάχεσθαι τε καὶ ἀναλαμβάνειν τὴν προτέρην κακότητα.
 10 ἡμεῖς δέ, εἴρημα γὰρ εὔρηκαμεν ἡμέας τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν
 Ἑλλάδα, νέφος τοσούτου ἀνθρώπου ἀνωσόμενοι, μὴ διώκωμεν

4 ὀρμέατό σ εἰς. 5 πλοῖον Bc αἰτίουνz || βαλλόμενοι z. βοι-
 μένοι B 6 εἰ ἄλλοι B 7 πλείω B 8 νενικημένους δισκ-
 del. Cobet, Holder, van H. 11 τοσούτοι A ante τας Bc || ἀνθρώπων
 δαμν. Dobree ἀνωσόμενοι BRz: ἀνωσώμενοι

support a similar interpretation.—Curt-
 wise a mental conversion might be pre-
 ferable. *Μετὰ το σπιντο ad ἀπὸ πιντο*
ac σπιντοσπιντο (Schwartz, Lex.) seems
 now a rather easy to explain but

4. *περιημέκτων*: an Herodotean word,
 used with the dative, as in 4. 154, and
 absolutely, as in 1. 114 *μᾶλλον τι πειν-
 μέντοι*, is here used with a sort of
 causal genitive (*ἐκπεφυγόντων*). The
 meaning is clear ("were aggrieved"), but
 the etymology unknown.

ὀρμέατο: the pluperfect passive,
 without augment. The tense might
 here have its temporal meaning even
 in view of the sequence of *οἱ ἄλλοι μὴ
 βυθίσαιτο*. The condition indicated is,
 of course, purely psychological.

6. *ἐπὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν βαλόμενοι*, 'at
 their own risk?' or 'on their own responsibility'
 but 'y' or 'by the means of' e.g. 5. 73
 and 3. 71. The exact metaphor is less
 clear than the meaning, the expression
 is apparently Herodotean καὶ δαμν.

6 *ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε* Ht does not
 shrink from reporting the expression of
 Themistokles; e.g. ca. 60-61 f., 80, 83
 117-118.

7. *πολλοῖσι παρεγενόμην*. πολλοῖσι is
 prepositional, not, as so coincident with
 πολλῶ πλέω, but not so. The occasions
 referred to is not out, would have
 furnished an interesting chapter of
 autobiography. The emphatic co-ordi-
 nation καὶ . . . καὶ is obvious.

8. *ἀντιλήθοντες* [νενικημένους]. the
 recalled participles are clausal τινος
 τινος ἐπὶ App. Crit. At Athens
 (Athenians), Iago however, the Greeks
 have to do with ἀνδρες. Themistokles
 does not despise the enemy.

9. *ἀναμάχεσθαι τι καὶ ἀναλαμβάνειν*.
 e.g. 5. 121 *μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο το τρωμα
 ἀνέλαβον τε καὶ ἀνέμαχισατο οἱ Ἕλληνες*.
 (Themistokles only hardly have been
 present on that occasion.) ἀναλαμβάνειν
 having an object here κακότητα) a of
 superior construction, and in place of
 ποιοῦσθαι τινος τινος, p. 7. 232 *μνησ-
 ται*, but κακότητα τινος) a of disjunctive
 construction. In 2. 129 it appears to
 mean *ἐν*, plight, misery, and it may
 bear the same meaning in 2. 74, *ἐν
 τοῦ, καὶ δὲ*, in 6. 87 where it is
 opposed to *εὐδαιμονία*, but in 7. 108
καὶ it certainly denotes a defect of
 character, cowardice or what not (e.g.
 119-120 *κακότητα καὶ δόξα*, and it
 might bear that interpretation on here.

10 *εἴρημα γὰρ εὔρηκαμεν*, 'we have
 had a stroke of luck.' p. 7. 10 f. 45.
 the cognate acc. is single enough, but
 the addition of the further accessories.
ἡμεῖς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, com-
 pletes the sentence, and without the
 addition of a participle, co-ordinates with
ἀνωσόμενοι, a causal construction is a
 truly violent as though *ἐν*, *εἴρημα*,
 might form a single verbal idea as a
 construction — ἀνέλαβον καὶ ἀνέμα-
 χισαμεν (sc. ἀνέλαβον). ἡμεῖς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα
 any, however be taken in apposition to
εἴρημα—a somewhat exalted phrase!
 Anything were better than inserting
ἀνωσόμενοι. (p. App. Crit.)

11 *νέφος τοσούτου ἀνθρώπου ἀνωσόμε-
 νοι*: the metaphor is superlative. The
 barbarians are like a storm from the
 point of view through ἀνδρες φησὶν
 in relative below. The verb is obvious
 —p. App. Crit. but misused by 130.
 a *κακότητα* perhaps suggested by the
 oratory of Themistokles.

ἄνδρας φεύγοντας. τὰδε γὰρ οὐκ ἡμεῖς κατεργασάμεθα, ἀλλὰ θεοὶ τε καὶ ἥρωες, οἱ ἐφθύνησαν ἄνδρα ἓνα τῆς τε 'Λαΐης καὶ τῆς ἱέρωψης βασιλεύσαι ἐόντα ἀνδρσίον τε καὶ ἀτάσθαλον· δι' τὰ τε ἱρὰ καὶ τὰ ἱδία ἐν ὁμοίῳ ἐποιέετο, ἐμπιπράς τε καὶ 15 καταβύλλων τῶν θεῶν τὰ ἀγάλματα· δις καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν

15 τε ante ἱρὰ om. BPs || ἐμπιπράς α: ἐμπιπρήσας C

12. τὰδε, of ἀνδρσίοντες, cp. the occasional use of ταῦτα for consequences δδ' and αὖτε both contrast with αὖτε, as the nearer with the more remote, and with each other, as the immediate present (or just coming) with the mediate present or not gone.

13. θεοὶ τε καὶ ἥρωες, Gods and Heroes combined. The passage relates incidentally the snout of Marathon against the Greeks as τὸν τὸν σφαιρὶ τῶν θεῶν ἀνέστησαν ἐκτελέσασθαι α. 190 supra (spoken of course with quite another 'intention'), for at least it ascribes the victory at their own work, even Themistocles, however, appears in the context as overruling the effects of the latter of Salamis (τετρεκέως ἀνέλασαν τὸν βαρβαρὸν).

οἱ ἐφθύνησαν, βασιλεύσαι: the doctrine of the divine φθῶν appears here upon the lips of Themistocles in its essential form: the gods view with jealousy one man's lordship of Asia and Europe combined. Since an exercise of human power is in itself a sufficient reason for the divine jealousy. The words which follow ἐόντα ἀνδρσίον τε καὶ ἀτάσθαλον may be taken, not as the justification of the ways of gods to man, but as a statement of pure matter of fact: a fact inevitable, since what mortal armed with such power could avoid pride, presumption, impiety, and? In the passage which follows δις κτλ.), if it were worth while to distinguish the ἀνέστησαν and ἐφθύνησαν the justification of temples and cult-objects might illustrate the former, and the manning not retarding of the sea the latter.

14. ἐν ὁμοίῳ ἐποιέετο, 'made no difference between', cp. 7. 134 supra (in a somewhat different sense).

ἐμπιπράς τε καὶ καταβύλλων: α. α. Δ. α. α. 35 supra, and above all at Athens c. 53 supra. It is noticeable that there is no reference to the case of Iphigeneia (cp. 35-39 supra), nor is any thing said of the cause in which Xerxes had shown justice respect for Greek religion and cult-objects (cp. at Troy 7.

43 supra, at Helen 7. 197 supra, at Achilles itself α. 64 supra, and of course at Thebes not to press the similarities at Nine Wags 7. 114, at Euripides 7. 19.). Athenians naturally read the most of the point (cp. Aeschyl. Pers. 101 f.), though their own record was not clean in this respect (cp. G. 102), but it was lost for Xerxes to represent the Persians as Persian fanatics, inhuman with the Greeks for believing that the gods could be enlisted 'in temples made with hands' (cp. Isop. 2. 13. 28 Xerxes inflammare templis theaeas dicitur, quod pariter etiam includeret deos, quibus etiam deorum esse potentia ad horra, quatenus hic templis etiam uariam sunt etiam). That view is settled by what is known of the policy of Xerxes and his successors in Egypt, in Babylon, in Greece itself — the only nothing of the acts of Xerxes and Xanthus. The invasion of Greece was in no sense a matter of religious war but the Greeks naturally enough treated their victory with a religious halo, and expounded the offences against the national religion committed by the Persians as incidents of the campaign. Hence the intensely religious tone of the Herodotean narrative, little as the great centres of the national religion did for Greece in her hour of need. Hence too the desire, or supposition, desire, that the temples destroyed by the Persian should remain for ever in ruins; cp. the forged oath in Lycurgus c. Leocrati 81, and Pausan. 10. 35. 2, a desire directly contravened by the earliest preservation of Pericles (Plutarch Pericl. 17) and above all by c. 23 supra & 116 infra.

15 καὶ τὴν θ' ἀπαισιόγιστον μέθετε κατῆκε: according to the story related in 7. 35 supra, Themistocles on its last atonement. If this speech were authentic and rightly dated to 480 B.C., it would be the earliest extant oration for the residents of Athens of Themistocles oratory may be preserved in it, but hardly this particular sentence, which

ἀπεμαστίγωσε πέδας τε κατήκε. ἀλλ' εὖ γὰρ ἔχει ἐς τὸ
παρεὼν ἡμῖν, νῦν μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καταρμεινάντας ἡμῶν
τε αὐτῶν ἐπιμεληθῆναι καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν, καὶ τις οἰκίην τε
καὶ ἀναπλασάσθαι καὶ σπόρου ἀνακῶς ἐχέτω, παντελῶς ἀπελίσσας

17 τε κατήκε: τ^ο ἐγκατήκε van H.

18 μὲν <ἀμεινον> Stein⁹

(χρεὶν ἔστι! Stein²) || καταρμεινάντας Ba

19 αἰτέων α(ς) || ἐπιμελη

θόμεν ε

20 ἀναπλασάσθαι α, Eustath. Od. p. 1425

σπόρους C:

σποράς Eustath. || παντελῶς AB: παντελῶς

reads in any case rather forcibly. Perhaps the whole religious parenthesis (note γάρ . . . κατήκε in Herodotean rather than Atticistic Themistoclean ἀπεμαστίζωσαι, 'to flag soundly, occur 3, 24).

17 ἀλλ' εὖ γάρ ἔχει ἡμῖν: cp. 7. 153 ἀλλὰ (sic) εὖ γάρ ἦμαρ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀμεινον κατέστη, *telum est* (it can barely be argued that the Samiot orator preserved while the Athenian avoided the *hominis*: the variation exhibits the inconsistency of the text, perhaps of the author himself).

18 νῦν μὲν . . . ἐπιμεληθῆναι. Stein regards this construction as intolerably harsh, and amends the text cp. App. Crit.), but surely the infinitive may stand as hortative (Maderig, *Gr. Syntax*, § 163), especially here when enumerated immediately in the very next sentence by the imperative ἀναπλασάσθαι (cp. Aristoph. *Ilus*, 108, to say nothing of the simple ἀμεινον καταρμεινάντας. The form of the verb ἐπιμεληθῆναι, like the main ἐπιμελεσθαι, implies a present ἐπιμελόμεναι—though this form of the present in use appears to have been ἐπιμελομαι, cp. ἐπιμελίσθαι 1. 88, ἐπιμελόμεναι 2. 2, ἐπιμελέσθαι 2. 174 μέλομαι 1 case for, take care of, with gen.; in the Tragicomic *prosimion*).

19 οἰκετῶν: cp. c. 106 l. 8 supra.

20 ἀναπλασάσθαι. *πλασσειν* is used properly of soft materials, earth, wax etc.

σπόρου ἀνακῶς ἐχέτω cp. 1. 24 ἀνακῶς δὲ ἔχει τὰς πυρῆδων. Also Thuc. 8. 102 2 ὅπως αὐτῶν ἀνακῶς ἔχουσιν, ἢν ἐκπύσω. The construction of ἔχειν with the adv. 18, of course, regular enough but the word ἀνακῶς itself is a curious one. cp. Hatzod. Thuc. 23 τῆς ἐπιδότου λόγου (sc. of Τυνδαρίδου) ἄραγε προκαταγορεύοντες, ἢ διὰ τὰς γενόμεναι ἀνογὰς (in Attica), ἢ διὰ τὴν ἐπιμελείαν καὶ ὑπενομίαν τοῦ μὲντοι καλῶς ποιεῖν σπράττειν ποταμῶν

ἐνδὸς οὐραῖ· ἀνακῶς γὰρ ἔχειν τοὺς ἐπὶ μελομένοις ἢ φιλοττοῦνται δέον· καὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἴσως ἀνακῶς διὰ τοῦτο καλεῖται. οἷσι δὲ οἱ λέγοντες διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀστῶν ἐπιμελίαν Ἀνακῶς νομαίνονται τὸ γὰρ ἔχειν τοὺς Ἀττικῶν δόκους νομαίνονται καὶ ἀνταδουτὸ δὲοντες. The passage contains an explanatory bit of antique etymology, but 1. & 3 accept the connection of ἀνακῶς with ἀναξ. The word was used by Pato, *Com. inconv.* 24 (ed. Bothe-Didot) καὶ τὰς (sc. τὰς) θύρας ἀνακῶς ἔχειν: cp. Krot. *inconv.* p. 88, ἀνακῶς ἐπιμελῶν καὶ περιπορφαλαγμένων ἔστι δὲ ἡ λέξις ἀνακῶς. (Is it not rather 'old Attic,' and so appropriate in the mouth of Themistocles?)

παντελῶς ἀπελίσσας τὸν βάρβαρον. Themistocles appears to have (Hatzod. *attributed above* to Euryclides) that Samian Lad put at end to the presence of the 'barbarian' in Greece. Stein, indeed, takes it as sentence as conditional, and refers it not to the battle which has taken place, but to the last of *ἐκπύσω* which Themistocles expects to be fought before the winter (i.e. not "now that we have driven," but "as soon as we shall have driven the barbarian clean away"). This interpretation (1) ill suits the context, especially the corresponding *παντελῶς* (18 & 19); (2) involves Themistocles in a large inconsistency in regard to the prosecution of the Peloponnesian, (in) makes him treat a great land battle immediately to come as a foregone conclusion, to be mentioned as *prosumptum*, sandwiched between the restoration of Athens and the expedition to the Hellespont, while (iv.) Hdt. himself declares the odd character of Themistocles' advice to the Athenians; and although the purpose he assigns is unacceptable (see below), the point itself remains open that the argument of the speaker is a make-believe. In fact, the words, if

τὸν βάρβαρον· ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἔαρι καταπλέωμεν ἐπὶ Ἑλλησπόντου καὶ Ἰωνίης." ταῦτα εἶπε ἀποθήκην μέλλων ποιῆ-

31 Ἀλλήσποντον C

32 ἀποθήκην α | ποιήσασθαι Bδ: ποιήσονται

athenian, may have been used by Themistokles with his eyes open, and his participation in the Spartan situation, that no land battle would ever be necessary, may have been a voluntary hypothesis, *assumptio casus*. So, too, the promise to sail to the Hellespont and Ionia in the spring might at this point have been rather a concession to gain the Athenians, and to prevent the break-up of the fleet, than a deliberate ploy in view of the later developments of the Persian, or in anticipation of the subsequent policy of rejection. It would, however, be a possible preventive of the re-occupation of Attica, in case the Persians had not evacuated Europe as applicable in the spring as in the present autumn. The whole situation (it must be remembered, can hardly have taken place until the Persians had evacuated Attica, and probably had not taken place at Andros, but at Salamis. Whether Themistokles, when he realized that Xerxes was still in Greece with an army, failed to grasp the strategic aspects of the case, is a further question (cp. Appendix VII § 1). It is at least certain that the greatest of the Athenians never had any divisions upon the point.

31 ταῦτα εἶπε ἀποθήκην μέλλων ποιήσασθαι. This contribution to the Themistoklean legend represents him as a traitor from the beginning. The motivation is plainly an inference from the event (τὰ πρὶν ἂν καὶ ἔγινετο), and is both psychologically and historically bad. There is an assumption involved that Themistokles did wrong in dissuading the Athenians from sailing off by themselves from Andros (or Salamis) to the Hellespont, and his crime is the more flagrant seeing that he himself had advocated the move to the Hellespont just before. But Themistokles was neither unscrupulous nor disloyal if he now wrought with the Athenians to prevent a strategic undertaking rather than Hdt. have pronounced such an error upon his act as Thucydides pronounced upon the act of Aristides in retaining the Athenian fleet at Salamis in 481 B.C. from precipi-

tately making for the city (cp. Thuc. 8. 52. 2). Strategically, the separate adventure of the Athenians must have been highly precarious; politically, it might have shattered the Alliance, which still had work to do. The reduction of the Hellespont by the confederate fleet was both strategically and politically the better investment. In so far as Hdt. (or his source, ascribes to Themistokles a prediction of possible disaster to himself in time to come, and sets him about making provision against a turn of Fortune's wheel, the bounds of psychological possibility are not passed, for a Greek and a Themistokles. Of such reverses, too, he could say: καὶ ἀπὸς ἡδὴ πολλῶν παρεργόμενος καὶ πολλῶ ἐλέω δέσποιν ἑοικὼς γινέσθαι. The reverses of Miltiades were before his eyes day and night. But there is no real reaction between his reported action on this occasion and his subsequent 'melancholy' such as it was. The motivation here depends upon the truth of the story (in the next α) of the second mission of Miltiades—and that story is a transparent fraud. Grote, indeed, erred in the view that Themistokles—a clever man tainted with such constant guilt—calculated on being one day detected and punished; i.e. Grote takes the Themistoklean legend very much at its own estimation. Blackley's note is entirely perverse, amounting to this: Themistokles is wrong in saying that Themistokles claimed credit in his letter to Artaxerxes (I. 137 for having saved the bridge for Xerxes, while Hdt. is right in saying that Themistokles, not knowing that the bridges were already broken down in 480 B.C. (if they were; cp. α. 15. 4 *infra*), intended, on some future occasion, should need arise, to claim credit with the king for saving the bridge.

ἀποθήκην . . . ποιήσασθαι (= ἀποθεῖναι, or ἀποθεῖναι ποιήσασθαι) is scarcely adequate, cp. δ. 41 ἄφρατα μεγάλαν καταβύσασθαι. In Lere looks like *εἶπε*. τὸν Περσὲν generalized (for Xerxes) perhaps in the light of the event. Hdt., of course, knowing that Themistokles was received by Artaxerxes.

σασθαι ἐς τὸν Πέρση, ἵνα ἦν ἄρα τί μιν καταλαμβάνη πρὸς Ἀθηναίων πάθος, ἔχῃ ἀποστροφὴν· τὰ περ ὧν καὶ ἐγένετο.

- 110 Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν ταῦτα λέγων διεβάλλε, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐπειθόντο· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ καὶ πρότερον δεδογμένος εἶναι σοφὸς ἐφάνη ἔων ἀληθέως σοφὸς τε καὶ εὐβούλος, πάντως ἔτοιμοι ἦσαν λέγοντι πείθεσθαι. ὧν δὲ οὗτοί οἱ ἀνεγνωσμένοι ἦσαν, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἄνδρας ἀπέπεμπε ἔχοντας πλοῖον, τοῖσι ἐπίστευε σιγᾶν ἐς πᾶσαν βίσανον ἀπικνευμένοιαι

23 πάντα B || ἦν: 4. C || ἀρὰ τι AB 23 ἔχει B 110 1 ταῦτα μιν 2 | διεβάλλε 2 2 σοφός 'fortasse totius ubi est' van H. 2 ἔτοιμοι CP 4 ἔσαν 5 || οἱτοὶ ἀνεγνωσμένοι B || ἔσαν 2 5 ὁ om B 5 ἐπίστευε B. Holder: ἐπάρτελλε 2 || ἀπικνευμένοιαι V. Bf-

23 ἀρὰ, "in hypothesis, to the end of the improbability of the supposition," l. & s. comparing Thuc. 1 23 7 τοὺς Ἀθηναίους παρρηίᾳ (as ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς) ἦν ἀρὰ ποτὲ ἐὰν γῆν ὑποσώσω καταστάναι ἐς αὐτῶν τοῦτο οὐκ, πρὸς ἀπάρτας ἀνδ' ἵστασθαι. The positive conveys perhaps a note of irony in the present remark, or perhaps a reference to the mind of Themistokles as away from the author's πάθος—τάθνημα, as often.

24 ἀποστροφὴν, a somewhat like the same sense Thuc. 4 76 5 οὐκ ἐκαστοὺς δὲ θραχεῖς ἀποστροφῇ παρρησίᾳ. In a loose literal sense, but more material, Hdt. 2. 13 οὐ γὰρ δὴ σφί ἐστὶ νόστος σέβημα ἀλλή ἀποστροφῇ μὴ ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς μύθου.

110 1. διεβάλλε: ἀν' ἡμετέρας, cp. 5. 80. "The expression shows how much Herodotus is against Themistokles even in a case where not a shadow of suspicion falls on him." Stein. With this was the case cp. 5. 107 Ἰστιάδης μὲν λέγων ταῦτα διεβάλλε, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐπειθόντο.

2. σοφός: the word is itself in not necessarily commendatory; cp. 5. 24 ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν τε χρῆμα ἐπαύσατο ἑσθρὶ Ἑλλήνων διωξέ τε καὶ σοφῶς δοεῖ ἔχεν σα σθαί πολεῖ ἐν θησῇ. but ἀληθῶς σοφός τε καὶ εὐβούλος is no faint praise, and aim to that the advice of Themistokles to the Athenians was good, however questionable its motive. The contrast between δεδογμένος εἶναι and ἐφάνη ἔων is emphatic, but notwithstanding the word δεδογμένος is, however a strong old and weaker to a genuine or genuine or genuine. With the first cp. 5. 121 ἐπὶ τῇ ἐπιστάτῃ τε καὶ ἐδακνῇ 2 καὶ ἀπὸ πολλῶν Ἑλλήνων σοφωτάτων—a situation which looks almost like the utterance of the δεδογμένος in this passage. Wies-

manitz, *Herod.* x v. 180 and Corot, *Monum.* x. 1. 279, refer to Themistokles the one, σοφὸς μὲν ἀνὴρ τῆς δὲ χειρὸς οὐ κρατῶν (Kirpola *Herod.* van H.)

4. ἀνεγνωσμένοι, ἔσαν: this form of construction may be taken to give a really temporal pluperfect, so far as the part circle is concerned. It is substantially identical with the construction of 24 κερὰ πλοῖονα εἰς ἑκάς ἀγῶνας, and in each case the words αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα emphasizing the tempo category follow immediately. The Hecataean or Ionic, use of ἀνεγνωσμένοι 'to know', 'perceive' is also present, cp. 5. 10 and previous.

α. τοῖσι ἐπίστευε σιγᾶν. Was Themistokles entrusted to the confidential agents, from whose lips tortures were not to wring a confession? Was one of them, Sikanon himself perhaps, the authority for this story? And was it to torture them—the king's two Athenians? To this right they are carrying the message, he had no need to torture them in order to learn it. The phrase looks as though some of the domestics of Themistokles had been put to the 'question' (say, in 471/70 a. c.) to prove his 'guilt'; but whether anything like this anecdote was extracted from them is doubtful—the phrase might even suggest a negation. Themistokles was, indeed, himself the author of the fiction that Xerxes owed it him the presentation of the Hekateionia bridges cp. Thuc. 1. 134. The letter of the so-called Athenians to Aristoteles (n. 295 n. 2), is the earliest source to which the fiction can be traced. His genuine informant interpreted the occasion and elaborated the version preserved by Herodotus. Cp. Appendix VII § 2.

τὰ αὐτὸς ἐνετείλατο βασιλεῖ φράσαι· τῶν καὶ Σίκιννος ὁ οἰκῆτης αὐτῆς ἐγένετο· οἱ ἐπεῖτε ἀπίκοντο πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, οἱ μὲν κατέμεινον ἐπὶ τῷ πλοίῳ, Σίκιννος δὲ ἀναβὰς παρὰ Ξέρξην εἶπε τάδε. "ἐπεμψέ με Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Νεοκλῆος, ἵο στρατιγῆς μὲν Ἀθηναίων ἀνὴρ δὲ τῶν συμμάχων πάντων ἄριστος καὶ σωφύτατος, φημυστά τοι ὅτι Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, σοὶ βουλόμενος ὑπουργέειν, ἔσχε τοὺς Ἕλληνας τὰς κας βουλομένους διώκειν καὶ τὰς ἐν Ἑλλησποντῷ γιγνέσθαι λείπειν. καὶ νῦν κατ' ἡσυχίην πολλὴν κομίζω." οἱ μὲν ταῦτα 15 σημήναντες ἀπέπλεον ὅπισθε.

τὰ αὐτῆς τοῖσι μὲν Β || βασιλεῖ AB || σίκιννος R 8 ἐπεμψέ
 Β 2 9 σίκιννος O: σίκιννος R 10 ξέρξην B: 12 ὅτι
 C, δ' Ἀθηναῖος del. Kallenberg 13 σοὶ, σὺ C: σὺ B || ὑπουργέειν α
 14 νῦν B: 16 ἀπέπλεον B:

7. τὸν καὶ Σίκιννος ὁ οἰκῆτης αὐτῆς ἐγένετο, the reference is to the famous position of Sikiwon reported c. 75 supra, which brought about the disastrous movement of the king's navy, and its consequent defeat. The statement (which reappears in Diodor 11.13 and Trogus ap. Justin. 2.13) that the same messenger was a second time employed to approach Xerxes, or the Persians, refutes itself, and destroys the whole anecdote. Plutarch, *Them.* 16, and *Perikles* 1.56.3 follow a more plausible source, which made Arimakes a sailor and prisoner, the messenger on this occasion. Hackmeyer remarks that at the time of Plutarch Themistokles apparently was supposed to have purposely mistaken the interest of Xerxes by making him want of the projected Greek move to the Hellespont, and probable destruction of the Persians. More recent critics have associated in 'the popular'—or was it the rationalized—view of the Plutarchian age the true key to the mystery: cp. *Aeschylus* 411 § 2.

8. τὴν Ἀττικὴν. Hist. of various opinions that Themistokles is in Andros (c. 104 supra), and Xerxes still in Athens; the absurdity of this assumption is noted c. 108 supra. Plutarch's story is easily more plausible in laying the basis of the debate between Themistokles and Aristides not in Salamis.

12. Διῶκειν τάδε. The terms of the movement are obviously exaggerated to exhibit the vanity of Themistokles, who mistakes his own name and titles, and claims the prize not merely of wisdom but of

valour among the Hellenes: the phrase τῶν συμμάχων could not have been used to the king in this connection; there is no reference to the previous message which now certainly called for explanation. But if any such message had been sent, it must have run very much in the terms of Θεμιστοκλῆς . . . κομίζω.

13. ὑπουργέειν cp. 7.38, etc. ἔσχε, 'held,' 'stayed' on, but why not present tense? Is it that Sikiwon is in Athens, Themistokles is in Athens or hypothesis, and time has elapsed since the chapter was estimated to the speaker? Or is the past tense of the essence of the message, Themistokles wishing to suggest a doubt how long the action can be maintained? Or is the aorist used, 'without prejudice, but from the speaker's point of view, as simply denoting a practical matter of fact? But this use would not seem proper in a plain narrative than in an authentic message. Perhaps the message here simply premises one of the charges against Themistokles afterwards formulated in the γραφή προδοσιᾶς.

14. διώκειν . . . λείπειν, two different operations, which Themistokles could not assume to involve the annihilation for the fleet, cp. c. 108 supra, and c. 111 infra.

15. οἱ μὲν . . . ἐπέστη. Had Sikiwon been the messenger he would surely have been retained a prisoner; had Arimakes, he would have regained his position at court. In neither case would the messenger have returned; cp. c. 76 supra. On the former occasion Sikiwon had

ἐσπέμπων ἐς τὰς ἄλλας νήσους ἀπειλητήριους λόγους αἰτᾶς
 χρήματα διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀγγέλων, [χρεώμενος τοῖσι καὶ πρὸς
 βασιλεία ἐχρήσατο.] λέγων ὡς, εἰ μὴ δώσουσι τὸ αἰτεόμενον.
 5 ἐπάξει τὴν στρατὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ πολιορκέων ἐξαιρήσει.
 λέγων ταῦτα συνέλεγε χρήματα μεγάλα παρὰ Καρυστίων τε
 καὶ Παρίων, οἱ πυνθανόμενοι τὴν τε Ἄνδρον ὡς πολιορκέοιτο
 διότι ἐμῆδισε, καὶ Θερμοστοκλία ὡς εἴη ἐν αὐτῇ μεγίστη τῶν
 στρατηγῶν, δέισαντες ταῦτα ἔπεμπον χρήματα. εἰ δὲ δὴ

112. 2 αἰτε R 3 αἰτῶν = | χρεώμενος tantum del. Cobet,
 van H., totum glossam excisi χρεώμενος P, λόγουσι τοῖσι 8F:
 4 βασιλεία 8C: ἀνδρῶν ceteri = Holder, van H. 5 ἐπάξεν C
 ἀπείξει B = σφειας ἐξαιρήσει? van H. 6 λέγων ὦν Schnefer, van H.:
 λέγων δὲ Reiske τε υπὲρ B 8 Θερμοστοκλία = τ.μ. B

after the Persian war they arose and accumulated. Themistokles was probably a wealthy man, at the time of his exile (Justin ap. Asian. *Var. Hist.* 10. 17, but there is no evidence to show how much, if any, of his fortune was obtained by illegitimate means, and it is quite certain that most of the resources to maintain the charge of exile are apocryphal. Thucydides 1. 138. 8 neither condemns nor admires him, cp. 2. 65. 8 for the contrasted case of Pericles.

2 ἀπειλητήριους λόγους the epithet, as *Harpocrationem* is as usually derived from ἀπειλή (cp. 6. 32 τὰς ἀπειλὰς τὰς ἐμπειλῆσθαι) and has no bearing to say to ἀδράς ἐκ ἀναγκῆς ἀπειληθέντας c. 109 supra.

5. χρεώμενος. ἐχρήσατο; a manifest gloss. The reading varies (cp. App. Crit.). The phrase is an explanation of τῶν αἰτῶν ἀγγέλων. The motive for using the same messengers as used to the king would doubtless be that they could be trusted to hold their tongues (cp. c. 110 supra), but that should have been mentioned in connexion with the message to the Andrians; and here, without the elaborate gloss, the messengers to the Andrians would be obviously intended. χρεώμενος marks the gloss. It would have been easier to write διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀγγέλων τοῖσι καὶ πρὸς βασιλεία ἐχρήσατο. A suggestion of this may have led the inferior scribe to insert λόγουσι and to alter βασιλεία into Ἄνδρον. The gloss merely becomes doubly attested and superfluous, becoming ἀπειλητήριους λόγους ἀπὸ λέγων ὡς αἰτᾶ.

5. ἐπάξει τὴν στρατὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Themistokles is represented as able to

control the movements and action of the confederate fleet, at his will and pleasure, this exaggeration betrays the libel.

6. παρὰ Καρυστίων τε καὶ Παρίων: the specification of the two places, both of which had medized at least after Thermopylai (cp. c. 66 supra), among the general sack of Ionia, might tempt one to suspect that Karystos and Paros had at some time or other special relations with Themistokles. Both places were of considerable importance in connexion with the Persian war and the independence of Athens. The subsequent reduction of Karystos was of sufficient interest to obtain an express notice from Thucydides (1. 98. 3; cp. 9. 106 infra); while Paros had already been visited some ten years previously by an Athenian squadron for 'medizing' (p. 6. 152-158 supra). But, in fact, when Andros, Tenos, c. 82 supra, Keos, Naxos, Kythira, Seriphia, Syhnia (cp. c. 46 supra), have been accounted for, there is not much left in the neighbourhood of the 'Kyklades' for Themistokles to exploit, except Paros and Karystos. (The other Euboean cities, Styra, Eretria, Chalkis, were on the right side, c. 48 supra.)

8 διότι ἐμῆδισε the conjunction is perhaps favoured by the oblique or dependent construction. The reason for the visitation was their medizing, not the aversion of Themistokles.

ἐπεί λέγει: αἰτεῖ cp. 9. 16 infra, = παρακαλεῖ αἰτεῖν. It uses also the form αἰτεῖ 7. 107 supra.

9 ταῦτα is rather vague, but must mean the probability of their being subjected to a further visitation.

ταῖς καὶ ἄλλοι ἐδοσαν νησιωτέων, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν. δοκίω δὲ 10
 τὰς καὶ ἄλλους δοῦναι καὶ οἱ τούτους μούρους. καίτοι
 Καρυστίοισι γε οὐδὲν τούτου εἵνεκα τοῦ κακοῦ ὑπερβολὴ
 ἐγένετο. Πάριοι δὲ Θεμιστοκλέα χρήμασι λασάμενοι διεφυγον
 τὸ στρατεύμα. Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν νυν ἐξ Ἄνδρου ὀρμώ-
 μενος χρήματα παρὰ νησιωτέων ἐκτάτο λάθρῃ τῶν ἄλλων 15
 στρατηγῶν.

Οἱ δ' ἄμφι Ξέρην ἐπισχόντες ὀλίγας ἡμέρας μετὰ τὴν 113
 ναυμαχίην ἐξήλαυρον ἐς Βοιωτοὺς τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδόν. ἐδοξε

10 ἄλλων νησιωτέων ἐδοσαν B || εἶπαι B, van H. 11 μούροις C
 12 γε οὐκ B „ οὐδὲν: οὐδὲν Arg οὐδὲν B | van H.) εἵνεκα B 13 Καρυ-
 στοκλέα :: || ἐφυγον ABC 14 ὀρμώμενος C: ὀρμώμενος BP, Stein,
 van H. 15 ἐκτάτο Meusel, Stein, Holder, van H.: ἐκτάτο AC
 ἐκτάτο BP: ἤκτατο s: ἐκτάτο Dindorf 113. 1 ξέρησα BP: || ἡμέρας
 ὀλίγας α

10. οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, δοκίω δὲ. Hdt. authoritatively associates himself here with the *ἄνδρα μούρους*. He has not a scrap of evidence to adduce, but in νησιωτέων ὑπὸ τῆς πλάτης conjecture. As above shown, there were not many places handy, besides Paros and Karystos, from which to express anything. Doubtless well hardly be available; Mykonos, Syros, Cyaros and the rest hardly worth noting.

11. καίτοι Καρυστίοισι γε . . ἐγένετο: *καίτοι* means but is not quite clear whether Hdt. means that there was no postponement at the usual day for Karystos, or that there was a postponement, though not justified by their bribe to Themistokles. As for *καίτοι* our means (arg. the *καίτοι* is *καίτοι* of Andron), in other words is τούτων εἵνεκα prelativo, or is too prelativo simply οὐδὲν τοῦ κακοῦ ὑπερβολὴ ἐγένετο? The form of the negative prelativo favours the latter interpretation, and Hdt. records below (121. 1) that Karystos was 'victor' before the Greeks returned to Samos. The final motivation of the Karystians evidently was easy task was not accomplished after the ostracism, or perhaps the assassination, of Themistokles. (p. 106 infra.) That observation, as far as it goes, will not do enough there being accounts of his, and might have been cited in support of the *καίτοι*, which is related by the fact if it be a fact that Karystos was devastated by this very occasion. The sense of *καίτοι* here is unusual, as if from

ὑπερβλέσθαι. 7. 209, 9. 51, cf. Polyb. 11. 9. 9.

13. *λασάμενος*, generally used of prostituting gods (J. 59, 67, 4. 7) or *ἄνθρωποι* (5. 47) in doubtful cases here with a special intention. Hdt. does not draw from the *λασάμενος* the inference that Themistokles had not been bribed by the Karystians, though from the escape of Paros intelligible enough without it—he informs that the Karystians had bribed the Athenian strategos.

14. *Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν νυν*, the conjecture of four lines back becomes a precise matter of fact, by repeating a frequent failure in historical language—and criticism.

113. 1. οἱ δ' ἄμφι Ξέρην. The scene shifts back to the Persian camp (115. 20). It may be true that Artemis was not evacuated for some days after the naval engagement and the retreat of the Persian fleet, but if so, the Greek fleet must have remained at Samos. (Is it even quite certain that the Persian fleet sped across the Aegean, the day after the battle?) Hdt. has now several series of synchronous movements to co-ordinate (Persian fleet, Persian army, Greek fleet, perhaps Greek army). And wonder if he failed to do so not too convincingly.

2. τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδόν as that by which they had come. Hdt. assumes that the whole Persian force came and went by one and the same road—unfortunately, as has not specially which of the two or three possible alternatives (Eleutheræ

γὰρ Μαρδονίῳ ἅμα μὲν προκίρψαι βασιλέα, ἅμα δὲ ἀνορίη
εἶναι τοῦ ἔτους πολέμευον· χειμερίσαι τε ἄμεινον εἶναι ἐν
5 Θεσσαλίῃ, καὶ ἵππετα ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι πειράσθαι τῆς Πελο-
πονήσου. ὥς δὲ ἀπικατο ἐς τὴν Θεσσαλίην, ἐνθαῦτα Μαρδόνιος

3 γὰρ καὶ C || βασιλῆα : || ἀνορίη HP., Holder. ἀορίη Cobet, van H.
4 re: ἔα : || 5 Θεσσαλίῃ : || ἵππετεν van H. 6 ἀπικατο D:
ἀπικατο P

Εἰς αὐτὰ Παράκτον-Phyle. Ταῦτα-
Dekalea). Unless the land force was
very small, no doubt more than one
route was followed, but Xerxes and his
suite may, of course, have come and
gone by the same route, proving the
best, v. a. Eucaris = *cp. c. 65 supra*.

ἔδοξε . . . ἅμα μὲν . . . ἅμα δὲ . . .
the verb is used in two senses. 'appeared
good' and simply 'appeared, or 'thought
right and 'thought.' Mardonius might
have remained in occupation of Attica,
but the *αὐτοὶ* was able for campaign-
ing, supplies probably were difficult to
procure so far south, and he wished to
see the king well out of Greece. How
far Hdt. had any definite information
about the tactics of Mardonius it is not
easy to say; the intention *πειράσθαι* *cp.*
II. 10. 400 supra was never
realized, and the retreat into winter
quarters in Thessaly was hardly the best
judgment of it. Attica seems to have
been really evacuated; but it is scarcely
likely that Boeotia, Thessaly, and
Central Greece were wholly denuded of
Persian troops. At the same time, the
naval superiority of the Greeks after
Salamis might had they known how
to use it have made the occupation
of Central Greece impracticable. *Cp.*
Appendix VII. § 4.

3. ἀνορίη appears to be a *ἀναξ* *ἀνο-*
μνον.

4. χειμερίσαι: Hdt. employs *χειμερί-*
σαν *αἰ=χειμῶν* (to winter) 6. 81, 7.
37, c. 128 *infra*. 110. He has
χειμῶν in its primary sense 7. 191
supra. *Cp.* also *χειμαίνεσθαι* (to be
wintered) 118 *infra*.

5. ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι just after the *ἅμα μὲν*
and *ἅμα δὲ* *αἰσθάνομαι* is not fully
(‘unconscious iteration’).

6. ἀπικατο is a full temporal pl.p.

Μαρδόνιος ἐβόλετο. The process
of selection would take some time: did

the king remain in Thessaly, while
Mardonius performed it, and not rather
go on immediately, under the escort of
Artabazus (*cp. cc. 115, 126 supra*)?
Hdt. a account of the selection, and of
the component elements in the grand
army of Mardonius when selected, is far
from clear. It is neither quite ac-
curate, nor quite consistent with the
corresponding data previously given in
Bk. 7, which are apparently here referred
to, and it is scarcely verified in the
battle-roll of Plataea, 9. 31, 32 *infra*.
Hdt. gives the sum total as 300,000,
infantry and cavalry combined. He
does not clearly indicate the proportion
of the two arms, but the *corps d'armes*
under Artabazus is apparently to be
included, *c. 128 infra*. Nor does Hdt.
treat the thirty myriads as a *corps d'armes*
by the commander, to be filled up by
the natives on occasion, but as a *corps*,
more or less accidental, of the selection
of the picked troops just as at Plataea
the sum total of infantry, 1,700,000, is
only discovered as a result of the *deeds*
αἰσθάνομαι, when its numerical aspect is
tested and proved¹). Mardonius pursues
two methods in his selection: certain
nations, to wit, Persians, Medes, Scythae,
Bactrians, Indians, *etc.* (see *infra*), as
they stand, but of the remaining (*ἄλλαι*)
nations he only takes such *myriades*
as are of obvious value or of made
reputation. Probably the ten nations
named supplied the bulk of the army of
Mardonius. The *αἰσθάνομαι* of the *ἄλλαι*,
however, is remarkable: were they *classees*
in the *corps d'armes* of Artabazus?

But we may safely assert that if the
total forces left with Mardonius com-
posed, even nominally, thirty myriads,
then there was no selection, he retained
the army of Xerxes in full: if there was
a real selection, then his forces amounted
to nothing like thirty myriads; *cp.*
farther Appendix II. § 5.

ἐξελέγετο πρώτους μὲν τοὺς Πέρσας πάντας τοὺς ἀθανάτους καλεομένους, πλὴν Ἐδάρμους τοῦ στρατηγοῦ (οὗτος γὰρ οὐκ ἔφη καίψεσθαι βασιλέως), μετὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων τοῖς θωρηκοφοροῦς καὶ τὴν ἵππου τὴν χιλὴν, καὶ Μήδους τε καὶ Σάκας καὶ Βακτρίους τε καὶ Ἰνδοὺς, καὶ τὸν πεζὸν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἵππον. ταῦτα μὲν ἔθνηα ὅλα εἶλετο, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ἐξελέγετο κατ' ὀλίγους, τοῖσι εἰδεῖν τε ὑπῆρχε διαλέγεσθαι καὶ εἰ τοιοῖσι τι χρηστὸν συνήδεε πεπονημένον· ἐν δὲ

7 τοὺς Πέρσας πάντας τοὺς α' τοὺς μυρίους Πέρσας τοὺς β', Hoider: Πέρσας πάντας τοὺς CP: Πέρσας τοὺς μυρίους τοὺς γ' τοὺς μυρίους Πέρσας πάντας τοὺς van H. 9 λέψασθαι β' || βασιλέως β': βασιλῆος ε' 11 τε om. BP: 12 ἄλλην om. β', Hoider, van H. || εἶλετο β' || ἄλλων om. OC. 14 εἰ τοιοῖσι τε (2: εἰ τε αἰ β' || συνήδεε R: συνείδεε OCSV || 2. B3¹. ἐν A3¹. ἐν τελεῖται

7 τοὺς Πέρσας πάντας τοὺς ἀθανάτους καλεομένους, though not identical with the army described in 7. 23, and appearing only in 7. 41 and having been twice seen in 7. 211 and 7. 212. (Whether they were actually speaking 'Persians' is doubtful in view of the fringe from the *Immortals* now in the Louvre, which suggests that even the negro population of Asia was admitted to the ranks of the *Immortals*. But the heads are 'real'.)

8. Ὑδάρμους τοῦ στρατηγοῦ. cp. 7. 54. His devotion to the king's person on this occasion was, perhaps, in part limited by an unwillingness to serve under Mardianus; but for the common *desert* or *mutiny* of the *Immortals* to desert and leave his men behind him is a strange proceeding. Would the guards not have seen the king further than (7. 54)? Were the *Immortals* not among the king's escort, even if they were not to take part in the campaign of 480?

9 τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων τοῖς θωρηκοφόροις. This designation is not quite exact as all the Persian infantry appear to have been *θωρηκοφόροι*. cp. 7. 61, and there is nothing in 7. 40 and 64 f. to explain the use of the term here, apparently for a special body of men.

10 τὴν ἵππου τὴν χιλὴν, which is a list of cavalry in this. The *Immortals* γὰρ τε Πέρσας πάντας ἀπολελυμένοι κινεῖται the procession out of Sardis 7. 40, or the *τε οὐκ ἔχον χιλὴν ἐκ Περσέων ἀπολελυμένων* who followed the *Immortals* on that occasion!

11 καὶ τὸν πεζὸν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην

ἵππον. 'as well infantry, as all the rest of the cavalry. The phrase applies to all the ethnic contingents just previously named, a lot of whom were in the cavalry but 7. 54. 26 ἄλλην, if not deleted, may be taken to mean that Mardianus not only retained the cavalry of those nations in addition to the ethnic specified, but all the cavalry. Or is ἄλλην purely idiomatic, like ἄλλων just below? Or is it dittographous from ἄλλων? But cp. App. Crit.

12 ταῦτα. assimilated by ἔθνηα, *ταῦτα* or *τοιοῖσι* in pl. be expected.

13 κατ' ὀλίγους. as in Thuc. 3. 111. 1 *καταπρὸν κατ' ὀλίγους*, & 11. 3 *κατ' ὀλίγους καὶ δελομένους* 'Worming'. The proposition is indicative in form: 'by small lots,' in small bodies.

τοιοῖσι εἰδεῖν τε ὑπῆρχε διαλέγεσθαι: the copula is not in its strictly correct place. The plural substantive is observable, but suggests that there was a plurality, a variety, of good forms, *biom* cp. *μυρία* 3. 112 — where certainly the 'good' need not all be of the same size. *διαλέγων*, as in α. 157 *supra*.

14. ἐν β' πλείστον ἔθνος Πέρσας αἰρεῖται seems to mean that the Persians were the largest unit, the most numerous national contingent among those he was selecting, though H. immediately adds that the Medes were equally numerous. There is a parallelism between this sentence and *ταῦτα μὲν ἔθνηα ὅλα εἶλετο* (in spite of the influence of *tenes*), and *πλείστον* seems to be attributed to *εἶλετο* for *εἰλετόεν*. ἐν β' would of course be an editorial use of

15 πλείστον ἔθνος Πέρσας αἰρέετο, ἄνδρας στρεπτοφόρους τε καὶ ψελιοφόρους, ἐπὶ δὲ Μηδων· οὗτοι δὲ τὸ πλήθος μὲν οὐκ ἐλάσσονες ἦσαν τῶν Περσέων, ῥώμῃ δὲ ἥσσονες. ὥστε σίμπαντας τριήκοντα μυριάδας γενέσθαι σὺν ἱππεύσι.

114 Ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ χρονῇ, ἐν τῇ Μαρδόνιός τε τὴν στρατιὴν διέκρινε καὶ Ξέρξης ἦν περὶ Θεσσαλίην, χρηστήριον ἐληλίθεε ἐκ Δελφῶν Λακεδαιμόνιοις, Ξέρξην αἰτέειν δίκας τοῦ Λεωνίδου φόνου καὶ τὸ διδόμενον ἐξ ἐκείνου δέκεσθαι, πέμπουσι δὲ κήρυκα τὴν ταχίστην Σπαρτιήται, διὰ ἐπειδὴ κατέλαβε εἰδύσαν ἐτι πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιὴν ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ. ἔλθων ἐς ὄψιν τὴν Ξέρξῃ εἶλεγε ταῦδε. "ὦ βασιλεῦ Μηδων, Λακεδαιμόνιοι τέ

10 τὸ om. BPz, Holder, van H.
ξέρξης Bz

17 ἴσας = ἑσόντες : 114. 3

the preposition, like ἐπὶ 34 just below; Stein supports ἐν by Thucyd. 3. 39. 1 μάστιγα δὲ μίας τῶν ἡδαικῶναι ὁμῶς : 8. 113. 6 πάντες γὰρ ταῦτο μὴ πᾶσι . . μεγίστων δὲ . . σθένος : 8. 40, 2 οἱ γὰρ οὐκ οἶσιν . . μὴ γὰρ πολεῖ . . πλείστοι γενόμενοι.

15. ἄνδρας στρεπτοφόρους τε καὶ ψελιοφόρους curious gear for men! Cp. 9. 80 The immortals, war equipment, χρυσὸν τε πολλὸν καὶ ἀφύσσον ἔχοντες ἐνέποιον (7. 43)

17. ῥώμῃ cp. 7. 103.

114. 4. Ξέρξης ἦν περὶ Θεσσαλίην. Hdt. seems to keep Xerxes waiting all the while Marston was making his resolution an improbability in itself, and hardly consistent with the emphasis laid upon the rapidity of the king's flight, ca. 115. 125 inf. a.

χρηστήριον ἐληλίθει in Δ. A. . another item in Delphian apologetics; obviously the anecdote and oracle are this time at least post eventum. If so it is necessary to inquire at what ideal point of time in 480 B.C. we should date the response, or whether the Lak-daimonias had committed the oracle concerning the death of their king! χρηστήριον is here the actual response, or utterance. The phrasing appears to be rhetorical, but not necessarily incorrect, cp. o. 56 σπέρμα. δίκας αἰτέειν τὰ νῦν is of course the regular construction cp. 1. 2 etc.

6 τὸ διδόμενον ἐξ ἐκείνου δέκεσθαι. Ho Fanw misunderstood: ἀκριβεῶς οἶσιν. Wesseling approved. Bacher corrected: id quod a Xerxe oblatum esset, acc. pers. No doubt δέκεσθαι can be used of accept-

ing an omion (cp. 9. 91), but also of accepting anything offered. Stein follows Bacher (apparently), and for το δίδμενον cp. 8. 114. 8, 129. 9. 111 below, δίδμενος τὸ φθόνον has a slight y more oracular flavour, and though not used of accept or an oracle is used of accepting something more than human.

6. Σπαρτιήται. is hardly used by Hdt. in deliberate contrast to Λακεδαιμόνιοι just above, and Λακεδαιμόνιοι just below, but merely as a literary variation.

κατέλαβε, overtook, overtook. cp. κατελάμβανον 6. 20.

8. πᾶσαν: not merely the select 300 000. Nor is there any hint of any genuine south of Italy.

7. Μηδων: and Sparta or Delphi not yet perceived the distinction between Media and Persia! The use of the term generally is a kind of recognition, from the Greek sense, of the continuity of the empire of Artaxerxes, Cyrus, Darius.

Λακεδαιμόνιοι τε . . καὶ Ἡρακλίδαι οἱ ἀπὸ Σπέρτης. The demand is a joint one, on behalf of the state, and of the royal family — which has now a blood feud of its own with the Achaeans. The Herakleids of Sparta — there were other Herakleids elsewhere — had a larger pedigree than Xerxes himself, cp. 7. 11, 204, and c. 131 infra. It can hardly be said that the peninsula was wiped out by the death of Leonidas, but it does not live as real history afterwards. (Alexander, though an Herakleid, took a very different line, cp. Arrian Anab. 3. 22. 1, 30. 1 3 4 7. 3 ff.)

σε καὶ Ἰρακλεΐδαι οἱ ἀπὸ Σπάρτης αἰτέουσι φόνου δίκας,
 ὅτι σφίων τὸν βασιλῆα ἀπέκτεινας ρυόμενον τὴν Ἑλλάδα."
 δ δὲ γελῶσας τε καὶ κατασχὼν πολλὸν χρόνον, ὥς οἱ ἐτύγχανε
 παρυστέως Μαρδόνιος, δεικνὺς ἐς τοῦτον εἶπε "τοιγὰρ σφί,
 Μαρδόνιος ὅδε δίκας ἑώσει τοιαύτας ὅας ἐκείνοισι πρέπει."
 δ μὲν δὴ δεξάμενος τὸ ῥηθεὶ ἀπαλλάσσεται, Ξέρξης δὲ 115
 Μαρδόνιον ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ καταλιπὼν αὐτὸς ἐπορεύετο κατὰ
 τάχος ἐς τὸν Ἑλλησποντον καὶ ἀπικνέεται ἐς τὸν πόρον
 [τῆς διαβάσεως] ἐν πέντε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρησι, ἀπάγων

8 αἰτέουσι B 9 βασιλῆα π 10 οἱ om. SV ἐτιχε B
 11 τοιγὰρ τοι Μαρδόνιος S (Gaisf.) 115. 4 τῆς διαβάσεως del.
 van H., Holder, Stein? || ἐν om. B || τεσσαράκοντα B

10. δ δὲ γελῶσας τε καὶ κατασχὼν
 πολλὸν χρόνον one does not see much
 to laugh at: the laugh was soon to be on
 the other side: but perhaps the king
 & study had his humorous answer ready,
 though he must wait some considerable
 time to deliver it, until Mardonius is in
 evil case.

κατασχὼν: like another despot,
 under some pretence, with B 129
 αὐτὸς ἐκείνους, ὃς βουλομένοι ἐκράτουν.

11. τοιγὰρ σφί Μαρδόνιος . . . πρέπει:
 the remark is not a reply to the 'herald'
 but a witticism addressed to the suite
 (τὰς δούλους ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν δόρυ
 of the Spartan's), unless, indeed, the king
 spoke Greek, or elaborated his jest
 through the medium of an interpreter.
 The sense of the anecdote is conspicuous,
 and the king's promise or prophecy, is
 fulfilled, to his shame and astonishment
 (cf. ὅτι ἀσπασθῆναι δὲ Μαρδόνιος πρὸς
 Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἀδελφῷ ἐς Σπάρτην λόγιον
 that if Xerxes himself had fought and
 fallen at Plataea, how much more
 tragic, more pathetic, had been the
 story! He would at least have escaped
 the comic Nemesis Mardonius in
 death is the more ghastly figure,
 even the great Kyros had fallen by a
 woman, cf. 1. 214. But that is another
 story.

12. πρέπει ἐν δίδου or δοῦναι το
 I. & S., κερσοῦν, attempt, Sittler
 has shown that ἐν 'they began to
 get the δίδου, which gives a more
 formal and forcible sense, and is
 possible, just grammatically possible ad
 Αἰσώπῳ.

115. 2 ἐπορεύετο κατὰ τάχος δὲ τὸν
 Ἑλλησποντον combining the time of
 year, once it was decided that the king

should not remain in Europe, gradually
 as time was lost on the march to Asia.
 Yet Hist. has not merely delayed the
 king 'a few days' in Attica after the
 battle (cf. c. 113 *infra*), but has kept
 him waiting in Thessaly, while Mardonius
 picks out all the best fighting men,
 leaving only the refuse *ex hypothesi* to
 escort the king to the Hellespont! But
 cf. c. 125 *infra*.

3. τὸν πόρον (τῆς διαβάσεως): the
 ποταμοὶ here appears to be the passage from
 there to there across the strait, by
 means of the bridge, cf. 7. 36 *infra*.

4. ἐν πέντε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρησι:
 is this period intended to cover the
 march from Thessaly to the Hellespont
 only, or the whole course from Athens?
 If the latter, are 'the few days' which
 elapsed between the battle and the
 move from Athens (c. 113 *infra*)
 included or not? As forty-five days
 would be a lengthy time to spend over
 the march from Thessaly, the latter
 alternative, in one form or other, is to
 be preferred. In this case the exact
 figure would be more convincing if it
 did not happen to be exactly half the
 time consumed in the advance from the
 Hellespont to Athens, c. 61 *infra* 3
 months 20 days. In 394 B.C. Agesilaos
 marched from the Hellespont to Boeotia
 in a month, or see Babel, *cf. Ctes.*
 II 195; cf. Xenoph. *Agex* 2. 1. But
 then he had only a relatively small
 force with him: Xenophon does not
 give the exact figures. Before the
 battle of Koroneia reinforcements had
 reached the king, and he was not
 inferior in numbers to the 40,000 army
 opposed to him, which a little while
 before, at the battle of Koroneia had

5 τῆς στρατιῆς οὐδὲν μέρος ὥς εἶπεν. ὅκον δὲ πορευόμενοι
 γινώσκειτο καὶ κατ' οὐστίνας ἀνθρώπους, τὸν τούτων καρπὸν
 ἀρπαζόντες ἐσιτέοντο· εἰ δὲ καρπὸν μηδένα εὔροιεν, οἱ δὲ
 τὴν ποίην τὴν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀναφυομένην καὶ τῶν δεινδρίων τὸν
 φλοῖον περιλέποντες καὶ τὰ φύλλα καταδρέποντες κατήσθιον.
 10 ὁμοίως τῶν τε ἡμέρων καὶ τῶν ἄγρίων, καὶ ἔλειπον οὐδέν·
 ταῦτα δ' ἐποίηον ὑπὸ λιμοῦ. ἐπιλαβὼν δὲ λοιμός τε τὸν
 στρατὸν καὶ δυσεντερίη κατ' ὁδὸν ἐφθειρε. τοῖς δὲ καὶ
 νοσέουσιν αὐτῶν κατέλειπε, ἐπιτάσσαν τῆσι πόλισι, ἵνα
 ἐκίστοτε γίνεοιτο ἐλαύνων, μελεδαίνειν τε καὶ τρέφειν, ἐν

δ εἶπει 2, van H. 6 τούτων 2 || καρπὸν | καρ R 7 ἀνερ-
 γνίζοντες B || ἐσιτέοντο C 8 δεινδρίων B || τὸν <τε> conl. Stein, etc.
 van H. 9 περιβλέποντες C || τὰ: κατὰ R || καταδρέποντες B 10
 ἔλειπον BF: ἔλειπον 11 ταῦτα . . λιμοῦ Jrl. Naber, van H ||
 ἐποίηον 2 || ἐπιλαβὼν Cobet, van H || λιμοῦ τότε 2 12 διεφθίμω B
 13 αὐτῶν B || κατέλειπε 2 14 ἐκίστοτε CR || γίνεσθαι 2 || τε om. ac

numbers! 24,000 hoplites with 1660
 ἀνὰ γ', and numerous light armed
 troops; cf. Xenoph. *Hell.* 4. 1, 2. 16 E,
 2. 15 ff.

ἀπάγων τῆς στρατιῆς οὐδὲν μέρος
 ὥς εἶπεν. He had left the *ἀρπάζοντες*
 300,000 of the host with Mardonius, he
 was escorted by Artabazus with 40,000
 of the small 300,000 sp. v. 125 *ἄρματα*.
 The phrase here is apparently intended
 to introduce the result of the losses en-
 route between Therae and Sargis; but
 these losses are likewise to be heavily
 discounted in the light of that authentic
 escort. The millions which had accom-
 panied Xerxes into Greece had to be
 disposed of somehow: he sheds most of
 them on the way home! Have the
 flight and sufferings of the survivors of
 Plataea been anticipated and transferred
 to the escort of Xerxes, a year before?
 But even in the later disaster, Artabazus
 carries a substantial remnant home to
 Asia (9. 89). The recollection of the
 numbers of the host of Xerxes tends to
 adjust the proportion of losses. Had as
 this passage in Her. may be, as regards
 horrors and exaggerations, he is by no
 means the worst offender: his predecessor
 Aeschylus (*Persae* 634-636 and Trachin
 Founteis long afterwards (*Jason* 2. 13
 pile up the agony more unmercifully
 still. Cf. Appendix VII. § 2.

δ. καρπὸν, ἐλαυνόμενοι, could
 not be the growing harvest, for the

harvest was over; but Hll. meets that
 objection in the next sentence. Nor
 need καρπὸν be restricted to cereals.
 There would of course be no hardship
 in this, except for the despised owners!

7. of δὲ the real hardship are
 introduced by δὲ in apposition, with the
 subject τρέφειν; cf. 7. 51 *supra*.

8. ποίην, Att. ποῶν (cf. ποῶν ποῶν)

9. φλοῖον; cf. 4. 87. The people of
 Ictelia ate it, during the siege in the
 Hannibalic war, Polyb. 7. 4. 3 *πο-
 λύν* is a rare word, *Isid.* 1. 236, the
 only other ref. in L. & S. Bech.,
 however, cites Theophrastus *Hist. pl.*
 4. 10, and Suidas (quoting this passage
 sub α. ἀρέων).

11. ἐπὶ 1 sp. with genitive *prope* or
propter; cf. ὑπὸ δόμον καὶ κακοὶ 1. 25,
 etc.

12. δυσεντερίη; cf. Plato, *Tim.* 86 d
*διαρροὴ καὶ δυσεντερία καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα
 νοσήματα πάντα παρέσχετο.* *Isid.* on
medicines, 4. 22 (15), quoted verbatim by
 Boethius as a full medical description of
 the symptoms and sufferings.

τοὺς δὲ καὶ νοσέοντας καὶ. Xerxes
 was at least more careful of the sick than
 his father had been beyond the Danube,
 according to the story 4. 135.

13. ἵνα, locative; γίνεοιτο, 'optative of
 indefinite frequency.' *Meding* § 183.

14. μελεδαίνειν an Ionic word, cf. 7.
 31.

Θισσαλίη τε τινας καὶ ἐν Σίρῃ τῆς Παιονίης καὶ ἐν Μακεδονίῃ. 15
 εἴθα καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἄρμα καταλιπὼν τοῦ Διός, ὅτε ἐπὶ τὴν
 Ἑλλάδα ἤλανε, ἀπὼν οὐκ ὑπέλαβε, ἀλλὰ δόντες οἱ Παιονες
 τοῖσι Θρήξι ἀπαιτέοντος Ξέρξῃ εἶψαν νεμομένης ἀρπασθῆναι
 ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν Θρηίκων τοῦ περὶ τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Στρυμόνος
 οἰκημένων. εἴθα καὶ ὁ τῶν Βισαλτέων βασιλεὺς γῆς τε τῆς 116
 Κρηστωικῆς [Θρήξ] ἔργον ὑπερφυῖς ἐργάσατο· ὅς οὔτε
 αὐτὸς ἔφη τῷ Ξέρξῃ ἐκὼν εἶναι δουλεύσειν, ἀλλ' οἶχετο ἄνω
 ἐς τὸ ὄρος τὴν Ῥόδοπην, τοῖσι τε παισὶ ἀπηγόρευε μὴ στρα-

15 ἐν Σίρῃ τῆς Παιονίης . ἐν Μακεδονίῃ transponenda vidit Stein²,
 transposuit van H. | παιονίας C 18 ἀρπασθῆναι could. ε 19
 καὶ τῶν περὶ C | πηγὰς om. R 20 οἰκομένων ε 116. 2 ἀρη-
 στικῆς R | Θρήξ καὶ Stein², Holder, van H (Θρήξ α. Θρήξ BC
 Θρήξ καὶ qn) || εἰργάσατο ε 3 τῶν om. B || οἶχετο BC 4
 αἶρος ε. τὸ ο'ρος αἶρος mant. van H.

15 ἐν Σίρῃ τῆς Παιονίης: to avoid confusion with Σίρις ἢ ἐν Σίρῃ α. 63 supra. Σίρις in Thracia, the chief town of the Euro or Dioparisos (Steph. B. sub α. Σίρις, cp. δ. 15 was situated above Lake Prasias (δ. 16, apparently mentioned by Livy 45 ε Σινική οὐράνη ὁρμήσις ἐπὶ τοῖς ποταμοῖς Βασίλ. ad δ. 16 suggests that it became 'Thracian' after the removal of the Suro-paisians to Asia by Harpalus. Now Σίρις, the centre of an important plain, cf. van H. ep. Hesperis. *Neoter. East*, 89, 101. *Revue*, C's v. *Revue* F.T. 1. 112.

καὶ ἐν Μακεδονίῃ is strangely out of place. like an afterthought, a correction, a gloss. εἴθα apparently refers to Σίρις. But cp. App. cit.

16. τὸ ἱερὸν ἄρμα: 7. 40 supra. The road west of Soria was presumably too rough. The fact has not been recorded on the outward journey. The two passages are so widely independent of each other that the distasteful horse company of mares (*ισχυμέναι*), which there was composed of *ισχυα* (C's 7. 15 ε ἰσχυα εἰς ἱπποὺς καὶ ἄρμα τὸ ἱερὸν, where the horses specified are of course the ten *Νεοαῖαι*, not the eight white horses of 7. 40.)

18. τῶν περὶ τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Στρυμόνος οἰκημένων. The sources of the Strumonic (Στρυμὼν) appears to have been in the territory of the Agrians; cp. Strabo 3.1 (32) ὅτι δὲ οὗτοῦ ἀμφὶ τοῦ Βισαλτέων καὶ μετὰ τὸν ποταμὸν Ἡμαλίου ἔχοντες οὐκ οὐκ οὐκ, ὁ δὲ ποταμὸς ὁ Στρυμὼν, οἰκημένοι ἐκ τῶν περὶ Ῥόδοπην Ἀγρίων

. οἰκημένων δὲ ὁ ἄλλος ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἔχει τὴν Ῥόδοπιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Στρυμὼν ἐξ Ἀγρίων γὰρ διὰ Μαιδῶν καὶ Σιγῶν εἰς τὰ μεταξὺ Βισαλτέων καὶ Οὐδεμόντων ἔκπτεται. The Agrians appear to be regarded by 12. 10 ε 2. 68. 3 as Thracians, though subject in 429 a.c.) to the suzerainty of the (Οὐδεμόντων) monarch.

116. 1. εἴθα καὶ, repeated from c. 115 l. 16 supra, unless last passage is a later addition.

ὁ τῶν Βισαλτέων βασιλεὺς: on the position of Βισαλτεῖ Strabo l.c., and 7. 210 supra. γῆ εἰς Κρηστωικὴν is not immediately north, but higher up on the sources of the Chidrosia 7. 121. 127. The king here is anonymous; but a king named 'Μόσμος,' dated about 400-480 B.C., is known from the coinage: cp. Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 179. 6. *Monnaies*, *Chronique* of 96. *Monnaies in the Hungarian Collection*, 1. (1899), p. 299.

2. ἔργον ὑπερφυῖς ἐργάσατο. The epithet here appears to be used in a stylistic sense; in 9. 73 ἐν οὐρανῷ αἰετὶ, in a purely matter of fact was 2. 175. The word is not uncommon in the Attic writers.

3. δὲν αἶμα: the substantive with purely idiomatic, 'at least we may,' in the next sentence (Madvig § 153. 2).

4. τὸ ὄρος τὴν Ῥόδοπην: one or other a positive might be a gloss; Κρηστωῖς has not been mentioned before in these books, but occurs in 8. 40 as a mountain in Thracia. "The main skeleton of the country between the Danube and the Aegean" is well described in Attic's

5 τεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. οἱ δὲ ἀλογίσαντες, ἢ ἄλλως σφί
 θυμὸς ἐγένετο θεήσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον, ἐστρατεύοντο ἅμα τῷ
 Πέρσῃ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνεχώρησαν ἄσυνες πᾶντες ἐξ ἑόντες, ἐξώριξε
 117 αὐτῶν ὁ πατήρ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς διὰ τὴν αἰτὴν ταύτην. καὶ
 οὗτοι μὲν τοῦτον τὸν μισθὸν ἔλαβον, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ὡς ἐκ τῆς
 Θρηκίης πορευόμενοι ἀπίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν πόρον, ἐπείγοντο τὸν
 Ἑλλησποντον τῇσι νηυσὶ διέβησαν ἐς Ἀβυδὸν· τὰς γὰρ
 5 σχεδίας οὐκ εἶρον ἔτι ἐντεταμέναις ἀλλ' ὑπὸ χειμῶνος διαλελυ-
 μέναις. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ κατεχόμενοι σιτία τε πλέω ἢ κατ' ὁδὸν
 ἐλάγχχανον. <καὶ> οὐδένα τε κόσμον ἐμπιπλάμενοι καὶ ἔδατα
 μεταβάλλοντες ἀπέθρησκον τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ περιεύντος πολλοί.
 οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἅμα ἑξέρχῃ ἀπικνεύονται ἐς Σάρδεϊς.

ὁ ἀλογίσαντες 5 θεήσασθαι B || τῷ ξέρχῃ B 8 αὐτῶν B
 117. 8 Θρήκῃς B 8 οὐχ B || ἐντεταμέναις C ἀλλὰ 8 6 δὲ 2
 τε om. BPz, Holder 7 <καὶ> Stein⁸ || τε: δὲ (οὐκίνο τε post σιτία ?
 Kallenberg 8 περιεύντος B

note to Thuc. 2. 98. 4 (though Arnold's use of 'Orbalus' is hardly correct). Rhodope is that branch of the fourfold mountain system which runs down to the Aegean, dividing the valleys of the Helles Mountains and Nestos (Kata Su), and breaking away into lower ranges further west, towards the Strymon. Cp. also Hogarth, *Nearer East*, p. 24 f. ἀπηγόρευε μή. cp. c. 111 *supra*. This Bisaltian's apparent phil Hellenism is noticeable: he did not take his etc from Macedonia, nor perhaps anticipate the subsequent invasions of his territory by Athenian adventures.

ὁ ἀλογίσαντες: c. 68 *supra*.

ἢ ἄλλως . . . ἐγένετο: the grammatical construction is not exact. ἄλλως as in 4. 143, of τε δὲ αἱ ἢ χώρη ἤνυσεν, etc. i.e. ἄλλως ἤσθησεν τοσοῦτον. But there is not really a true alternative involved.

7. ἀσυνες: cp. c. 19 *supra*. The fact does not support the traditions of the nation: is of this category.

ἑξέρχῃ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς such a punishment was non Hellenic (cf. *supra*, c. 11, *supra*), but this anecdote, expressly noticed. Cp. 4. 2 *supra*. But H. 11. 100 suggests that they deserved it (τοῦτον τὸν μισθόν). The words διὰ τὴν αἰτὴν ταύτην add nothing to the force of the passage, unless it be supposed that there was another view of the matter for the king's subsequent action, e.g. a suspicion of a plot to depose him, or what not.

117. 8 τὸν πόρον: not the bridge, for the bridge was *τὸ ἡμπερὸν γέφυρον*, but perhaps the place where the bridge should have been—i.e. the passage across (not across the straits; cp. c. 115 *supra*).

4 τῇσι νηυσὶ: the ships had passed for the Hellespont from Salamis *καὶ φηλοῦσας τὰς σχεδίας περὶθρησκῆς* (c. 107 *supra*). But according to this text the bridges were no longer left (ἐντεταμέναις 7. 24, 9. 108 114), and the ships had to be used to convey X. and the remnant of his forces, across the Hellespont. Balaury challenges this tradition. A *ναῦς* takes horses back over the bridge (*Isis*, 720), and the Greeks, a year later, on H. 11. 100 *supra*, were still ignorant of the supposed construction of the bridge in the course of the summer or autumn of 480 B.C.

6 κατεχόμενοι: probably passive in force, cp. c. 111 *supra*. ἐμπιπλάμενοι, very distinctly in case.

7 οὐδένα . . . κόσμον: ἀκόσμητος: this adjective or nominal adjective is objective.

ἔδατα μεταβάλλοντες: they must have been doing so all the way from Attica, and not merely after crossing the Hellespont. Nothing is said of the fountains of the rivers on the way back. The mere change of drinking water if the water in itself was good, could hardly have the effects ascribed to it, *πρὸς ἀσθενεῖν περὶ πόρον* c. 12.

9 ἐς Σάρδεϊς: where he remained for a considerable time—cp. c. 167 *infra*.

Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ὁδε λόγος λεγόμενος, ὡς ἐπειδὴ Ξέρξης 118
ἀπειλαίων ἐξ Ἀθηναίων ἀπύκετο ἐπ' Ἠϊόνα τὴν ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι.
ἐνθεῖται οὐκέτι ὕδοιπορήσει διεχράτο, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν στρατιὴν
Ἰδάρνει ἐπιτραπεί ἀπάγειν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλησποντον, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπὶ
νεὸς Φοινίσσης ἐπιβὰς ἐκομίζετο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. πλείοντα δέ 3
μιν ἄνεμοι Στριμονίην ὑπολαβεῖν μέγαν καὶ κυματίνην, καὶ
δὴ μᾶλλον γὰρ τι χειμαίνεσθαι γεμούσης τῆς νεός, ὥστε ἐπὶ
τοῦ καταστρώματος ἐπεύντων συγχῶν Περσέων τῶν σὺν Ξέρξῃ
κομιζομένων, ἐνθαῦτα ἐς δαῖμα πεσόντα τὸν βασιλῆα εἰρέσθαι
βύταντα τὸν κυβερνήτην εἰ τίς ἐστί σφι σωτηρίη, καὶ τὸν 10
εἶπαι "δίσποτα, οὐκ ἐστί οὐδεμία, εἰ μὴ τούτων ἀπαλλαγὴ
τις γίγνηται τῶν πολλῶν ἐπιβατέων." καὶ Ξέρξην λέγεται
ἀκούσαντα ταῦτα εἰπεῖν "ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, νῦν τις διαδεξάτω
ὑμῶν βασιλεὺς κηδόμενος· ἐν ὑμῖν γὰρ οἴκε εἶναι ἐμοὶ ἢ
σωτηρίη." τὸν μὲν ταῦτα λέγειν, τοὺς δὲ προσκυνίοντας 15

118. 1 λεγόμενος λόγος : 2 ἀθηναίων ΔΡ. ἀθηναίων || ἐπ' ἐς ?
Kallienberg 3 ἐνθεῖται ο.π. B || διεχρήτο αC. διεχρέτο 4 ἰδάρνει
ABPz | ἐπιτραπεί libri δ, 7 νεός C. ἰγδός Bz (βηδ) | πλείοντα B
9 βασιλῆα : 10 κυβερνήτην B. κυβερνήτεια Bz | ἐστί R, van H. ||
σφι ο.π. P: σφίσι ? van H. 11 εἶπε C || οὐ δὲ μία AB. οὐδεμία : ||
εἰ· ἦν B, Holder, van H. || τούτων : 12 Ξέρξης Bz || λέγεται ο.π.
van H. 13 εἶπαι RSc, Holder, van H : εἶπε V 14 βασιλῆος :
ἔλεκεν B || ἐμοὶ εἶναι : || ἢ ο.π. B

118. 1 ἄλλος ὁδε λόγος λεγόμενος.
Another story is told, to the following
effect. The legend does not prove
that the variant had not been reduced
to writing (cf. Introduction, § 10). If
it had been merely an oral tradition
perhaps Hdt. would not have been at
all liable to refute it.

2 Ἠϊόνα τὴν ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι. cp. 7
25.

3. ὕδοιπορήσει of οὐδὲν ἔστι πάλι,
the point perhaps only indicative of
hesitation. Like ἀδολύσει c. 47 supra.
Cp. 3 ἐξ αὐτοῦ ποτε τοὶ ποταμοί, which
Hdt. repeats as Homeric.

6. Ἰδάρνει. cp. c. 115 supra. This
story agrees with that recorded, and is
reintroduced by the story (probably true)
of Aristomenes c. 126 infra, though Hdt.
makes this argument.

ἐπὶ νεὸς Φοινίσσης of ποταμοί : cp.
7. 125 supra.

6. ἄνεμοι Στρυμονίην. It was
thought δ' ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι μοῖονσαι
κατασχολοί, σφάτιδες, διορμαί.

That detained the fleet of Agamemnon
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at Anis. Anis., cp. 182. 3 Cp.
Aristotle, de vent. c. 973 n. ἑρμαῖος ἀπὸ
μὲν ἑρμαῖος Στρυμονίης ποταμοῦ γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ
Στρυμόνι ποταμοῦ (It does not, how-
ever, figure on the octagonal 'Tower of
the Wind' in Athens, but the connection
is equivalent to Horace, 'strymonian'
is presumably a purely geographical ex-
pression. Hdt. has undoubtedly changed
the oral oblique after having started with
it and the recte as in c. 111 supra.

7. χειμαίνεσθαι, cp. c. 115 supra.
καταλαβείναι is a poetical word, an obvious
usage not contradicted by its (metaphorical)
use in Aristotle c. Phys. 17 3. It is not
quite plain whether the construction
here is transitive (καταλαβείναι) or intransitive
(καταλαβείναι) and if transitive, whether the
we or τὸν βασιλῆα should be understood
as subject.

13 διαδεξάτω . . . κηδόμενος, 'may
prove his care of . . .': cp. 3. 12
δεικνύμενος ἐνθαῦτα εἰς πολέμους. With
this cp. c. 109 supra.

14 ἐν ὑμῖν : cp. c. 60 supra.

15 προσκυνίοντας : cp. 7. 186 supra.

That even in this extreme hour the

ἐκπηδᾶν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ τὴν νέα ἐπικουφισθεῖσαν οὔτω
 δὴ ἀποσωθῆναι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. ὥς δὲ ἐκβῆναι τάχιστα ἐς
 γῆν τὸν Ξέρξην, ποιῆσαι τοιοῦνδε· ὅτε μὲν ἔσωσε βασιλῆος
 τὴν ψυχὴν, δωρήσασθαι χρυσῇ στεφανῇ τὸν κυβερνήτην, ὅτι
 10 δὲ Περσέων πολλοὺς ἀπώλεσε, ἀποταμεῖν τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ.
 119 οὗτος δὲ ἄλλος λέγεται λόγος περὶ τοῦ Ξέρξεω νόστου,
 οὐδαμῶν ἔμοιγε πιστὸς οὔτε ἄλλως οὔτε τὸ Περσέων τοῦτο
 πάθος. εἰ γὰρ δὴ ταῦτα οὕτω εἰρέθη ἐκ τοῦ κυβερνήτεω πρὸς
 Ξέρξην, ἐν μυρήσι γνώμησι μίαν οὐκ ἔχω ἀντίξοον μὴ οὐκ
 12 ἂν ποιῆσαι βασιλέα τοιοῦνδε, τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος
 καταβιβᾶσαι ἐς κοίλῃν νέα ἐόντας Πέρσας καὶ Περσίων τοῖς
 πρώτους, τῶν δ' ἐρετέων ἐόντων Φοινίκῃν ὅπως οὐκ ἂν ἴσαν
 πλήθος τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι ἐξέβαλε ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν. ἀλλ' ὅ

16 ἐκπηδᾶν B || νῆα Ra 18 ξέρξῃ B || βασιλῆος α 19
 χρυσῇ στεφάνῃ B: χρυσῇ στεφάνῃ Holder, van H. || κυβερνήτην B
 κυβερνήτεα Ba 119. 1 ἄλλος B: ἄλλως | λέγεται ὁ λόγος CT: .
 λόγος λέγεται B 3 ἄλλως Ba: ἄλλος ('ni fuit potius ἢ ἄλλος' Ste n
 || τὸ ποτ τοῦτο B 3 οὔτω CT: . οὔτως || ἡμεῖς C: ἐμῇ B. ἐμῇ
 Pz 4 τὸν ξέρξῃ B: ξέρξῃ α || μὴν α || ἔχω ἔξω Kraeger, van H. ||
 μὴ om. B 5 βασιλέα α || ἐπὶ: ἐκ B, Holder, van H 6 νῆα B:
 || καὶ τῶν B 7 δὲ α || ἐρετρίων B || ὅπως Pngel, van H. || ἴσαν R
 B θάλασσαν; (Pngel) van H.

forms of Persian court etiquette are not omitted is a touch not so much of variety as of multiplicity.

10 ψυχῇ: 7. 39 *supra*.

20. ἀποταμεῖν τὴν κεφαλὴν: on the heading, 7. 45 *supra* and he wears the crown at his execution! The anecdote illustrates the usurper's cowardice and cruelty, and the ludicrous loyalty of the Persians; it is a part of the comic Nemesis, though a tragedy too.

119. 2 οὐδαμῶν ἔμοιγε πιστόν. Hdt. is no doubt right in underscoring the story, but the point he emphasizes against it seems a poor one. Persian grandees would have been but sorry funds at the oars compared to the Phoenician rowers; and the prospect of reaching a lot of the eastern into the sea, during a raging storm, to make way for those aristocratic amateurs, might not have been easy or expeditious. Hdt. relates a story which has character perhaps on the principle laid down 7. 162.

οὔτε ἄλλως οὔτε τὸ Περσίων τοῦτο πάθος: reading ἄλλως the construction

seems irregular, which is better, however, than the very tame ο ἄλλως; for is τὸ πάθος nominative or object, or accusative (of reference) *happening*? The latter seems preferable. *happening* is a common enough here ('in otio res acta'); cfr. c. 116 *supra*. The subject is self-inflicted in this case.

4. ἐν μυρήσι γνώμησι μίαν ἀντίξοον does Hdt. mean that he had often discussed the story, and never found a single person disagreeing with it? Or does he merely wish to emphasize his own conviction by asserting that, if ten thousand opinions were polled, they would all be found to agree with him? ἀντίξοι, cfr. 7. 218 *supra*. The argument in the conditional sentence is not οὐκ ἔχω, strictly speaking, but οὐκ ἂν ποτε οὐκ ἔχω. . . μὴ οὐκ ἂν ποτε οὐκ ἔχω is a common of the idiomatic use of the future negative οὐκ οὐ. Instead of μὴ οὐκ ἂν ποτε οὐκ ἔχω, Hdt. might have written οὐκ ἔχω οὐκ ἂν ποτε οὐκ ἔχω, or οὐκ ἔχω οὐκ ἂν ποτε οὐκ ἔχω. But Pngel's emendation (cfr. App. Crit.) is attractive.

6. ἐς κοίλῃν νέα, into the ships hold.

μὲν, ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἴρηται, ὅδ' ἁπλῶς χρώμενος ἅμα τῷ
 ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἀπευόστησε εἰς τὴν Ἀσίην. μέγα δὲ καὶ τότε 120
 μαρτύριον· φαίνεται γὰρ Ξέρξης ἐν τῇ ὀπίσω κομιδῇ ἀπικό-
 μινος εἰς Ἀβδόρα καὶ ξεινίην τέ σφι συνθήμενος καὶ δωρησά-
 μινος αὐτοὺς ἀκινάκῃ τε χρυσίῳ καὶ τιήρῃ χρυσοπάστῳ. καὶ
 ὥς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι Ἀβδερῖται, λέγοντες ἐμοίγε οὐδαμῶς πιστὰ, 5
 πρώτον <αὐτοῦ> ἐλύσατο τὴν ξύνην φεύγων ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν
 ὀπίσω, ὥς ἐν ἀδελῇ ἑών. τὰ δὲ Ἀβδῆρα ἰδρυταὶ πρὸς τοῦ
 Ἑλλησπόντου μᾶλλον ἤδη τοῦ Στρυμόνος καὶ τῆς Ἠέονος,
 ὅθεν ἐγὼ μιν φασὶ ἐπιβῆναι ἐπὶ τὴν νῆα.

Θ μοι om. BP, Stein¹ || χρώμενος P, van H. 120 totum caput
 postea c. p.iaceol. a verbi. εἰτε ἄλλως suspect. hab. Krueger, Kallenberg
 3 ξεινίην B 4 τε om. B || τιήρῃ Stein¹, etc.: τιήρῃ Stein⁵: τιήρῃ B:
 τήρῃ α': τήρῃ CP. τήρῃ 2 5 οὐδαμῶς ἔμοίγε B. μὲν οὐδαμῶς
 αὐτῶ 2 6 <αὐτοῦ> van H., Stein⁵ Ἀθηνῶν BSC: 7 πρὸς τοῦ
 Ἑλλησπόντου δι μᾶλλον τὰ Ἀβδῆρα ἰδρυταὶ ἦ 2 8 ἦδη Stein¹. ἦ
 om. B 9 νῆα Bc: post hanc voc. λέι στί 2 (ca. λείπονσι στίχοι
 ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰς h. B^o)

2. ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἴρηται: the
 reference back is but to c. 115-117 supra.
 ἅμα τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ: a memory
 clause; ἄλλος without definite reference
 to any division of the army; cp. c. 113
 supra.

120. 1 μέγα δὲ καὶ τότε μαρτύριον
 the point here made is a constituting one,
 the fact being admitted. εἰς is not
 merely the exact position of the town,
 but the fact that Xerxes reached it, on
 his return, for nothing of these by it-
 self would prove the point, but more
 power by the whole argument which
 embraces both items.

φαίνεται. ἀπικόμινος. No real
 proof is given that the visit of Xerxes to
 Abdera was ἐν τῇ ὀπίσω κομιδῇ (cp. c. 108
 supra), the fact might have been estab-
 lished, and the point permitted on the out-
 ward journey, 7 104 supra; cp. 7 120
 4 ἀκινάκῃ: Ἠερσὸν ξίφος τὸν ἀκί-
 νητον ἐκείνου, 7 54 supra.

τιήρῃ. cp. 7. 61 supra. For
 χρυσοπάστῳ cp. *Ambricq. Ag.* 776 (364)
 τὸ χρυσοπάστον δ' ἰδούτω

5 οὐ αὐτοὶ λέγουσι Ἀβδερῖται: they
 must have been the ultimate authority
 for the previous statement, which Hdt.
 records, as usual, as the subsequent
 statement which he reports: λέγοντες
 ἐμοίγε οὐδαμῶς πιστὰ. The argument
 and sentence are permissible without the
 insertion of εἰς Ἀβδῆρα or τὰς σφίτας

ἀπικόμινος or αὐτοῦ: cp. App. Crit. The
 statement would be entirely inconsistent
 with Hdt. a own previous narrative, e.g.
 c. 114 supra, as well as improbable in
 itself. It illustrates the growth of the
 legend of Xerxes' flight (φεύγων).
 The story of Artabanus also continues it;
 but Hdt. takes no heed of that.

9 Ἀδύσανα τὴν ξύνην is changed
 his rancor. Stein well cites the view of
 Holmboe 5. 108 supra, (see van H.)
 an extremely male article of dress (cp.
 L. 2 8 and 1 61). It has been regarded
 as emblematic of virility in the one sex,
 and of chastity in the other (cp. *Br R*
Temple in the Cambridge Museum, vol.
 xxvi. No. 645, p. 221).

8. μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ Στρυμόνος. Hdt.
 must certainly have meant to say that
 Abdera was nearer than Eion to the
 Hellespont, not that it was nearer to the
 Hellespont than to the Strymon. The
 point is necessary to the argument, but
 it is only obscured by an emendation.
 The substitution of the Strymon for Eion
 in the comparison is awkward and
 perhaps led to the corruption. Hekadesley
 who utilizes cc. 118, 119 on account of
 the weakness of the argument in c. 119,
 regards this sentence as a mere gloss;
 i.e. a fraud within the fraud. Cp.
 App. Crit.

9. φασί: the authors of the story in
 c. 118 supra.

- 121 Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐπεῖτε οὐκ οἶοί τε ἐγίνοντο ἐξελεῖν τὴν Ἄνδρον, τραπόμενοι ἐς Κάρυστον καὶ δηρώσαντες αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς Σαλαμίνα. πρῶτα μὲν νυν τοῖσι θεοῖσι ἐξείλον ἀκροβόλια ἄλλα τε καὶ τριήρεας τρεῖς Φοινίσσας, 5 τὴν μὲν ἐς Ἰσθμόν ἀναθεῖναι, ἥ περ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν, τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ Σούνιον, τὴν δὲ τῷ Αἰαντι αὐτοῦ ἐς Σαλαμίνα. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο διεδίσσαντο τὴν λήην καὶ τὰ ἀκροβόλια ἀπέπεμψαν ἐς Δελφοῦς, ἐκ τῶν ἐγένετο ἀνδρίας ἔχων ἐν τῇ

121. 1 ἐγίνοντο CΓε || ἐξελείν B 2 δηρώσαντες B || αὐτῶν α 5 ἀναθεῖναι. C || καὶ οἱ. C 6 δ' ἐπὶ α || 'ἀπ' αὐτοῖς (ἐς Σαλαμίνα)'; van H 7 τοῦτο del. van H || τὰ οἱ. B || ἐπέπεμψαν B

121. 1. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες: the scene shifts back to Hellas (see 121 125) and resumes the story dropped in c. 112. The Greeks are found at Andros (even as Miltiades had been forced at Paros, some nine or ten years before, 6. 132 ff.). Karystos is devastated, Rawlinson solemnly remarking that Themistokles seems to have lacked the influence, or the honesty, to keep his bargain with these unfortunates. What is really here disapproved is the bargain. αὐτῶν: sc. τῶν Κερυστιῶν.

3. ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς Σαλαμίνα. Had they ever really quitted it? Are the operations against Andros and Karystos verily late, or are they lupanates, by anticipation, of the subsequent operations of the Athenian alliance?

τοῖσι θεοῖσι. Had Polytheism a more vivid sense of the divine presences and operations than our Christianity? The nations nowadays set our venture upon particular offerings to the Deity in acknowledgment of victory. Or does our religious ignorance rather to act the higher powers and graces on the losing side?

3 ἐξείλον after ἐξελείν just above, in a totally different sense, is not happy, is an unnecessary insertion.

ἀκροβόλια, a poetical word (but found in the unig. Thuc. I. 132. 5) and properly an adjective. ἀναθεῖναι appears to be an unpoetical infinitive, nor does it involve the conclusion that these dedications were carried out, or set up, immediately.

6. ἥ περ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν. It is surely a curious remark for Hdt. to make, that of the three Phoenician triremes dedicated for erection, one at the Isthmus, one at Sunion, and one at Salamis, the first was still in existence

down to his own day. What then of the other two? Had they disappeared? Or had Hdt. seen the one at the Isthmus, but not the other two? Or had he certain information about the first, but not about the others? It is remarkable that two of these national dedications were to be upon Attic soil, and that of those two Hdt. appears to have no precise knowledge.

6 τῷ Αἰαντι. Hdt. does not specify to whom the dedications at Sunion and the Isthmus were made; presumably to Athens and to Poseidon;—by so little were the gods and heroes then distinguished. Asia is of course the Asiatic op. c. δὲ νῆμα: αὐτοῦ, 'on the spot.'

7 μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο. i.e. after the ἐκπερὶς ἀποπέμψαν. 'The ἀκροβόλια set to Delphi had presumably been included in the operation, before the division of the spoil, but each state, to whom a share of booty fell, had also to make an offering to Delphi, though the point is not quite clearly put by Hdt. We learn also from Pausanias, i.e. infra, that individual communities made offerings at Delphi from their shares of the spoil.

8. ἐκ τῶν ἐγόντων: the actual fabrication and erection of the statue, the collective dedication of the Greeks from the victory of Salamis, can hardly have been effected until the victory of Plataea had passed the royalty and the necessity of fighting on a new footing. Hdt. does not specify the subject of the statue. Pausanias 10. 14. 1. 6) is more explicit, without fully describing the type: Ἕλληνες δὲ οἱ ἐκείνη βασιλεὺς πολυήροισι ἀνέθεσαν μὲν Δία ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ χαλκῶν, ἀνέθεσαν δὲ καὶ ἐν Δελφοῖς Ἀπαλλάων ἀπὸ ἐργῶν τῶν ἐς τὰς ναυίαις ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρμενίᾳ καὶ ἐν

χαρὶ ἀκροτήριον κός, ἐὼν μέγας δώδεκα πηχέων· ἐστήκεε
 δὲ οὗτος τῇ περ ὁ Μακεδῶν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ χρύσεος. πέμ- 122
 ψαντες δὲ ἀκροβόλια οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπειρώτων τον
 θεῶν κοινῇ εἰ λελάβηκε πλήρη καὶ ἀρεστὰ τὰ ἀκροβόλια.
 ὁ δὲ παρ' Ἑλλήνων μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἐφῆσε ἔχειν, παρὰ
 Αἰγυπτίων δὲ οὐ, ἀλλὰ ἀπαίτεε αὐτοὺς τὰ ἀριστηῖα τῆς ἐν
 Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίης. Αἰγυπτῆται δὲ πυθόμενοι ἀνέθεσαν ἀστέρας
 χρυσοῦς, οἱ ἐπὶ ἰσοῦ χαλκῶς ἐστᾶσι, τρεῖς ἐπὶ τῆς γωνίης,
 ἀρχιστάτω τοῦ Κροίσου κρητήροσ.

9 χαρὶ 2 | ἀκροτήριον κοίαν ἔχων B | νέως BCP: ὑπὸν: | δώδεκα α
 ἵστηκε LSV, van H. (ἵστηκε B ap. Holder) 122. 2 ἐπιδρώτων
 B: P: ἐπιδρώτων 2 4 ὁ δὲ παλλήνων A' | ἔχει 2 | παρ' BP: ὁ
 ἀλλ' Γ 6 ἀρχιστάτω αΓ κροίσου P.: χρυσοῦ B. κροίσου (Κρο-
 σίου coni. Stein², recep. Holder)

Σαλαμῖνι. Apollo had previously little
 claim to an offering from Salamis (and
 it might have been the gods' guilty
 conscience which led him to decline the
 offering of Themistokles' Persian. 10
 P: could hardly have been wroth with
 the Athenian for the defence of the
 island, Plutarch *Themist.* 30).

9. ἐστήκεε δὲ ὁ χρύσεος. To mark
 the position of the gods by the man's
 image, if both were still in use, is an
 old procedure. [Demost.] 12. 164
 φέλον. (τὸν) mentions 'the golden
 Alexander' as an offering at Delphi
 made by Alex. I. from the spoil (τὸν
 ἀλεξάνδρου Μήδων) captured by him
 on the site of Amphipolis—a very
 questionable item of history. Blackley
 remarks further: ὁ χρύσεος as the note
 of a later editor, on two grounds: 1) a
 portrait statue of a living person would
 be an anachronism; 2) a gold statue
 seems too rich for the Macedonians of
 the period, and thinks the Alexander
 here named was Alos, Magnus. As to
 2, the statue would be bronze gilt, and
 Alexander was wealthy, cp. 5-17. As
 to 1, the portrait was probably an ideal,
 and the text above cited is some con-
 firmation of Hal.

122. 1 τῶν ψαντες δὲ. It seems to
 require that this mission and inquiry
 followed at once, and at the same time.
 Not a more or less considerable interval
 is required (a) in the military situation,
 which would make such offerings an
 anachronism, while Mardonius was still
 about, (b) in the religious assumption
 that various states had made separate
 offerings; (c) in the time necessary for

the designing and execution of such
 dedications. In this 'common inquiry
 by the Hellenes' we may fairly see the
 hand of the Amphiktyons, at the date
 of the attempted treaty and develop-
 ment of the League the rehabilitation
 of Delphi, and the reaction against
 Athens and the Delian movement, cp.
 7. 228 *passim*.

5. τὰ ἀριστηῖα τῆς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι
 ναυμαχίης. 'the prize of valour for the
 sea-fight at Salamis.' The Argives
 themselves had obtained the first prize
 in the battle (c. 93 *passim*), and this
 passage has generally been taken to
 mean that the god made a special
 demand upon the Argivians, as the
 ἀριστεύοντες. Stein more subtly in-
 terprets the god as claiming for himself
 the award, and conjectures that the
 Argivians had been favoured in the
 fight with a prophetic sign, such as
 that Alexander at Argospateni (Plutarch
Alexander 12), viz. an apparition of the
 Dioskouroi, and of Aiolos Delphinus,
 a special patron of the Argivians—the
 three being represented by the stars on
 the Argivean coloring. This explana-
 tion is acceptable and is endorsed by
 Busolt II² 710. 3. It was a compliment
 to the Argivians, and a setback to
 Athens; it was also a direct claim,
 advanced by Delphi, to a credit for
 the victory at Salamis. Perhaps the
 Argivians had already offered the star
 with two stars (at the *parastasia* area)
 (the Dioskouroi), and had only to add a
 third, and larger star, above, to repre-
 sent the sun-god.

7 γωνίης αὐ. τοῦ κρητῆρος 1 51.

- 123 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν διαίρεσιν τῆς λήϊας ἔπλεον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἀριστήϊα δαδόντες τῷ ἀξιώτατῳ γανομένῳ Ἑλλήνων ἀνὰ τὸν πόλεμον τούτου. ὥς δὲ ἀπικόμενοι οἱ στρατηγοὶ διένειμον τὰς ψήφους ἐπὶ τοῦ Ποσειδέωνος τῷ βωμῷ, τὸν πρῶτον καὶ τὸν δεύτερον κρίνοντας ἐκ πάντων, εὐθαύτα πῶς τις αὐτοῖν ἐαυτῷ ἐτίθετο τὴν ψήφον, αὐτὸς ἕκαστος δοκέων ἄριστος γενέσθαι, δεύτερα δὲ οἱ πολλοὶ συνεξέπιπτον Θερμιστοκλέα κρίνοντας. οἱ μὲν δὲ ἐμνοῦντο, Θερμιστοκλέης δὲ

123. 1 ἔπλεον B, van H 4 διένειμον P: ἔφερον B: ἔφηναν B: ἀπικόμενοι? van H, || ποσειδέωνος B 6 κρίνοντας van H. 6 αὐτέων z: om. B 7 δὲ van C || συνεξέπιπτον B || Θερμιστοκλέα - δ ἐμνοῦντο A: ἐμνοῦντο C

The *Ἄριστος* of Ἄριστος must be the answer one, for the gold one was in the Treasury of *κλαυόμενοι*, id. This little chapter looks very like an addition of the second hand, cp. Introduction, § 9.

123. 1 μετὰ δὲ τὴν διαίρεσιν τῆς λήϊας: these words, carrying back over c. 122, show that the Argivean episode just recounted belongs to a later date and suggest that the record of it may be an interpolation, not of the first draft, see preceding note.

2 ἀριστήϊα δάδοντες: the prize is not a mere ideal award, but sufficiently material to pass from hand to hand; cp. next c.

3 ἀνὰ τὸν πόλεμον τούτου. This proposal to award the prize for the war which is not yet over is a little premature. Did the Greeks then believe that the war was over (cp. c. 109 *σημαί*)? Or is this episode at the Isthmian festival some twelve months? Or is it altogether apocryphal? It has a somewhat fabulous air. Pliny 31. 53 has a similar anecdote of Polykleitos, presumably plagiarized from this.

οἱ στρατηγοὶ apparently of the fleet, the admiral (that was Aristotides among them?). The fleet is all apparently supposed to have moved to the Isthmian. The Peloponnesian story too might suit, but its organization was probably different from that of the fleet, and in any case its commanders could hardly be conceived as awarding each to himself the prize on this occasion.

4 διένειμον τὰς ψήφους ἐπὶ τῷ Ποσειδέωνος τῷ βωμῷ: a specially solemn procedure, designed to secure an absolutely honest decision, as in judicial proceedings

(Plutarch *Perikl.* 32 οἱ δὲ δικάσαντες τὴν ψήφον ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ φέροντες κρίνομεν), διένειμον τὰς ψήφους apparently means to divide the votes among the (possible) competitors for first and second place. Cp. διαφέρειν τὴν ψήφον I. 124. φέρειν, τίθεσθαι would be more usual. How the voting was actually conducted does not clearly appear. Perhaps there were two urns, from the water, into one of which each strategist put an ostrakon, with the name of his nominee for first place inscribed upon it, and into the other that for the second place; in the scrutiny it would have been discovered that in the first urn no two ostraka bore the same name, while in the second every name was inscribed with the name of Themistokles. (But how did the Athenian himself vote?) The shrine of Poseidon and its contents are described by Pausanias 2. 1. 7-9, for his own day; the temple in 480 B.C. was presumably the sixth-century edifice, of which remains have been found; cp. *Herod.* 1. 11.

7 οἱ πολλοὶ συνεξέπιπτον: cp. c. 92 *σημαί*; here (as in c. 22) the verb is used with a personal subject, but appears to have merely the meaning 'concided,' agreed, the fortuitous character of the agreement may have suggested the use of the word.

Θερμιστοκλέα κρίνοντας: sc. τὸν δεύτερον εἰς αὐτὸν. δεύτερα just above is merely adverbial.

8, οἱ μὲν δὲ ἐμνοῦντο: they were left each with one vote only (for first place). The same remark however applies to Themistokles, so that the contrast here is not quite complete.

δευτερείοισι ὑπερβαλλετο πολλόν. οὐ βουλομένων δὲ ταῦτα 124
κρίνειν τῶν Ἑλλήνων φθόνῳ, ἀλλ' ἀποπλεόντων ἐκάστων ἐς
την ἰσότην ἀκρίτων, ὅμως θεμιστοκλέης ἐβόησεν τε καὶ
ἐδοξάσθη εἶναι ἀνὴρ πολλὸν Ἑλλήνων σοφώτατος ἀνὰ πᾶσαν
την Ἑλλάδα. ὅτι δὲ νικῶν οὐκ ἐτίμηθη πρὸς τῶν ἐν Σαλα-
μῇ ναυμαχησαντων, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς Λακεδαιμόνα
ἀτίκετο θέλων τιμηθῆναι· καὶ μιν Λακεδαιμόνιοι καλῶς μὲν
ὑπεδέξαντο, μεγάλως δὲ ἐτίμησαν. ἀριστήρια μὲν νυν ἔδωσαν
. . . Εὐρυβυίδῃ ἐλαίης στέφανον, σοφίης δὲ καὶ δεξιότητος
θεμιστοκλέϊ καὶ τούτῳ στέφανον ἐλαίης· ἔδωρήσαντό τέ μιν 10
ἔχω τῷ ἐν Σπάρτῃ καλλιστεύσαντι. αἰνέσαντες δὲ πολλὰ,

9 ὑπερβαλλε 8 124. 2 ἀποπλεόντων 8: 3 ἐβόησεν C
4 ἐδοξάσθη 8 | πολλῶν BC: || Ἑλλήνων Icl. van IL 5 νικῶν 'auspici-
tum' Stein²: φιλικῶν δ' Stein² 9 ἀνδραγαθίης vel e Plutarch.
Thom. c. 17, Mor. p. 871 ἀνδρείης suppl. ed. cons. Stein et alii 10
τέ δέ CP: 11 καλλιστεύσαντι 8, Holder, van IL

9 δευτερείοισι ὑπερβαλλετο· as τοῦ
ἀλλοῦ στρατηγικοῦ, δευτερία εὐδοκμοῦσι
1. 35, ὑπερβαλλετο c. 24 supra, and
1. 61 ὅφρα μιν ὑπερβαλλετο ἐπ' ὅσας τῶν
χρυσίδων.

124 1. οὐ βουλομένων δὲ . φθόνῳ:
the sentence may be taken to refer to
the personal bias just recorded, τῶν
Ἑλλήνων = τῶν στρατηγῶν but with-
out much prejudicing the passage might be
taken to refer to a refusal to decide the
question on appeal, ἐκάστων (each not
and each contingent just be as favour-
ing that too, ἀκρίτων is plainly active,
without getting a diversion.

φθόνῳ is the besetting sin of Greek
competition, cp. 7 236 supra, and was
not eliminated between confederates.

3 ἐβόησεν τε καὶ . cp. 8 131 οὐδὲ
ἀντιμωχέας ἐβόησαν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

7 θέλων τιμηθῆναι, this motivation
seems betrayed autumn (cp. 112 supra).
The visit of Themistokles to Lakadaimon
in the autumn or winter (483-79, was
probably by invitation (cp. Plutarch
Themist. 17, and may have had deeper
political and diplomatic ends in view
than the Hecataean historiography has
reckoned with.

The honour-hospital upon the Athenian
in Sparta Diodorus 11 27 Ephorus traces
to Spartan apprehensions of reprisals on
the part of the Athenians and Them-
istokles for the set back after Salamis;
they may have been intended, at least in
part, to promote a naval policy for the

future (cp. c. 108 supra), as well as to
reward its past success. They do not
appear to have turned his head, much less
won Themistokles to mortify Athenian
in Spartan interests. Within a twelve
month he is in Sparta again for a very
different purpose, and at considerable
risk to himself; cp. Thucyd. 1 86-88.
The Themistoklean legend had attempted
to discount his services to Athens in
Sparta by ignoring the visit after Plataia
Mykale, and caricaturing the visit after
Salamis; Thucyd. does record it as part of
the *Estimate* of Themistokles, which he
favours. Cp. Appian ix VII. § 4.

9. Εὐρυβυίδῃ, who must, according
to the antecedent anecdote, have won
the prize to himself at the Isthmos.

σοφίης δὲ καὶ δεξιότητος: the dis-
tinction between the 'ethical' (*ἀρετῆς*,
cp. App. Crit.) and the 'intellectual',
virtues, and their rewards, shows that
the Spartans had some philosophy in
them! The award is the same in each
case an olive wreath; and the coordina-
tion which justifies our understanding
ἀριστήρια before *σοφίης* is emphasized by
the words καὶ τούτῳ (cf. *ἔτι*, cp. καὶ
οἷον 7 40, *ἔτι*).

11. ἔχω τῷ ἐν Σπάρτῃ καλλιστεύσαντι.
Stein observes the astonishing use here
of the aorist. Perhaps when the edict was
reached Athens it was not so much
thought of!

αἰνέσαντες might seem grammati-
cally to belong to the *επιτάξεις*, but *καὶ*

προέπεμψαν ἀπὸντα τριηκῆσιν Σπαρτιητέων λογάδες, οὔτοι οἱ περ ἱππῆες καλῶνται, μέχρι οἰρων τῶν Τεγεατικῶν. μῦνον δὴ τοῦτον πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν Σπαρτιῇ. 125 ται προέπεμψαν. ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαιμόνος ἀπῆκετο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἐνθαῦτα Τιμόδημος Ἀφιδναῖος τῶν ἐχθρῶν μὲν τῶν Θεμιστοκλέος ἐών, ἄλλως δὲ οὐ τῶν ἐπιφανέων ἀνδρῶν, φθύνῃ καταμαργέων ἐνέεικε τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα, τὴν ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ἀπῆξιν προφέρων. ὡς δια τὰς Ἀθήνας ἔχει τὰ γέρεα τὰ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων, ἀλλ' οὐ δι' ἐαυτὸν. ὁ δὲ, ἐπεῖτε οὐκ ἐπαύετο λέγων ταῦτα ὁ Τιμόδημος, εἶπε "οὕτω ἔχει τοι' οὗτ' "

12 ἀπὸντα Pz 13 οἰρων Bz 125. 2 ἀφιδναῖος B || μὲν om. B 3 ἀνδρῶν om. R 4 καταμαργέων αC (γρ. μαργέων P^m) || Θεμιστοκλέα z || σπάρτην B 5 ἔχει z 6 ἐαυτῶν B ἐνέεικε καὶ οὐκ z 7 ταῦτα λέγων z οὕτως R

σύνεσις, a reference to the previous subject (Λακεδαιμόνιοι) seems more pointed and natural. The aires persons took the form of songs or orations in his honour, cp. Thuc. 2.25.2. It is followed by the 'parus' or escort, to the frontier.

12 τριηκῆσιν Σπαρτιητέων λογάδες: perhaps the royal body guard, ο. τριακῆσιν ἰππῆσι πλοῖσινμοι Thuc. 5. 72. 4 that cp. 6. 56, 7. 205 *supra*, apparently identical with the *corps d'élite* of Lacedaemon described by Xenophon, *Laed.* R. p. 4, as chosen by the three *Hipparchai*, each choosing 100 men, the *Hipparchai* themselves having been elected by the Ephors, the corps would then be annually recruited, and a fresh levy may have been made since Thermopylae. There were no real riders in the Spartan army of this date, but the title was an interesting survival. Cp. 1. 67, a passage which suggests that the corps of *Hipparchai* at Sparta was partially recruited every year: the thirty seniors perhaps taking their discharge (and turning up the two Ἀγαθούργοι, while thirty juniors would be admitted to the corps, the whole being thus normally renewable every decade. But provision must, of course, have been made for occasional vacancies.

14 μῦνον δὴ τούτων τ' αὐτ' ἔμειν ἴδμεν: cp. Athenian orator ap. Thuc. 1. 74. 1 καὶ αὐτὸς διὰ τούτων οὕτως ἐπιθέσθαι μάλιστα δὴ δόξα ἔξω τῶν καὶ καὶ ἐκείνων. On the Herodotean formula cp. 1. 105 *supra*. The *apud* is observable; cp. 8. 36 μῦνον δὲ δὴ τούτων καὶ.

125. 1. ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας seems to assume

that the Athenians had occupied the city; cp. 1. 109 *supra*.

2. Τιμόδημος Ἀφιδναῖος: on the deme of Aphidna cp. 9. 73 *supra*. Pindar composed an Ode (*Nem.* 2) for the victory of Timocleas, son of Timonoon, of Achaea, in the Pankration, short (d. 76, a man, too, with a Salaminian connexion (cp. c. 20), but the only apparent glory of the Aphidnae was that he belonged to the well achieved group of τῶν ἐχθρῶν τῶν Θεμιστοκλέος. The anecdote is transferred by Pato *Rep.* 320, followed by Plutarch, *Thuc.* 14, to an anonymous Spartan, but the aristocratic tradition in Athens grew sensitive of the fame of Timodemus.

3. ἄλλως, in its simplest meaning, τῶν ἐπιφανέων: the word appears used in a party sense in Aristotle, *Ar.* 28 τῶν καὶ ἐπιφανέων ἐπιστάται Νίκαια, but in an entirely unpolitical sense in Thuc. 2. 43. 2 (ἀνδρῶν γὰρ ἐπιφανέων τὰς γῆρας). The meaning here is between the two; cp. 2. 89, 132.

6. φθύνῃ here appears in its proper place as the characteristic Republican vice; cp. c. 124 *supra*. The word here is used with it, καταμαργέων; cp. c. 75 (καταμαργέων νεώτερον καὶ πρότερον καταμαργέων καὶ κλημάτων).

5. προφέρων: *προσέειπε, προσέειπε*, cp. c. 67 *supra*. The participle *καταμαργέων* and *προφέρων* are joined on with out copy in *Argyrola*.

τὰ γέρεα: to wit, the Olive-wreath, the Chariot, the Ancestral, and the Report, enumerated in the previous chapter.

- 5 Ἀσίῃ, δὲ δὲ ὀπίσω πορευόμενος κατὰ τὴν Παλλήνην ἐγένετο, ἅτε Μαρδονίου τε χειμερίζοντος περὶ Θεσσαλίῃν τε καὶ Μακεδονίῃν καὶ οὐδὲν πω κατεπείγοντος ἦκειν ἐν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατόπεδον, οὐκ ἐδικαίου ἐντυχῶν ἀπιστεῦσαι Ποτειδαῖησι μὴ οὐκ ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι σφέας. οἱ γὰρ Ποτειδαῖηται, ὡς βασιλεὺς
 10 παρεξελήλακε καὶ ὁ ναυτικὸς τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι οἰχώκεε φεύγων ἐκ Σαλαμίνοιο, ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ἀπίστασαν ἀπο τῶν βαρβάρων.
 127 ὡς δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ τὴν Παλλήνην ἔχοντες. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ ἡ Ἀρτάβαξος ἐπολιόρκει τὴν Ποτείδαίαν, ὑποπτεύσας δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ὀλυνθίους ἀπίστασθαι ἀπὸ βασιλέος, καὶ ταύτην ἐπο-

5 ἐγένετο : 8 Ποτειδαῖησι van H., Stein³: Ποτειδαῖητροι. Stein⁴; Holier (et sic passim). 11 ἐκ τῆς Σαλαμίνοιο : van H. ἢ ἀπώτηραν O 13 ὡς AERz. (ὡς van H.) ἄλλοι B ἄλλοι Holier, van H 127 2 ὁ Ἀρτάβαξος O Ποτείδαίαν van H., Stein⁴: ποτείδαίαν α, Stein⁴; Holier ποτείδαίην B 3 βασιλέος :

δ. ὀπίσω πορευόμενος κατὰ τὴν Παλλήνην ἐγένετο. Artabazus apparently experienced no difficulty in marching backwards and forwards in Macedonia and Thessaly. Is it possible after all that Artabazus did not escort the king to the Hellespont, but simply went from Thessaly to operate against Potidea? Or is it even possible that he had been safeguarding the king's route all along, and never was south of Thessaly until he joined Mardonius in the spring of 479 B.C.? On Padeus cp. 7. 123 *supra*.

6. χειμερίζοντος : cp. α. 113 *supra*; by this time it was winter, Mardonius' men were part in Macedonia.

7. καὶ οὐδὲν πω κατεπείγοντος ἦκειν. 'Mardonius was not yet pressing his coming . . . i.e. that Artabazus should join him, κατεπείγοντος in an epistolary sense in Hdt. ἐπείγειν is frequent (e.g. α. 63 *supra* l. 10).

8 οὐκ ἐδικαίου . . . μὴ οὐκ ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι σφέας : a fine instance of the rhetorical double negative μὴ οὐ, cp. α. 119 *supra*.

10. παρεξελήλακε . . . οἰχώκεε. both verbs are aorist imperiphr. perfects, but the acts were neither synchronous, nor are they mentioned in the historical order - unless, indeed, the fleet was accompanying the king on his way back (as the apocryphal story in α. 113 *supra* might be held to imply).

12. αὖτε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι . . . ἔχοντες. The revolt of all the towns on Padeus

appears as a direct result of the battle of Salamis. As they were the first to disown the Persian yoke, so were they probably among the first to enter the Delian League (cp. Thuc. 2. 18, 61). The proximity of Macedonia, and its relations with the Persian, were calculated to stimulate their Hellenic sympathies. The complete absence of any reference in the story of the siege of Potidea in 480-79 B.C. which follows, to the siege of Iotus in 482 B.C. and the following years (Thucyd. 1. 88, etc.), is observed, and makes against the theory that Hdt. was summarizing these Books for the first time about the time of the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war. This story may well belong to the first draft of the work, and he has not inserted into this context any late reference the latest hint of the final revision of these Books occurs above in 7. 127. Pothige Hdt. was not aware of the fall of Potidea in the winter of 480-79 B.C., Thuc. 2. 70, though he nonchalantly have been ignorant of the Athenian blockade, and may have avoided or even procured to its prolongation out of respect for Athenian susceptibilities. But the argumentum a silentio does not carry us very far, cp. Introduction, § 7.

127. 3 τοῖς Ὀλυνθίοις . . . καὶ ταύτην αὖτε ἡ ἑλληνική cp. α. 121 *supra* for the reverse process. On Olynthus cp. 7. 122. For the Bottaeai cp. 7. 123. Θ κόλπον 7. 121.

ἀπίστασθαι, imperfect.

λίρκε· εἶχον δὲ αὐτὴν Βοττιαῖοι ἐκ τοῦ Θερμαίου πολέου
 ἐξαιεσθέντες ὑπο Μακεδόνων. ἐπεὶ δὲ σφέας εἶλε πολιορκίῳ, 5
 κατεσφαξέ· εξαγαγὼν ἐς λίμνην, τὴν δὲ πόλιν παραδίδοι
 Κριτοβούλῳ· Τορωναίῳ ἐπιτροπεύειν καὶ τῷ Χαλκιδικῇ γενεῇ,
 καὶ αὐτῷ Ὀλυνθοῦ Χαλκιδῆες ἔσχωρ. ἐξελὼν δὲ ταύτην ὁ 128
 Ἀρτάβαζος τῇ Ποτειδαίῃ ἐντεταμένως προσεῖχε· προσέχοντι
 δὲ οἱ προθύμως συντίθεται προδοσίῃ Τιμόξενος ὁ τῶν
 Σκιωναίων στρατηγός, ὅτινα μὲν τρόπον ἄρχην, ἔγωγε οὐκ
 ἔχω εἰπεῖν (οὐ γὰρ ὦν λέγεται), τέλος μὲντοι τοιαύδε ἐρίνετο· 5
 ὅπως βυβλίον γράψῃς ἢ Τιμόξενος ἐθῆλῳ παρὰ Ἀρταβαζον
 πέμψαι ἢ Ἀρτάβαζος παρὰ Τιμόξενον, τοξείματος παρὰ τὰς

4 οἱ ἐν Β, Holder 7 Τορωναίῳ om. α' | ἐπιτρέπειν αC
 128. 3 συντίθεται α | τιμόξενος B 4 τρόπον Αρι. 5 εἶπει α,
 τιν Η 6 βυβλίον Ρε | γράψῃς S αἰνα, | τιμόξενος θέλων B
 7 τιμόξενον B | παρα: περί Valckenauer, Gaisford, ex Aeneas tacit 31

3 ἐξαιεσθέντες ἐπὶ Μακεδόνων, 'driven out by the Macedonians,' or 'cutted before the M. up' with the water or intense verb, epe, with ἡμεῖς, εἰς, etc.

6. κατεσφαξέ . . ἐς λίμνην: he apparently destroyed the inhabitants of Botthia and drove their bodies to the lake prob. the Sotean Lagoon, a little E. of the city, Leake, N. Gr. p. 155 (q. Βολωνή λίμνη, Αἰθιωπία). The commentators, however, generally take ἐς λίμνην merely with ἐξαγαγὼν. If Hdt. had intended that, would he not have placed the words differently? The Romans worshipped rivers, running water, 1. 1-8.

παραδίδοι ἐπιτροπεύειν: the first verb in the historic present—the author, perhaps, as the result is permanent, and chronic at the time of writing, the second aorist, and refers only to the position of Kritoboulos.

7. Κριτοβούλῳ Τορωναίῳ . . καὶ τῷ Χαλκιδικῇ γενεῇ. Nothing more seems known of this Kritooulos: the name is common one (ep. 2. 191).

8. 7. 12. was presumably a colony in Chalkis. The Botthians were not exterminated by this massacre at Olynthos, as they appear in Thucydides again and again, e.g. 1. 58. The great Chalkian expedition of Olynthos took place in 424 B.C., Thuc. 4.2. To it there seems no reference made by Hdt. Olynthos thus appears to have passed through at least three stages of development before the Peloponnesian war: (1) primitive

settlement; (ii.) Botthian; (iii.) Chalkic in two degrees; in each of which the Chalkic 'race' is the protégé of the foreigner, Pers. an. Macedonian.

128. 2 ἐντεταμένως προσεῖχε: acc. τὸν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν from the same part, pers. is observable, ep. 7. 53 παρα. προθύμως just now corresponds the sense.

3. Τιμόξενος ὁ τῶν Σκιωναίων στρατηγός. The name Timoxenos is common, but this Skionian is only mentioned again by Polybios, 7. 33. 1, in reproducing this very anecdote. On Skione ep. 7. 123 supra. The towns on Pallene had not merely all revolted (c. 126 supra ad f.) but were all in alliance; ep. infra τὰρτε δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Παλληναίων συμμάχῃ.

4 ἄρχην τέλος: both words are adverbial; πρὸς πόλιν, καὶ ἐπὶ πρὸς πόλιν. The correspondence of μὲν and μὲντοι in this case, ep. 1. 126 ad f.

ἔγωγε οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν οὐ γὰρ ὦν λέγεται: both statements are genuine Herodotus, he never forgets to say the words, but neither implies that he had made inquiry in 450; his source might be literary.

6 ὅπως . . γράψῃς opt. of indefinite frequency; ep. c. 52 supra. It is not likely that any of these interesting documents were preserved, much less that Hdt. had seen them.

7 τοξείματος παρὰ τοῦ γλίσφους τόξου of the arrow itself as in 1. 132 τῶν τοξείματων τόξου εἶδος α. 131. The γλίσφους have been variously interpreted: (L.) of 'the notched end of

γόνεσαν τρεῖς μῆνες, γίνεται ἀμπωτις τῆς θαλάσσης μεγάλη
καὶ χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν. ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ βάρβαροι τεταγος
γυτόμενοι παρήσαν ἐν τῇ Παλλήνῃ. ὥς δὲ τὰς δύο μὲν,
μοίρας διδοιπορήκεσαν, ἐτι δὲ τρεῖς ὑπόλοιποι ἦσαν, τὰς
ἐισελθόντας χρῆν εἶναι ἔσω ἐν τῇ Παλλήνῃ, ἐπὶ τῇ πλημμυρίδι
τῆς θαλάσσης μεγάλη, ὅση οὐδαμὰ καὶ, ὥς οἱ ἐπιχώριοι
λέγουσι, πολλὰκις γνωμένη. οἱ μὲν δὲ νέειν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐπι-
στάμενοι διεφθείροντο, τοὺς δὲ ἐπισταμένους οἱ Ποτειδαῖται
ἐπιπλώσαντες πλοίοις ἀπώλεσαν. αἰτίων δὲ λεγουσι Ποτει-
δαῖται τῆς τε βῆχης [καὶ τῆς πλημμυρίδος] καὶ τοῦ Περσικοῦ
πύθιος γενέσθαι τῷδε, ὅτι τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἐς τὸν νηὶν καὶ
το ὕψωμα τὸ ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ ἡσέβησαν οὗτοι τῶν Περσέων
οἱ τερ καὶ διεφθάρησαν ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης· αἰτίων δὲ τοῦτο 15

3 παρήσαν codd.· παρίεσαν z | μὲν δύο B, Holder 6 δύο
δοιπορήκεσαν Pz | ἔσαν z 7 ἔσω εἶναι Bz, Holder 8 ὅση B
ὥς om. S 9 γενομένης PB: (γενομένης V γενομένη z | αὐτῶν z
10 δ' α, van H. || οἱ αλλ. BPz, Holder, van H. | Ποτειδαῖται (bis) van H.
Steinh.· ποτιδαῖται ποτιδαῖται V 12 καὶ τῆς πλημμυρίδος διδ
V, codd. puz, Steinh., Holder, van H. 13 ἐς post ὅτι B | κων B
14 τὸ ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ om. B || ἡσέβησαν AB 15 τοῦτο z

3. ἀμπωτις, 'abhi,' cp. 7 138 *supra*. The words χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν are vague, it is impossible to say whether Hdt. means a matter of hours, or of days.

9. τὰς δύο μὲν κτλ., a curious participle. At any rate, they had not got quite that way ἐπὶ δόλῳ, cp. 7 171 and ἀποδεδειγμένους c. 67 *supra*.

7. πλημμυρίς, 'flood, flood-tide' the extreme of ἀμπωτις just above; it is was the largest on record or in memory. The reference, however, in πολλὰκις γνωμένη cannot be to normal tides, place events such as he has recorded in 1. 124. This passage and that, from different sources, are apparently written without reference to each other, but Hdt. can hardly be taken in this passage to be referring to the great tidal disturbance recorded in 1. 3. 28 2 ff. for the summer of 420 B.C. He has not been working at his composition so late as that, cp. Introduction, § 3.

8. ὡς οἱ ἐπιχώριοι λέγουσι, the authority (not necessary even now) is assumed for a statement which Hdt. merely gives 'for what it is worth' so, say, just below αἰτίων δι' ἀλέγουσι Ποτειδαῖται. These relations of sources in 1. 121, and are not intended to, guarantee the statements, much less to

show that Hdt. has cross-questioned the natives. Cp. Introduction, § 10. αἰτίων is used here in a less primary sense than in 7 125 *supra*.

12 βῆχης is plainly identical with πλημμυρίς cp. 2. 11, 7. 184.

16. αἰτίων δι' τοῦτο λέγοντες ἐξ ἀγῶν ἔργου δοκίμου. If just the very 'Persians' (were they all Persians?), neither more nor fewer, who remained, had been guilty of the sacrilege in the temple of Poseidon, the omniscient world, indeed, have been remarkable that was not the guilt to some extent referred from the divine, on the well-established custom which condemned the sailors on whom the tower in Sicily fell as sinners against all Calliope's Hdt. is less of a critic in this passage than in his reference of Poseidonius' action at Tanagra, 7. 120 *supra*. Peria is the direct intervention of the deity was more misleading to him in a case of human doers, then in the case of a natural event. Hdt. does not indeed here actually specify the personal action of the outrageous god; but he must be supposed to have taken it for self-evident, between the doers and the *μηχανή*. But clearly, of course, a city of Poseidon Poseidon Hippios appears on its coinage,

λέγοντες εὐ λέγειν ἔμοιγε δοκίουςι. τοὺς δὲ περιγενομένους ἀπήγε Ἀρταβαζος ἐς Θεσσαλίην παρὰ Μαρδόνιον. οὗτοι μὲν οἱ προπέρφαντες βασιλέα οὕτω ἐπρήξαν.

- 130 Ὁ δὲ ναυτικός ὁ Ξέρξης περιγενομένους ὡς προσέμιξε τῇ Ἀσίῃ φεύγων ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος καὶ βασιλέα τε καὶ τὴν στρατιὴν ἐκ Χερσονήσου διεπύρβησε ἐς Ἄβυδον, ἐχειμέριζε ἐν Κύμῳ. ἔαρος δὲ ἐπιλάμψαντος πρώσιος συνελέγετο ἐς Σάμον· αἱ δὲ τῶν νεῶν καὶ ἐχειμέρισαν αὐτοῦ· Περσέων δὲ καὶ Μήδων οἱ πλεῖνες ἐπεβάτευσον. στρατηγοὶ δὲ σφί ἐπῆλθον Μαρδόντης

10 ἐπὶ B 18 βασιλῆα = | οὕτω ἐπρήξαν om. a 130. 1 ναυτικός στρατὸς = | ὁ περιγενομένος Krieger, van H.: στρατὸς δ περιγενομένος Strassb., cf. Buitani Jh. 80. 54 | προσέμιξε van H., Strassb.: προσέμιξε 2 βασιλῆα = | τε om. B 3 χερσονήσου B: χερσονήσου C | διεπύρβησε B | ἐχειμέριζε Pe 4 δ a, van H | πρώσιος B 5 ἔαρος B: 6 καὶ στρατηγοὶ S | δὲ ἐπῆλθον σφί C μυκδόντης Murec.

and Herod (Hist. Num. p. 188 regards the type of the tetradrachm as "doubtless suggested by the sacred image of Pausanias, which Herodotus mentions as standing in front of the city, ἐν τῇ προστείῃ." The city itself appears to have been situated within the isthmus, fortified north and south by two parallel walls, and protected east and west by the sea. The object of the Persians was to enter the city round the sea and of the wall (just as Arietes did in 432 B.C., Thuc. I. 51). Stein's idea that Potidaea was not fortified on the S. side appears to arise from a misinterpretation of the words in Thuc. I. 54. 2 τὸ δὲ ἐν τῇ ἡλληνῶν ἀρχιστον ἦν, which refers to the absence of Athenian siege-works on the south side. As a matter of fact the Athenians had demanded the dismantling of the south wall, τὸ αὐτὸ ἡλληνῶν τείχος Thuc. I. 54. 2, a demand compliance with which would have placed the town at the mercy of the sea power.

10. τοὺς περιγενομένους: he has 10,000 men in 9. 88 infern against 60,000 in c. 126 supra.

130. 1 δὲ ναυτικός ὁ Ξέρξης: the initiative shifts to the Persian navy, cp. c. 117 supra. στρατὸς is omitted, cp. next c. 13. The article is repeated as in 7. 106, and often; contr. 7. 121 etc.

3. ἐχειμέριζε ἐν Κύμῳ. On Kyne cp. 7. 124 supra. The position was well chosen, in relation to Sardis, to the northern portages of Ionia and Aeolis, and to the Hellespont. It appears, however, immediately that none of the

vessels had wintered at Samos had there not been to the Hellespont, after Samos? It is remarkable that Samos, not Kyne, is the rendezvous in the epilog. χειμέριζεν, cp. c. 118 supra. ἐπιλάμψαντος = ἀρχιστον, a metaphor from the day transferred to the year. Sittler, πρώσιος keeps up the metaphor Stein, αὐτοῦ, the adv. of place, 'on the spot.'

5. Περσέων δὲ καὶ Μήδων οἱ πλεῖνους ἐπεβάτευσον. The literal meaning of these words is, 'Of Persians and Medes the majority were ἐπεβάται.' Not absolutely, of course, but in relation to the Strategoi. This appears to give a very poor and thesis. 'Of Persians and Medes, serving on the fleet, very few were other than ἐπεβάται.' But perhaps Hdt. meant to say that on the fleet the majority of ἐπεβάται were Medes and Persians: 'the majority of those serving as ἐπεβάται were of Persians and Medes,' of others being the predicate: the genitive remains problematic. He can hardly mean that the majority of the Medo-Persian ἐπεβάται originally mobilized (7. 96) were still serving on board: the allusion would be far-fetched. In any case the expression is wanting in style and lucidity.

6. στρατηγοὶ δὲ. There are three now admirals, or commanders, for a fleet of 600. But it appears afterwards that one of the three Mardonides is in command of the ἐπὶ δακτύλῳ, and the other two in command of the fleet, cp. 9. 102.

τε ὁ Βαγαίου καὶ Ἀρταΐντης ὁ Ἀρταχαιέω· συνῆρχε δὲ τοῖτοισι καὶ ἀδελφεῖός αὐτοῦ Ἀρταύντιω προσελομένου Ἰθαμίτῃς. ἄτε δὲ μεγάλως πληγέντες, οὐ προήσαν ἄνωτέρω τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης, οὐδ' ἐπηνύγκαζε οὐδεὶς, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ¹⁰ κατήμευε ἐφύλασσον τὴν Ἰωνίην μὴ ἀποστῆ, νέας ἔχοντες σὺν τῇσι Ἰάσι τριηκοσίας οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ προσεδέκοντο τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐλεύσεσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἰωνίην ἀλλ' ἀποχρήσειν σφί τὴν ἰωιτῶν φυλάσσειν, σταθμεύμενοι ὅτι σφέας οὐκ ἐπέδιωξαν φεύγοντας ἐκ Σαλαμίος ἀλλ' ἄσμενοι ἀπαλλύσσοντο. κατὰ¹⁵ μὲν νυν τὴν θάλασσαν ἐσωμέναι ἦσαν τῷ θυμῷ, περὶ δὲ

7 Ἀρταβίτης ibid.: Ἀρταΐτης C Ἀρταχαιέω Stein, van H. Ἀρταχαιέω 4 τινὲς αC, Σίμωνι Ὀρταΐντιω R Ἀρταΐτης C Ἀρταύντιω Marc. | προσελομένου B 9 Ἰθαμίτῃς Westphal. ὁ Ἀρταΐτης R: ὁ Ἀρταΐτης οὐκ ἐστὶ || προήσαν α: προήσαν B¹. προσήσαν C. κρύσαν: | ἀνωτέρω αP 10 τὸ B¹: | οὐδὲ εἰς B, Hüller ('fortan totis') van H. 11 τῆς B: 12 μὲν αC, Holder 13 προσελίσσονται s: ἐλίσσονται? Stein² || τὴν σμ. B 14 ὅτι σφέας Δ 15 φεύγοντες C 16 ἐσωμέναι ἦσαν s

Μαρόντιος τε ὁ Βαγαίου has appeared a ready as ὄρων των προσιωμένων ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης θάλασσης? B¹ supra. He might know something of sea-faring, but, as a matter of fact, commands the post at sea. cf. previous note.

7 Ἀρταύντιος ὁ Ἀρταχαιέω: the Artachaias, no doubt, who was an Archimedes' grant, with a colossal voice and had been one of the Commandants of the Canal (cp. 2. 22, 1.). Oros Orosius, brother of Artachaias, had apparently been ἄρχων of the Aegeians, 7. 45-46.

9. Ἰθαμίτῃς was presumably son of the Orosius just referred to. The ἄρχων of the Aegeians however was one Ἀρταύντιος ὁ Ἰθαμίτῃς, 2. 47 supra.

μεγάλως πληγέντες: at Salamis; the expression need not be restricted to the Strategoi. ἄνωτέρω τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρην seems to be used as an 'orientation' since τ from the point of view of the narrative, or dramatic personae, and can hardly be cited as proof that Hdt. composed this part of his narrative in Asia.

10 ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ κατήμενοι ἐφύλασσον. Samos was probably the best basis of naval operations against an Ionia on revolt, as the Athenians discovered in 426 B.C. Let the Persians then 1,400 men be in full possession of the *Hinterland* as well, and the prospect of a merely local revolt might well look almost hopeless.

12 οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ, 'yet also not,' a double negative the elements of which, οὐ μὲν and οὐδὲ, are in use, but combined with each other (Madvig § 302). The οὐ μὲν here predicated of the Persians proved its function, a strategic misapprehension, if entertained, it was based perhaps more on the presence of Marconius in Greece than upon the non-payment of the previous year, but the conclusion put forward by Hdt. cannot then be a justification of the project of Themistokles (c. 108 supra) and condemns *pro tanto* the failure of the Greeks to follow up their victory. The Persian reflection takes no account of the pursuit as far as Andros.

14 σταθμεύμενοι: the form σταθμεύμενοι occurs in 7. 11 supra, σταθμεύμενοι is found 2. 59. Are we to conclude that Hdt. used three different forms of participles? Or that the var. variants are corruptive for the disjunctives? σταθμεύμενοι, σταθμεύονται σταθμεύουσιν are all possible forms (cp. L. & S. sub νν, and Wetz. sinit? § 488, p. 52).

15 ἀπαλλύσσοντο: middle even the active is used intransitively!

16 ἐσωμέναι ἦσαν: the imperfect final verb here is as important as the perfect participle for describing the condition and the conclusion, so far from resulting in a *placatum perfectum*, as a thing of the past, denotes an enduring state of things, or rather of

ἐδόκεον πολλῷ κρατήσιν τὸν Μαρδόνιον. ὄντες δὲ ἐν Σάμῳ ἅμα μὲν ἐβουλευόντο εἴ τι δυναίετο κακὸν τοὺς πολεμίους ποίειν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ ὠτακούστων ὅκῃ πεσέεται τὰ Μαρδονίαν 20 πρήγματα.

- 131 Τοὺς δὲ Ἕλληνας τὸ τε ἔαρ γινόμενον ἤγειρε καὶ Μαρδόνιος ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ ἑών. ὁ μὲν δὴ πεζὸς οὐκ ὀκνησεν ἐλθεῖν, ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς ἀπείκετο εἰς Αἴγινα, νῆες ἀριθμὸν δέκα καὶ ἑκατόν. στρατηγὸς δὲ καὶ ναύαρχος ἦν Λευτυχίδης ὁ 5 Μενάρκος τοῦ Ἠγησίδα τοῦ Ἰπποκρατίδου τοῦ Λευτυχίδου

17 πολλὸν B 18 ἐβουλευσάντο B || δυνάτο Marc.: δύναντο : 19 καὶ om. DSV | ὅκῃ, A. 20η C: ὅκῃ ceteri 131 1 γινόμενον B¹² 2 ὅκῃ C 3 νῆες αβ: 4 Λευτυχίδης A¹², B¹² 5 Μενάρκος C || Ἠγησίδα B

feelings: no doubt in this case τῷ θυμῷ helps materially to establish the true aspect of the verb. They had no stomach for fighting at sea, at the same time they are described as planning at Samos how they may injure the enemy—a fruitless quest, if they were not prepared to move at sea. The hopes and attention concentrated on Mardianus suggest that the fleet was to be prepared to act, at least on the receipt of good news, and possibly upon the receipt of bad news. Though now far apart, the far union and acts of fleet and of army could not be matters of indifference, even strategically, one to the other. Hid's motivations are seldom quite adequate or satisfactory; but in regard to the movements, and even the mind of the naval forces on the Persian side, he probably had access to Ionian sources, both narrative and critical, worth something. Cp. Introduction, § 16.

19. ἀπακονίστων ἑκὼς πεσέεται: cp. παραδεδείκναι τῇ νίκῃ, 7. 108 *supra*. The substantive ἀπακονίστης occurs in Aristot. *Fal.* 8. 11. 7=133 s of ἀπίκ, 'cavendroppers', employed by Histon; the verb is used by Xenophon and others.

131 1 τὸ τε ἔαρ γινόμενον κτλ., 'the approach of spring, and the presence of Mardianus in Thessaly' (cp. o. 113 *supra*, 138 *infra*). ἤγειρε, excited—not yet sufficiently, however to bring an army together; it was only the ships which were under way. Aegina is the port of Samianus; the fleet is counted at 110; its composition and the provenience of the various contingents are left as matters of inference and conjecture, no less than

the respective numbers of Ionian and other vessels in the Persian fleet at Samos, o. 130 *supra*.

4. στρατηγὸς δὲ καὶ ναύαρχος, commander in chief and navy-commander, a Spartan title? Cp. o. 4 στρατηγός, and 42 ναύαρχος. The investment of a king with the 'navarchy' is remarkable in having Pausanias, the Regent, such a commission is unparalleled in the fifth century B.C. After the *Odyssey* of Pausanias (o. 3 *supra*) there is a long interval to the appointment of Agesilaos in 395-94 B.C., Xenoph. *Hell.* 3. 4. 27, and Agesilaos appointed a deputy.

Λευτυχίδης. Leutychidas here introduced with an immense flourish of trumpets as an old acquaintance, as the work now stands; cp. o. 71 etc. How ever weak the argument from the patronymia, the two Herakleids (see *supra*) in these Books must be regarded as good evidence of the earlier composition of Hk 7-9. It seems very unlikely that H 11. would have survived these years without his work for the sake of especially glorifying Leonidas and Leutychidas at the end, the latter of whom had little claim to any special honour. The pedigree of Leutychidas is interesting as proving the distinction between generations and reigns, owing to the special circumstances of the mission in his case—one has to go back eight generations (inclusive) from Leutychidas to find the king—Herakleides, 14th from Herakles whose eight ancestors are all kings of Sparta.

5. Μενάρκος. Menarchus, o. 65, 71, the 20th from Herakles belongs apparently to the same 'generation' as Demaratus

τοῦ Ἀναξίλεω τοῦ Ἀρχιδέμου τοῦ Ἀναξαίριδεω τοῦ
 Θεοπόμπου τοῦ Νικάνδρου τοῦ Χαρίλεω τοῦ Εὐνόμου τοῦ

7 Χαρίλεω Σπην. Holder. χαρίλλου Β, van H. χαρίλου || τοῦ
 ἡμιτέλεος τοῦ εὐνόμου C

the son of Ariston, whose complete pedigree is recoverable from Pausanias, 3. 7, and the antecedent names in the two Eurypontid pedigrees run back in pairs such and such to Theopompus.

Ἡγήσιλος this Hegesilos Agostius, Agostius, ἀγοστία 1 6 *supra* as Agō, which may be regarded as the Hyskhalas, or Hyskalas, but which the influence of Hdt. 1. 102, and how little he is at pains to harmonize them. This Agostius is 10th from Herakles, and corresponds with Ariston in the pedigree of Demaratus 1 3 *supra*, etc.).

Ἰπποκράτιδης. An Hippokrates (this is credited in *Historia* *ibid.* 232) with a surname of ἀποπαθητικός, but no one is addressed to a satrap of Karia, its author can hardly be this man. Names compounded with ἰππο. are not common in Karia, where ἀποπαθητικός was common in the 1st century B.C. 124 *supra*. Ἰπποκράτιδης, as 13th from Herakles, ranges with Agostius in the parallel pedigree.

Λεοτυχίδης. Leotykhidas ὁ πρῶτος is first mentioned by Plutarch *Mor* 224 from Leotykhidas son of Ariston (*ibid.*) and credited with four great apodemes: οὐκ ὑποβιβασμῶν, Εὐνομίας, Εὐκαρίας, Σοφίας. Leotykhidas is 12th from Herakles, ranging with Ariston 1 1 in the form of the name Λεο- = Λεω [Δημ. Wey Smyt], 327, p. 261.

Ἀναξίλεω. This Anaxilas, the 10th from Herakles, — Anaxidamus in the parallel one, may be the author of the apophthegm preserved in *Plutarch* *Mor* 227 on the Ephoroi, and might just possibly be identified with the man who sat in judgement on the Atheno-Megarian question, *Plutarch* *Solon* 10. The name was not common at Sparta and was never borne by a king, the Anaxilas of Xenoph. *Hell* 1. 3 19 is distinguished as οὐκ Ἀναξιδάμειος.

Ἀρχιδέμου. Archidamus, the 15th from Herakles in the pedigree of Menelaus — Leotykhidas in the parallel one, bears a name which was not uncommon in the Eurypontid house of Eurypontides Prokleus, though never borne by an Agid Eurypontid king.

Thus this grandson of Theopompus may have been named from his uncle, through whom the sceptre descended, and no less than five kings in all bore the name, of whom the best known was Hitt, a contemporary, who succeeded Leotykhidas.

Ἀναξαίριδεω. The name Anaxidamas is familiar as that of the (15th) Agid king, son of Ison, and father of Kleomenes, as of Dorieus, Leonidas, and Kleombrotos, *op.* 7. 204 *supra*. This Anaxidamas, 14th in descent from Herakles, is not otherwise known to fame than as the founder of the cadet branch of the Eurypontid line. His name corresponds with that of his brother Archidamus in the now over-branched of the House. This Archidamus was never king. Theopompus was succeeded by his grandson, Anaxidamus (*Plutarch* 3 7 5). It is rather odd that the Eurypontid, Prokleus, succeeded in the eighth century B.C. about 1300 B.C. and his name is rather odd. The succession in the 11th century B.C., when Zenaidamus, son of Leotykhidas, succeeded his father, leaving an Anaxidamus to succeed, *op.* 6. 71 *supra*, the story preserved in Pausanias looks like fiction wedded on the facts of the 5th century. The Eurypontid line of kings would seem to be longer, and longer, than the Agid for Leotykhidas is but the 10th king and in the 14th generation, from Anaxidamus, while Leonidas is the 18th king in the elder House, and this discrepancy is rather greater than distinguished subsequently, but then the lists of kings and even the genealogies are not so sure. With Hitt, Leonidas and Leotykhidas are in the same generation (14th from Herakles).

7 Θεοπόμπου: on Hdt.'s own show (see below) Theopompus is the 9th king of Sparta (Anaxidamus included), and the 14th generation from Herakles included corresponding to Tefkion in the pedigree of Leonidas, 7. 204 *supra*. This is the only passage in which the name of the king of whom later writers have so much to tell us occurs in the work of Hitt. A great external clue, the first I have seen, was *supra* 4.

Πολυδέκτω τοῦ Πρυτανίου τοῦ Εὐρυφώντος τοῦ Προκλέος

8 Πολυδέκτω Valckenburg: πολυδέκτος | τοῦ πρυτανίου οὐκ. C^o | Εὐρυφώντος Valckenburg, van H., deinde <τοῦ Σόου>, and unde comment infia

4. X), and a great internal development, the institution of the Ephors (Aristot. Pol. 8. 11. 2=1313 A. were dated to his reign). The story of the Messenian wars is virtually a lost chapter in Spartan history to Hdt. (esp. 3. 47, the same articulate reference in the work; the Ephors by his expressly attention to Lysikourgos, 1. 65. The importance of King Theopompus dates apparently from the Messianic resources of the (Aged) King Pausanias early in the fourth century B.C. (Cf. Ed. Meyer, *Historien-gesch.* I. 1692-211 ff.

Νικόλδδου: Nikandros is 8th King in Sparta and 14th descendant of Herakles (corresponding thereby to Archon in the pedigree of Leonidas, 7. 204 supra). The later writers have something to say of him: Ptolemy *Men.* 250 refers to three apud Thebes (one of them addressed to as Athenian, and assuredly not coming from the fifth century); Pausanias 2. 35. 6, 8. 7. 4 associates his name especially with the invasion of Argolis.

Χάρηλου: Charilaos is 5th King of Sparta, and 11th descendant of Herakles (corresponding thereby to Archon in the pedigree of Leonidas, 7. 204 supra). The name appears in the *Politeia* of Aristotle in two forms, Χάρηλος (1. 10. 2=1371 B), and Χάρηλος (8. 12. 12=1316 A), and later tradition had something to say of him, making him out a tyrant, yet also the nephew and ward of Lysikourgos, and associated in his reforms (Pausanias *Lysikourg.* 5. The latter point is in direct conflict with Hdt. 1. 65 where Lysikourgos appears associated with the older House two or as the Greeks would have said, three generations earlier. Pausanias 2. 35. 6, 8. 7. 3, 4. 4-8, was using the father's name as Polydektes (not Eumenes), reversing the Herodotean order, to describe Charilaos engaged in war especially with Argos and with Tegea (etc.), and as taken prisoner by the Tegeans (8. 6. 6 but is omitted after swearing that the Lakedaemonians should never again invade Argolis, an oath soon broken (8. 48. 5). Hdt. can hardly have been acquainted

with this story obviously an Aegre tale) when he wrote 1. 65.

Εὐρύφοντος: Euryphontes is 6th King of Sparta and 10th descendant of Herakles, corresponding thereby with Theopompus in the pedigree of Leonidas, 7. 204 supra; his name is perhaps exceptionally significant, coming about the time of Lysikourgos, and none the less in view of the *Resurrex* of Tyrtaeos (Aristot. Pol. 8. 7. 3=1306 B), and the fact that Lysikourgos was made his son, in the fourth century theory of Ptolemy *Lysikourg.* 5; but he is not an uncommon one in the historical period (cf. Xenoph. *Hell.* 5. 2. 6). More significant is the fact that the data followed by Pausanias reversed the order of the names Eumenes and Polydektes, and that even Pausanias has nothing to tell us of Eumenes but that he was son of Prytanis, and that in his reign, and in his son's, 'the land had rest,' *εὐνομία διατελέσθαι οὐρα ἡ πατρίδα* (8. 7. 3). According to Ptolemy *l.c. supra*, he came to a violent end, being struck down with a dagger, in the peace-making attempt to terminate a feud).

8. Πολυδέκτος: Polydektes is the 5th King of Sparta and the 9th descendant of Herakles, corresponding thereby with Leonidas in the pedigree of Leonidas, 7. 204 supra. Common enough, the name Polydektes is otherwise only associated with mythical characters, viz. 1) name epithet of Poseidon, *Ποσειδώνος*, 2) as King of Siphnos, son of Megakles brother of Dietya, changed into a stone, Pausan. *Epich.* 12. 24, Pausan. 1. 26. 7, Acadian, *Anab.* 3. 8. 1 etc.

Πρυτανίου: Prytanis is the 4th King in Sparta, and the 8th descendant of Herakles; corresponding thereby with Echestratos in the pedigree of Leonidas, 7. 204 supra. The name is of course significant, and as a magistrature title (though not apparently in archaic, and at Sparta) somewhat suspicious; but historical examples of its use as a proper name are forthcoming (e.g. first, a Lykios, *Hell.* 6. 878, also a boxer from Kyzikos, Pausan. 6. 21. 3, and others). The statement of Pausan. 3.

τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου τοῦ Ἀριστομάχου τοῦ Κλεοδαίου τοῦ
Ἰλλου τοῦ Ἰπρακλέος, ἐὼν τῆς ἐτέρης οἰκῆς τῶν βασιλέων, 10
οὗτοι πάντες, πλὴν τῶν ἐπτά τῶν μετὰ Λευτεχίδεα πρώτων

11 ἐπτά Παιήμιες: διῶν (δύῳ δ: εἰς τῶν οἰκ. R.

7-2 that the quarrel between Sparta and Argos began in his reign is worth remembering, if it be not contradicted by the next words, that the Spartans had previously made war on the Kynurians. **τοῦ Εὐρυπύκτου**: the surname in the word is *εὐρυπύκτης*; the usual form is *Εὐρυπύκτῃς*, for which the variant *Εὐρυπύκτος* (a more accurate or precise name occurs, as in Pausanias *Lykourgos*, 2 where *Ναλκωνίδης* is translated *Εὐρυπύκτος* and *Εὐρυπύκτου*) is now accepted (see too in *Lykourgos*, 2-13). This *Εὐρυπύκτῃς* is 3rd king in Sparta and 7th descendant of Herakles, coming 6th directly with Agis, as the pedigree of Pausanias, 7-204 *supra*. Pausanias 3-7-1 only tells us of him that he attacked each year that the House was called *Εὐρυπύκτῃς*; after him, *Προκλέας* is called *εὐρυπύκτου*. *Πλάτῃς*, *Προκλέας*, 2 gives us the reason, *ὅτι δοκεῖ πρῶτος Εὐρυπύκτῃς τὸ ἄρμα μεταβαίνειν ἐπὶ δυνάμει τῆς βασιλείας, δημοκρατῆς αὐτὸ χαρίζομενος τοῖς πολέταις*. But *εὐρυπύκτῃς* might prove no further justification: was it really *Εὐρυπύκτῃς* who considered the younger House or instead recognized for it, in the constitution of Sparta, the dual royalty only taking from his direct *Προκλέας* (i.e. *supra*) has a strange story of the treaty by which *Εὐρυπύκτῃς* took and possessed of the city of *Μακίστις* for the *Λυκωνοῦς*, a story which suffers under a double and contrary to existing tradition with a *εὐρυπύκτῃς* and the *εὐρυπύκτῃς* with a *εὐρυπύκτῃς* by *Εὐρυπύκτῃς*.

Εὐρυπύκτῃς wished to assist *τοῦ* *Εὐρυπύκτου*. This project was for the purpose of harmonizing Hdt. with Pausanias and with himself (1. 85, 67), as *εὐρυπύκτῃς*. But in reality it would have the effect of discrediting Hdt. himself, whose pedigrees of the two Houses cannot be derived by genealogy, and king for king, as above shown. Hdt. is plainly on a different opinion to Pausanias, 3-1-7 in regard to the contemporaryness.

Προκλέας: the 2nd king in Sparta (reckoning *Αριστοδῆμος*), the 6th descendant of Herakles, the twin-brother of *Εὐρυπύκτῃς*, and consequently

though not the nominal founder, not the eponym, of the younger House, as previous note. With *Εὐρυπύκτῃς* we pass on to ground already familiar, sp. 8. 52, 3-147 *supra*. The legend of the twins is, of course, an aetiological fiction. Pausanias has nothing to add to the notes: Hdt., but Pausanias again (1. 10) opposes the Herakleian *Προκλέας* to the *Εὐρυπύκτῃς* who were in possession of Sparta, and has been war a victory over them, thanks to his *εὐρυπύκτῃς*. This legendary tradition is perhaps the most suggestive, the most historical-looking fossil, in the legendary records of Sparta. The name *Προκλέας* is borne by many historical personages, sp. 8. 60 as *Κραδαῖος*, Xenoph. *Hell.* 3, 1, 6 as a note to Hdt. 6-70, 6-6-35 as *Προκλέας*, etc.

9 *Ἀριστοδῆμος*: with this name the dual pedigree, and the dual royalty, cease, *Αριστοδῆμος* is monarch, in or out of Sparta, and 6th descendant of Herakles, sp. note to 7-204 *supra*. It is possible that *Αριστοδῆμος* is a further ancestor in the pedigree of the younger, the true Herakleian, and perhaps Doron, House: the legend of the twins has inserted him also as ancestor of the Agid or Herakleian or *Εὐρυπύκτῃς* House, which was already in possession, and with him the age of the ancestors *Κραδαῖος*, *Πύλος*, *Εὐρυπύκτῃς*. On these matters see further notes to 7-204 *supra*, and on 1-2-1, earlier and my older editions of the pedigree, 6, 64 f.

10 *τῆς ἐτέρας οἰκῆς τῶν βασιλέων*: these words appear to contain an implicit reference back to the pedigree of the other House in 7-204 *supra*. Such references imply the solidarity of these three Houses.

11 *πλὴν τῶν ἐπτά τῶν μετὰ Λ. πρώτων*. *ἐπτά* is a certain enumeration, as *Δίς* (*εἰς*) but might refer to have taken it to the *εὐρυπύκτῃς* seven first instead of 'first seven', but *πρώτων* is to be taken predicatively with *ἐπτά* *δεχόμενος*. It is a historical inconsistency to refer the heroes before *Αριστοδῆμος* as 'kings of Sparta,' unless indeed *Προκλέας* is a title or pretension: but he should not be charged with reckoning

καταλεχθόντων, οἱ ἄλλοι βασιλεῖς ἐγεγοντο Σπάρτης. Ἀθη-
 132 ναίων δὲ ἰσχυρὰ ἔστρατιγγες Ξάνθιππος ὁ Ἀρίφρονος. ὡς δὲ
 παρεγένοντο ἐς τὴν Λίγυριν πᾶσαι αἱ νῆες, ἀπικόμιντο Ἴωνων
 ἄγγελοι ἐν τῷ στρατιώπιδον τῷ Ἑλλήνων, οἱ καὶ ἐς Σπάρτην
 ὀλίγω πρότερον τούτων ἀπικόμενοι ἐδέοντο Λακεδαιμονίων
 5 ἐλευθεροῦν τὴν Ἰωνίην· τῶν καὶ Ἡρόδοτος ὁ Βασιλίδεω
 ἦν· οἱ στασιῶται σφίσι γενόμενοι ἐπεβούλευον θάνατον
 Σπάρτῃ τῷ Χίου τυράννῃ, ἔοντες ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ ἐπιβουλευούτες

12 βασιλεῖς : 132. 2 νῆες : 3 ἐς τὴν : 4 τούτων 1
 5 στασιῶται C στασιῶται || σφίσι C : σφισι αἱ . σφι BP. ? στάται.
 5 : στράττι εἰσι η lit. ult. superter. C : στράττη Μαυ.

* Archidemos son of Theopompus, who
 Ἡρόδοτος 113 father, among the βασιλεῖς
 Σπάρτης (see p. 113). Hec. nowhere even
 ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος. Cp. note p. 501b supra.

12. Ξάνθιππος ὁ Ἀρίφρονος: the
 πατριάρχης though he has been
 mentioned 7. 33 supra, is not mentioned
 even if that passage be not of later
 insertion; cp. p. 31, 136. Xanthippus
 was one of the returned exiles, cp. p. 29
 supra, and may, like Aristides, have
 a newly been created one of the βουλευταὶ
 for 450-449.

132. 2 Ἀγανῶν a relative γὰρ advanced
 post, which would have left Salamis
 expressed, if all the Greek ships had been
 taken so far; we may reasonably doubt
 whether Salamis was thus exposed
 during the occupation of Athens. 110
 ships would not account even for the
 Athenian fleet.

Ἴωνων ἄγγελοι = ἀπὸ Σατ 1. (p. 7
 I supra) : καὶ αἱ νῆες, see below.
 The genitive is observable; they were
 apparently all Chians but they act as
 the general interest, and with authority,
 for they demand the liberation of 'Ionia.'
 The entry is curious and probably in-
 complete.

ὀλίγω πρότερον τούτων. The
 chronological indication leaves some-
 thing to be desired, but suggests the
 winter or spring of 480-79, and even a
 point after the rendezvous of the fleet at
 Aegina.

ἐδέοντο: Stein remarks on this as
 a surprising use of the imperfect; but
 explains it (in a note on ἐφύοντο 1. 66)
 by two considerations (a) the extremely
 late use made of the imperfect by Hec.
 (see below) (b) the imperfect is not so
 much with strict temporal reference as
 with regard to the importance or energy
 of the action, b and especially in

relative or subordinate sentences, where
 it is freely so used with it, and to the
 temporal relation of the verb to the
 main sentence and its predicate. As a
 typically characteristic case he cites 6.
 21 καὶ οὗτοι . . διέφθησαν . . εἰς τὴν
 γὰρ ἑλλ. (a passage in which im-
 mediately afterwards the plip. φέροντο
 occurs; cp. also 7. 155 ἦν etc.

5 Ἡρόδοτος ὁ Βασιλίδεω Hec.
 approves Dahlmann's supposition that
 the author would not have named his
 πατριάρχης unless they had also been
 relatives; but surely the coincidence in
 their names and their fortunes each
 opposing the 'tyrants' in its native
 place might be reasonable enough. Herodo-
 tus, son of Basilides, the Cl. 21, is not
 otherwise known to fame. Hec., vol.
 iv p. 131 ff., has composed a list of about
 a score of men bearing the name of
 Heracles the majority late comers.
 Cp. also Pappe Hec. 1. The Chian,
 and the Theban for whom Pindar wrote
 Ism. 1, are the only ones contemporary
 with or prior to our author. An old
 Chian name, however, has Ἀρχιδέω
 Ἡρόδοτος? (An old story) Hec. 1. 66,
 too, is a not uncommon name attested
 for Athens, Kos, Rhodes, etc. Pappe-
 Hec. 1. 139 and 2.

6. στασιῶται σφίσι γενόμενοι : σφίσι
 = ἀλλήλοις. Stein takes the phrase as
 implying that the conspirators came
 together from various cities for tem-
 porary, six or seven of which can just
 be discovered in Hec. 1. 66. Pappus,
 Att. Geogr. ii. 139 (Hec., Delfianus,
 Euboeus, Karakus, Aonians, Lokonians,
 'the Hec. 1.) but why should not all
 the cities have been resident in the
 capital? For the figure seven there
 was a high precedent, cp. 3. 79.

7. Σπάρτη. A Stratia is named in

δὲ ὡς φανεροὶ ἐγίνοντο, ἐξεκείαντος τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ἐνὸς τῶν μετεχόντων, οὕτω δὴ οἱ λοιποὶ ἐξ εὐνῆς ὑπεξίσχον ἐκ τῆς Χίου καὶ ἐς Σπάρτην τε ἀπίκοντο καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε 10 ἐς τὴν Λίγυραν, τῶν Ἑλλήνων δεόμενοι καταπλώσας ἐς τὴν Ἰωάνην· οὐ προήγαγον αὐτοῖς μόγις μέχρι Δήλου. τὸ γὰρ προσωτέρω πᾶν δευδὸν ἦν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι οὔτε τῶν χώρων εἶδους ἐμπείροισι, στρατῆς τε πάντα πλεῖα εἶδότες εἶναι, τὴν

8 ἐγίνοντο αC 8 οὕτω ὁψ. οἱ τοὶ B | ἐξ εὐνῆς adesse iuxta
την H 10 τε επι BP: 12 προήγαγοι δὲ ππε οἱ B 13
προσωτέρως α | προτέρως B

4 132 as one of the Ionian 'tyrants' on the Danube in 512 B.C. i.e. 33 years or so before the date here reached: is this the same man or his descendant? And at what date was the plot actually hatched? ἀρχή, as in c. 128 *supra*.

8. ἐξεκείαντος τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν, one of the participants published, or betrayed, the plot; for the meaning of ἐκείαντος c. 37-78.

9. ὑπεξίσχον, as in 5. 72, made their way out secretly.

10. καὶ δὴ καὶ, a phrase perhaps not so common in these Books; cp. c. 134 f.

νῆες seems to separate somewhat the visit to Asia from the visit to Sparta; otherwise it might be supposed that they had been refused by the home government to the King Navareh at Delos.

12. προήγαγον αὐτοῖς μέχρι μέχρι Δήλου, 'with difficulty the Ionian ambassadors persuaded the Hellenes to move forwards as far as Delos.' There follows the motivation, or rationale, of this reluctance in the form of two reasons: first, ignorance of the topography, a point further emphasized by the remark upon Samos and the pillars of Herakles, and secondly, apprehension of encountering resistance: that is, of course, in the shape of the Persian fleet. But does not suggest that the naval movements were in any degree dependent on the operations of Mardonios and the Persian forces behind them in Greece. In his scheme of presenting the facts Mardonios has not yet been brought into central Greece, but is wintering in Thessaly. Literary methods here help to obscure the real sequence and series of events.

14. τὴν δὲ Σάμον ἐκείνῳ δόξῃ καὶ Πραχίαν στήλας ἰσὺν ἀπέχουσιν. At Delos they were considerably more than

half-way from Aigina to Samos. This is the only passage in these Books in which 'the Herakleian Pillars' are mentioned: indeed, save for the mention of them in 2. 33, they are only mentioned in Hk 4 (and therein seven times, cc. 8, 43, 162, 181, 186, 189), a striking illustration of the 'Western' interest in that Book. The form of the designation in Hdt. is always adjectival (never Ἡρακλειανήν, as in Strabo 168), and the passages cited leave no room for doubt as to its geographical significance (straits of Gibraltar), but Hdt. nowhere indicates exactly what he understands by the phrase. His contemporary Kuktetos, of Athens, apparently understood the expression to apply to two islands, 30 stades distant from each other, covered with wood, and inaccessible for large vessels, and each provided with a temple and an altar of Herakles. Euxestemon ap. Avienum, *Or. marit.* ed. A. Holder cp. Berger, *Gesch. d. Wissenschaft. Erdkunde*, i. 371. Pomponius Mela (*temp. Claudii*), a native of the region, considered the Pillars or Columns, to be the two mountains, Calpe (*Hesperides*) and Abyla (*Afrique* Strabo 170). *Cetera*, rising at the European and African ends of the straits respectively (2. 6, 98; cp. Bonbury, *Ant. Geogr.* ii. 388). Ptolemy, however, his predecessor, who spent a considerable time at Gades (Strabo 174), believed that the Pillars were literally Pillars, to wit, the bronze Pillars of enebis (12 feet high in the Herakleian at Gades; cp. Strabo 170, where the various alternatives regarding that afterwards favoured by Mela) are set out and discussed, Strabo himself finally inclining to the metaphorical meaning (but not deciding between 'islands' and 'mountains'). Our clearer knowledge of the early import-

- 15 δὲ Σάμον ἐπιστάτο δόξῃ καὶ Ὑρακλέας στήλας ἴσον ἀπέ-
 συνέπιπτε δὲ τοιοῦτο ὥστε τοὺς μὲν βαρβάρους τὸ
 ἐσπέρης ἀνωτέρω Σάμου μὴ τολμᾶν καταπλῶσαι καταρρ-
 κώτας, τοὺς δὲ "Ελληνας, χρηζόντων Χίων, τὸ πρὸς τῇ
 133 κατωτέρω Δήλου. οὕτω δίδος τὸ μέσον ἐφύλασσε σφίον.
 133 Οἱ μὲν δὴ "Ελληνες ἐπλεον ἐς τὴν Δήλον, Μαρδόνιο

13 ἡπιστάτο Pa || δόξῃ σοῦ van H. 16 τοιοῦτον B: τοῖς
 17 ἀνωτέρω α ὁ ἰ αὐταπλάσσει ἀναπλῶσαι? Stein: πλῶσαι van
 καταρρωδηκότες P 18 νεῖρα χρηζόντων τῶν Χίων suspecta
 van H. χρηζόντων Apr.: τῶν χίων B 19 κατωτέρω αP: κατὸ
 Marc. " διος BPa: δε ἐς | ἐφύλασσε σφίων Stein?, Hlder, van H.:
 λασσόν δ 133. 1 ἐπλεον B, van H.

ance of Pelagopolis (cp. A. J. Evans, *Aegean Sea and Pelagopolis*, 1901), and its undoubted association with the Tynian Herakles (cp. H. L. 2. 34 might incline us to take the western 'Pelagos of Herakles' as really marking the limits of Phoenician navigation, and the metaphorical epithet as an afterthought, but such phrases as δὲ Ὑρακλέας στήλας ἐσπέρως, δευτέρως (L. 42, 43, 162) suggest that Hdt. uses the phrase with the metaphorical reference, and would have put the pillars either side the strait. The statement that "the Greeks at Delos (in 479 B.C.) believed (ἐπιστάτο) δόξῃ an interesting collocation) Samos as far off (ἀσπείων, cp. 9. 52 *infra*) as India" is characterized by Kapitaneou as "perhaps the grossest instance in Hdt. of rhetorical exaggeration" (S. 97 runs it close). But it should not be put down primarily to Hdt., least of all with the view, "by an imaginary effect of contrast, to place in a more striking light the rapid increase during his own time of national power and civilization among his European fellow-countrymen."

Marc. quoted by Hakesley *ad l.*. Nor is it to be treated (as by Binkley himself) as a serious record of real matter of fact, or feeling, explicable by the evil association which had gathered at Samos round "the voyage to Samos" (cp. 8. 46). The cause is really much simpler. The phrase reproduces the impatience of Hdt.'s Ionian sources with the cautious policy of the Spartan navy (for what there were good grounds enough) or perhaps it even reflects the general bitterness of a period, the *Pentekontaetia*, when Athenian policy had practically made the Aegean a mere cloister to Peloponnesian long.

ship. At Delos the Hellespont was in sight of Samos on a clear day before very long, in the very early morning hardly to that bourne (9. 4 Hdt.'s error of projecting this as of the naval movement to the of the previous winter and early has softened the incongruity. kept the Greek fleet at Delos was that they deemed further away from the Ionians, and secondly they had to consider the actual naval town in Greece. (cp. Apr. IV § 2, VI § 7.

16 συνέπτε . . ὥστε: cp. *supra*. Here of a strictly local incidence, here of a rather more in one.

17 καταπλῶσαι Stein regards as a copyist's error for καταπλῶσαι as the ἱσίων just as καταπλῶσαι would then need supplies with κατωτέρω Δήλου, passage is not quite precisely correct hence van Herwerden's *supra* preferable, c). *Ad l.* 11.

18 χρηζόντων Χίων: the six had preserved themselves at Samos August, as ἱσίων ὄψεσθαι, but the really or primarily were *στρατιῶται* their credentials may have been complete: the fleet advanced to escort of a Samian embassy. 2. 20

19 τὸ μέσον. The intervening sea motion fear kept them apart 7. 11 *supra*.

133. 1. ἐπλεον: on this imperfect 132 *supra*. Here it seems to be said rather with regard to what to low account of Mardonius, whose presence in temporal order the is Delos, or even the move to Aigina

περὶ τὴν Θεσσαλίην ἐχρίμαζε. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὁρμώμενος ἔπιμπε
κατὰ τὰ χρηστήρια ἄνδρα Εὐρωπέα γένος, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν
Μῦς, ἐντειλόμενος πανταχῇ μιν χρησόμενον ἐλθεῖν, τῶν οἰά
τε ἦν σφί ἀποπειρήσασθαι. ὃ τι μὲν βουλόμενος ἐκμαθεῖν,
πρὸς τῶν χρηστηρίων ταῦτα ἐπετέλλετο, οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι·
οὐ γὰρ ὦν λέγεται· δοκίω δ' ἔγνωνε περὶ τῶν παρόντων
πρηγμάτων καὶ οὐκ ἄλλων πέρι πέμψαι. οὗτος δὲ Μῦς ἐν 134

2 (χειμῆρις) Krueger, van H. || ὁρμώμενος DP, Stein¹, van H.;
ὁρμώμενος Co 3 τὰ om. B || Εὐρωπία einend. Stein, recar. Holder,
van H. 4 χρησόμενον aCP, Stein¹ 5 ἐκμαθεῖν a 7 δὲ B
8 περὶ πέμψαι B

2. περὶ τὴν Θεσσαλίην ἐχρίμαζε. op.
a. 1 3 αἰών. The word χρίμαζω has
= Hdt. χριμῆριζω is observable; op.
7, 191.

ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὁρμώμενος: has the parti-
ciple any real force? Does it mean 'as
he was starting' i.e. before leaving; or
simply 'from headquarters there' (op.
c. 112 ff. ἄνδρα σχημαίνον, where the
participle is not quite so much atrophied)?

3 κατὰ τὰ χρηστήρια: the participle
κατὰ is substantive, and answers to be
used broadly and distributively rather
than of the object or persons of the
passive. a not ad accusandam personam
Dind. op. 1, 30 τὸν Σάωνα θανάτῳ
περὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς θανάτῳ.

Εὐρωπία γένος, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Μῦς.
a town of Euboea by name Mūs.
Euboea as a place name or town (gen.)
is found in various quarters, notably in
Macedonia, Page 2 100, 3. The name
of this name is further Asiatic (to wit
Macedonian) localisation. The name
here appears to be evidently a Latin one.
c. 115 infers: Steph. B. εὐρώπεια καὶ
ἀπὸ καὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἀπὸ ἰβηρίων
ἑσπέρων (i.e. ἰβηρίων). On ἰβηρία
op. 5 118. On the other hand Steph. B.
εὐρώπεια καὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν εὐρώπεια καὶ
ἀπὸ ἰβηρίων τοῦ ἰβηρίου ἑσπέρων τὸ
εὐρώπεια ἑσπέρων. Of ἑσπέρων he gives
ἑσπέρων ἀπὸ ἑσπέρων, Stein¹ suggests
ἑσπέρων as the true reading here and
Dind. suggests that Εὐρωπία is an
evident error for Εὐρώπεια i.e. from
the name Euboean town of Εὐρώπεια (also
Τρωπία). It is clearly overlooking the
Latin utterance of the Pythia below
makes Mūs a Macedonian and observing
that Εὐρώπεια was a surname of Uranus
in the case of Thracians, Pausan. 2.

3D. 5, an 'Archeian' to boot. Mūs
(μοῦς, 2. 14.) as a proper name
is common, but common; there are
several later instances, e.g. Pausan. 1.
28, 2 (a celebrated artist, usually
contemporary with Phidias, as he is
said to have executed the relief on the
shield of the Prometheus); a boxer, of
Tarentum, Dindas end a etc.

4. τῶν οἰά τε ἦν σφί ἀποπειρήσασθαι:
notwithstanding its plural form, οἰά does
not refer to χρηστήρια, but . . . one or two
etc. one relative is enough. The
ἀποπειρά of the Oracles of Marathon, or
Mūs, is a genuine consultation, not a
trial (ἀποπειρά 1. 47) or testing, like that
of Kassandra 1. 16. On the contrary, it is a
consultation with an oracle on the part of the
Greek to the Greek religion. Delphi
is apparently not one of the centres it is
possible to turn to consult.

5 οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι· οὐ γὰρ ὦν λέγεται·
δοκίω δ' ἔγνων. . . Hdt. a complete
sentence emphatically remarkable, and is
convinced pro tanto by the anecdote in
D. 11 infers: it is, however, remark-
able that Hdt. had not been able to
discover the purport of Marathon's
inquiries—in other words, he had not
been able to obtain any of the answers
given to Mūs. This circumstance
certainly does not enhance the credit of
the story, and takes it, combined with
the consequences of the Pythia,
suggests the suggestion that the whole
story may be a part of the fiction of
Delphi. But it has a good deal of
evidence, and reads like a genuine
memory. Was it, perhaps, one of the
tales told Hdt. by his Euboean friend
Themander of Orchomenos? Cp. 2. 16,
and Introduction, § 10.

τε Λεβυδαίαν φαίνεται ἀπικόμενος καὶ μισθὸν πείσας τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἄνδρα καταβῆναι παρὰ Τροφώνιον, καὶ ἐν Ἄβας τὰς Τροφώνιον ἀπικόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον· καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς

134. 2 Λεβυδαίαν Ο || ἀπικόμενος φαίνεται ὁ
Μητρ. 4 δὴ καὶ: δὴ Β

3 ἀνδρῶν ἀνδρα

134. 2. Λεβυδαίαν: though the oracle is mentioned 1. 48, this is the only passage in Hdt. where the name of the city occurs, the modern *Levidia*, a place of more importance in Roman and Turkish than in ancient times. Plutarch *Life of Alcibiades* 14. 2 mentions its capture and sack by Lysander, Strabo 114 marks its position Λεβυδαία δ' ἐστὶν, ὅπου Διὸς Τροφώνιον μαρτυρεῖται (ἀρεταί, χαλμαὶ οὐρανίου) καταβᾶσαν ἔχον, καταβῆναι δ' αὐτὸς ὁ χρηστήριον φερόμενος· αὐτοὶ δὲ μετὰ τοῦ Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῆς Χερωνείας, Κυρωναίης πόλεως. Pausanias 9. 39, 40 locates the ritual from his own experience, and gives the story of the origin of the oracle. The process of consultation was extremely awful, and expensive, and apparently could not be carried on properly by a deputy, or deputies: dignity as contemplated in this case. The oracle was, of course, chthonian, and Trophῶνιον perhaps original, a epithet of Zeus.

3. καταβῆναι παρὰ Τροφώνιον, the grove (ἀρεταί) of Trophonios was situated beyond the river Herkyne, which rose out of a cave in a gorge on Helikon. The votary crossed the stream and ascended through the grove (ἀνελθὼν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ μυστήριον Ποσειδ., i.e.) to the cave in which the actual rite took place. Several days' preparation and purification were necessary before the votary was permitted to descend ἐς τοῦ Τροφώνιον κατὰ νύκτα, and the privilege was reserved for the male sex (cp. *ἀνδρα* here, and *ἀνδρῶν* Pausanias *loc. cit.*). Purification, divination, sacrifices, are the order of the day culminating in the offering of a ram on the night of the actual descent. You are first washed in the waters of Helikon and of Herakleia, display to your soaring gaze the ancient image, and invest you with proper garb, for the dire ordeal. You then enter 'the descent' into the house of Trophonios. In the oracular chamber is a mysterious opening, or well, care-

fully built round and over, about six feet in diameter, and some twelve feet in depth, looking like an oven. Into this pit you descend by a light ladder, introduced for the purpose, taking some honey-bone with you (cp. *ἀνατολή*, *Plutarch* 107 f.). Arrived at the bottom, you find a small opening at one side, just large enough to admit your feet to mount you lie down on your back as I work through it; and no sooner have your knees passed the aperture than you find yourself suddenly and irresistibly drawn or sucked down into the body of holos. There the secrets of the future are revealed to you in a way over which Pausanias somewhat abruptly crops the curtain. The exit has to be effected by the same entrance (σπάρα τὸ ἑρπύς), and again feet foremost. By this time you are more dead than alive, but the ordeal is not over. The priests set you on the seat of Remembrance, and question you on what you have seen and heard below: after they have obtained the requisite information, they return you to your anxious relatives or attendants, who convey you, in a state of trance or unconsciousness, back to your apartment at the sign of 'Good Luck and the Daemon.' But do not despair: no proper consultant has ever been known to expire under the ordeal, and some have lived to smoothen again after it.

ἐν Ἄβας it required some effort to get the part of the formula to consult this oracle of Apollo, cp. c. 33 *supra*. Blakesley tries to get over the difficulty by supposing that the sack of the shrine was not the work of the division of the army commanded by Mardonius—but according to Blakesley himself Mardonius was commander-in-chief all along, and again, that compensation was now made—of which Hdt. says nothing. The important point is that Hdt. is unconscious of the difficulty so completely independent are his various stories one of another.

4. καὶ δὴ καὶ ὁ 132 *supra*

ἐν Ἄβας may be taken in a wide sense to cover all the territory subject

Θήβας πρῶτα ὡς ὑπὶκετο, τοῦτα μὲν τῷ Ἰσμηνίῳ Ἀπόλλωνι ;
ἐχρήσατο· ἔστι δὲ κατὰ περ ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ ἱροῖσι αὐτόθι
χρησθηρίαζεσθαι· τοῦτο δὲ ξείνου τινὰ καὶ οὐ Θηβαίων χρή-
μασι πείσας κατακοίμησε ἐς Ἀμφιαρεῶν. Θηβαίων δὲ οὐδενὶ
ἔξεστι μαντεύεσθαι αὐτόθι διὰ τὸδε· ἐκέλευσε σφείας ὁ Ἀμφιά-

δ ὑπὶκετο B θ κατὰ: καὶ τὰ B B κατακοίμισε αΡz
ἀμφιάκειαι B· ἀμφιάρων Ραττ. 1635, z B ἐκέλευσε σφείας Steinl,
van H.: ἐκέλευε σφείας (Pz, Heiler) ἀμφιάρων B: ἀμφιάρων z

to Thebes (so Bachr., the temple of Amphiaraios was not in Thebes proper, *πρῶτα* a rather puzzling; nothing is said of a second visit, though doubtless he had been to Thebes passing through with his army to and from Athens, and doubtless visited it again in company with Menelaos (so B 50, 118 supra, v. 2, 15 etc. infra). The meaning is compensated by *τοῦτο μὲν*· *τοῦτο δὲ* (in the first place in the second place) immediately following. Stein suggests that *πρῶτα* in *ἀντικετο* equals *πρῶτα* *ἐκεῖσε*, *ἀντικετος δὲ*, but notes that Thebes was the first place he visited coming from Marathon in Townsley I., could Hdt. have meant *σε πρῶτα* ('as soon as he reached Thebes')? (p. 107, note 1, 66).

δ τῷ Ἰσμηνίῳ Ἀπόλλωνι, cp. B 59, a passage which proves that Hdt. himself had at some time visited this shrine. It was perhaps subsequent v, and after his visit, that he added the phrase *ἐκεῖσε κατακοίμισε*· *ἐκεῖσε* *ἔστι δὲ* . . . *χρησθηρίαζεσθαι*. The probability of a *χρησθηρία* by 'fortune-telling' appears to be a special form of divination described by the Iliad, (cp. B 35 infra of Eris Pindarid 8 2 *καὶ τὸν ἐλάνει ἐκείνους τελαμῶνόνεσσι παρὰ τεύχεσσι τοῖς δὲ ἀντιπαρασπον*, Cf. Bouche-Lezern on Herodotus of Sicily, *Μακρ.* i. 208, 212. It was practised also in Thebes; cp. Sophocles 'I' 21 etc. Ἰσμήναι τοῖς ἀντικετο σποδοῖ.

7. ξείνου τινὰ . . . κατακοίμησε: Plutarch *Aratid.* 19 reports the actual dream which visited the 'Theban' and which exactly prefigured the death of Menelaos.

8. ἐς Ἀμφιάρων: this oracle too appears in the list of Kroton (cp. I. 46, 47, 48), who, *εὐχόμενος αὐτῷ*· *ἡγεῖται δὲ ἐπεὶ αὐτὸν ὥσπερ*, made presents to Iru, which in Hdt. at the had been transferred to the temple of Iammar Apollo (I. 62), perhaps to prevent their passing under

Athenian dominion. The actual shrine of Amphiaraios himself was at Oropos, Pausan. I. 31. His valour has been shown in his slaughter of Melanippos in return for the death of Melanippos and Tydus, (cp. B. 67, his 'præmonition' in his terrible fate, the earth opening and swallowing him up, chariot and all, Pindar *Arat.* 9, 24; Aeschyl. *Sepulchri* 668 ff. The cult was confined practically to Peloponnesos and Central Greece, especially Boiotia (Boths ap. Fauly-Wissowa, I. 148), and the departed seer is really 'a chthonian deity of prehistoric Greece' who, in the person of his son Amphilochos (cp. I. 2. 64 2, draws off a supplever to historic verities) tells. The oracle was a divinatory (Pausanias I. 31 6). The consultant, after due purification and sacrifice, sacrifice also a ram, goes to sleep upon its skin, and awaits a dream-revelation *ἀντιπρόσωπον ἡλίου ἐκπύρου*. Amphiaraios is in some respects a replica of Trophon as both being a son-in-law of the Asklepiades, perhaps because both are forms of chthonian Zeus.

Θηβαίων δὲ οὐδενὶ ἔξεστι, the taboo or prohibition is interesting. Was it restricted to Oropos (cp. B 10) or were Thebans universally excluded from the cult of Amphiaraios? There was another Boiotia shrine of Amphiaraios near Potma (Pausan. 9. 8. 3), but Pausanias does not record any divination there. At Hattia, however, near Makedonia, there was a temple (Strabo 474) in which at least in later times, oracles were to be had (Hdt. I. 6 supra). The context here might seem to imply that Thebans had once had oracles, or at least one response, of their ally.

9. διὰ τὸδε: the taboo is obviously a much more certain fact than the reason given for it. The true reason might perhaps be sought in the difference of race between the two sons of Thebes

ιστρων διὰ χρηστηρίων ποιούμενος ὑκότερα βούλονται ἐλεῖ
τούτων, ἰωυτῶ ἢ ἄτε μάντε χρᾶσθαι ἢ ἄτε συμμαχῶ,
ἑτέρου ἀπεχομένους· οἱ δὲ συμμαχὸν μιν εἶλοντο εἶναι.
τοῦτο μιν οὐκ ἔξεστι Θηβαίωι οὐδενὶ αὐτόθι ἐγκατακοιμηθῆ-
135 τόδε δὲ θῶμά μοι μέγιστον γενέσθαι λέγεται ὑπὸ Θηβαί-
ῶν εἶναι ἄρα τὴν Εὐρώπεια Μῦν, περιστροφόμενον πάντα
χρηστήρια, καὶ ἐς τοῦ Πτόφου Ἀπόλλωνος τὸ τέμενος. τὴν
δὲ τὸ ἱερόν καλεῖται μὲν Πτόφον, ἔστι δὲ Θηβαίων, κείτα
ὑπὲρ τῆς Καπαιδος λίμνης πρὸς ὀρεῖ ἀγχοτατῶ Ἀκραί-
ων

11 τοιούτων εἰ μάντε α || χρᾶσθαι αδ· χρᾶσθαι reliqui
κατακοιμηθῆναι B¹ 135. 1 τὸδε Wesseling, van H., Bu
τότε || θῶμά C¹ & Stein¹ 2 ἄρα· γάρ? van H. || Εὐρωπία Ho
van H., cf. c. 133 supra || Μῦν del. van H. || τὰ om. B 3 πτόφου
πτόφου 4 καλεῖται ἰρίν om. R || πτόφον α· πτόφον | κατὰ
Stein¹ 5 καπαιδος A ἰρις A¹ BS, οἶρεῖ ἀγχοτατῶ αF· ἀγχοτε
|| ἀκραίφονος C

and the pro-Berotian population to the south, and on the Attic border. Cult is stiffer than north: the Boeotians of Thebes might appropriate the story of Amphitrion and make him their friend and ally but they could not get rid of the religious interdiction. They too invented the reason to account for the fact.

13 διὰ χρηστηρίων ποιούμενος per seculum cum in agra, haec ἄρ-
γῶντα a spontaneous act. τούτων refers incessantly to the following al-
ternatives.

12 ἀπεχομένους is strong middle.
ἐγκατακοιμηθῆναι = παρεκοιμηθῆναι

135 1. τὸδε cp. App. Crit. τότε would mean in 479 B.C.

θῶμά μοι μέγιστον. μοι, a possessive (Lacharier): but not exactly possessive (Bach), rather *maximum*, the
judice, maximum.

γενέσθαι, 'to have taken place.'

λέγεται ὑπὸ Θηβαίων: the citation of the source seems to suggest a credit, or at least to imply a responsibility. ἄρα, continuing the note of admission, or marks an advance, a heightening, of the action (cp. lines 200-1).

2 περιστροφόμενον πάντα τὰ χρ.: περιστροφόμενα, a representative of περιστροφόμενα, itself a word suggesting a rather hurried procedure, is perhaps hardly complimentary to Mys, whose methods all through are somewhat summary: is the word applied by the

*Theban source? The contrast resembles περιλάττοντες τὰς σφύρας 1 Should not πάντα include Delphi?

3. τοῦ Πτόφου Ἀπόλλωνος τὸ τῆς 'the place of Ptoian Apollo.' Le Apollo of Mount Ptoia, the god apparently named from the mountain the mountain from the god. M. Iorgules Ptoia was a son of Athene, Iphicrates Antioch Iason 92 perhaps an altar sought. On the neck of Atiamia with the ill cp. 7 117 supra. The meaning of word is obscure. Gieseler *et al.* *nomina*, p. 276, suggests *denuncian* (cp. Schreckstein in *Bornemann Oberh.* cp. *Φοικων* = *Φοικων*), at the present description of the site in question τοῦτο δὲ . . . πόλις μεγάλῃ, the note may be an add. The force of the antithesis καλεῖται . . . τότε δὲ is not obvious, but not the sense that the name was only the Theban (Boeotian) name, as compared with her 1.

5. τῆς Καπαιδος λίμνης this only expresses antiquity. Hdt. of Kōrae also which occupied so long space at W. Boeotia at least in winter months. The township or of Kōrae, the township which gave name to the lake, are mentioned Thucyd. 1 63. 4 Strabo 410-11 that the lake had been called just after the various cities on its edge the name of (the insignificant) B

πύλαι. ἐν τούτῳ τὸ ἱρὸν ἐπαίτε παρελθεῖν τὸν καλεόμενον
 τούτου Μῦν (ἔπεσθαι δὲ οἱ τῶν ἰστών αἰρετοὺς ἄνδρας τρεῖν
 ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ὡς ἀπογραφομένους τὰ θεσπεῖν ἐμελλε), . . .
 καὶ πρόκατε τὸν πρόμαντιν βαρβάρῳ γλώσση χράν. καὶ τοὺς
 μὲν ἐπομένους τῶν Θηβαίων ἐν θώματι ἔχεσθαι ἀκούοντας 10
 βαρβάρου γλώσσης ἀντὶ Ἑλλάδος, οὐδὲ ἔχειν ὁ τι χρήσονται
 τῷ παρόντι πρῆγματι· τὸν δὲ Εὐρωπαϊά Μῦν ἐξαρπάσαντα
 παρ' αὐτῶν τὴν ἐφέραντο δέλτον, τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ
 προφήτου γράφειν ἐς αὐτήν, φαίνει δὲ Καρίῳ μιν γλώσση
 χράν, συγγραψάμετον δὲ οἰχισθαι ἀπύοντα ἐς Θισσαλίην. 15

7, 8 (ἔπεσθαι . . . ἐμελλε) caueribus pro Stein¹ | ἔε οἱ. B., Holder,
 van H. | Θισσαλίην B, Stein¹ 2 | λαίμακον iud. c. Stein¹ 3 τὴν α |
 μάντιν Ppr S 10 θαύματι B, Stein¹, Holder || οἰχισθαι Krieger
 11 οὐδ B | χρήσονται a Ppr. c. χησόντας 12 χράντι C || Εὐρω-
 πια! v de Ppr S, Mēn van H. 13 αὐτῶν a 14 γράφην B
 || γλώσση. φωνή B

retailed, καθίστατον γὰρ τούτῳ τὸ χωρίον,
 that place being frequent in the vale (and
 no never dry).

Ἀκραίφης Akraiphia (Akraiphion
 Pausan. 9. 25. 6) was apparently an
 important town in the Peloponnese to
 Thebes though to judge by the context
 it must have enjoyed intervals of
 prosperity. Herod. 4. 2. 100, p. 202,
 and is described by Pausanias (c. 10) as
 standing upon a high acropolis to the left
 of the temple. Dr. Frazer's note
 (Journ. Philol. Soc. 27 ff.) deals with the whole
 situation fully from personal observa-
 tion. The precise site of the temple
 /acros has been archaeologically ex-
 plored is described (ib. p. 100) as a
 steep slope, elaborately terraced, high
 upon the chief mountain in the Plona
 range. On the highest or sixth terrace
 there is a spring; the temple as it
 stood on the high, lower down the hill
 is an artificial cavern, connected with
 the spring above by an earth-work
 tunnel; the oracles were perhaps
 delivered in this cavern by the priestess,
 who had previously drunk of the water
 of the spring as a purgative by the
 prescription of the prophet of the Carian
 Apollo (Frazer, l. c.).

εἰς τὴν παρελθόντα the previous time
 is referred for the Theban narrative,
 after the interpolated note in Hdt. a new
 person. One must understand that the
 Theban government had apprehended three

conspirators to wait upon Mēn. The
 subject of ἐμελλε must be ὁ θεός.

9. καὶ πρόκατε: there is an apparent
 parataxis, but if the text is correct, Hdt.
 must have forgotten the ἐπεὶ above,
 and the result is an anacoluthon.
 Stein¹ supposes some words to have
 fallen out, e.g. ἔπεσθαι αὐτῶν τὸ μέγεθος.
 The error is here a man τὸν πρόμαντιν,
 not a woman as at Delphi.

χράν: as in l. 65, d. 155.

10. ἐν θώματι ἔχεσθαι, 'were speak-
 ing' in below.

11. Ἑλλάδος: an adverbial adjective
 οὐδὲ ἔχειν, 'were at a complete
 loss', cp. l. 12.

13. τὴν ἐφέραντο δέλτον: on the
 imperf. cp. note c. 132 supra.

τὰ λεγόμενα τοῦ τοῦ προφήτου
 γράφειν: it is tantamount to think that
 the previous tacit was omitted off by
 Mēn to Thebes, without even a copy
 being left behind! Nor does it seem
 that Hdt. had seen the original. There
 is no hope of recovering it now.

14. Καρίῳ μιν γλώσση χράν: or was
 προφήτου: for πρόμαντιν. Unless Mēn
 was a Karian the assertion of the Karian
 language would have been rather pre-
 sumptuous. The story may be substantially
 true, it would not have been difficult
 to arrange that the prophet should
 hold a few words of Karian to the man
 of Karinos, or Karinos. One need not

- 138 Μαρδόνιος δὲ ἐπιλεξιμένος ὁ τι δὴ λέγοντα ἦν τὰ χρηστήρια, μετὰ ταῦτα ἔπεμψε ἄγγελον εἰς Ἀθήνας Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Ἀμύντεω ἄνδρα Μακεδόνα, ἅμα μὲν ὅτι οἱ προσκηδέες οἱ Πέρσαι ἦσαν· Ἀλεξάνδρου γὰρ ἀδελφεὴν Γυγαίην, Ἀμύντεω δὲ θυγατέρα, Βουβάρης ἀνὴρ Πέρσης ἔσχε, ἐκ τῆς οἱ ἐγγόνες Ἀμύντης ὁ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ, ἔχων τὸ οὖνομα τοῦ μητροπάτορος, τῇ δὲ ἐκ βασιλέος τῆς Φρυγίης ἐδόθη Ἀλάβανδα πόλις

138. 1 ἦν λέγοντα P; 3 οἱ R 4 ἦσαν B 5 τὸ οὖν C
 || ὄνομα van H. || τοῖ τὸ BP: 'fortasse ἔχων ὄνομα τὸ τοῦ' van H.
 7 τῇ τὸ B; Ἀλαβαστρα Steph Byz. quod verum opin. Stein, in text rec. Holder; cf. comment. infra

summon up the 'subliminal consciousness' to explain this miracle.

136. 1. ἐπιλεξιμένος ὁ τι δὴ λέγοντα ἦν τὰ χρηστήρια, after telling what the omens were saying, whatever it was, a good illustration of the descriptive character of the formulae of this sort used when used to establish the nature of Hdt. sources; cf. Introduction, § 6.

2. μετὰ ταῦτα; i.e. 'after doing so,' ἄγγελος = πρέσβης (cp. 7. 3), and is predictable.

Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Ἀμύντεω ἄνδρα Μακεδόνα: the mere presence of the patronymic would not surprise, even though Alexander has been introduced at great length in Bk. 2, and mentioned before in these books; but the precise repetition of the formula of 7. 173 *supra* is a little perplexing and that formula is in itself remarkable. The repetition is, perhaps, to be explained by the hypothesis that the present passage is of earlier composition, and the passage in Bk. 7 a later insertion. The peculiar formula itself, which ignores the fact that Alexander was at this time king in Macedonia, is more difficult to away with. Blackley suggests that "out of decency to democratic feelings" Hdt. omits reference to Alexander's true position—an explanation which sounds a little thin; more probably Hdt. takes over the phrase from his source, whatever it was; an explanation which, it must be admitted, only puts the difficulty one step backward; perhaps the recognition of this passage as relatively early in Hdt. a comparison may cause its apparent oversight. The complete independence of the present passage is shown by a reference to a. 84 *supra*, where Alexander is acting as king or commander of ἄνδρες Μακεδόνας.

2. Hdt. gives two coordinate reasons (ἅμα μὲν . . ἅμα δέ, for the selection of Alexander as ambassador to Athens: (i.) his special relation to the Persians on the one side; (ii.) his special relation to the Athenians on the other.

προσκηδέες: *affiliated consorts*, cp. Polak 3. 5 ff. (σὺν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ὅπου τὴν παῖδα ἦν δὲ συνίστηναι ἄλλ' ὅδε δὲ ἀνάγκη ἔχουσι τὴν ὁ, προσκεῖται καθ' Ἡρόδοτον ἰδ., 30).

4 Γυγαίην . . Βουβάρης . . ἔσχε, 'had to wife' (cp. 7. 61 131). The story of this marriage is told in Bk. 5. 21. This match was a possession for the Great Alexander, had he needed one. The absence of any reference here to that passage is significant for the problem of composition, and points to the priority of the present passage (cp. Introduction, §§ 7, 8. The name *Lygia* in Macedonia (cp. 1. 93 for *Lycaia* is remarkable; cp. a. 136 *infra*. On *Bubara* cp. 7. 22 *supra*).

5 ἐγγόνες Ἀμύντης: this Amyntas, son of Bitharas and Gygaia, had no doubt long been born (γυγάειαν ἐνὶ ἡμῖν, the marriage of his parents having taken place at least a quarter of a century before; but the date of his establishment as a boy or grandee in Asia Minor is not so clear, nor whether it was due to Darius or to Xerxes: probably the latter.

6 μητροπάτορος: a. 131.

7 τῇ Φρυγίᾳ . . Ἀλάβανδα: there is a doubt about this name; (i.) Alabanda was under a native tyranny apparently, cp. 7. 125. But as the tyranny was taken by the Persians in 430 B.C. (i.e.) Amyntas might have been appointed to succeed him. (ii.) But Alabanda was, and is there correctly described as being, in Asia. Rawlinson observes that geographical

μεγάλη νίμεισθαι ἄρα δὲ ὁ Μαρδόνιος πυθόμενος ὅτι πρόξενός
τε εἶη καὶ εὐεργέτης ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπέμπε. τοὺς γὰρ Ἀθη-
ναίους οὕτω ἰδὼκε μάλιστ' προσκτῆσθαι, καὶν τε πολλὸν¹⁰
ἄρα ἀκούων εἶναι καὶ ἄλκιμον, τὰ τε κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν

8 δι Weisming c cod. Ask. τε | πρόξενός codal. : 9 εὐεργέτης
'Αθηναίων Reiske. 'αυ σφι εἶη' Stein', van H. 10 ἰδὼκε van H. |
προσκτῆσθαι BPrp. || λήν van H.

limits were not always strictly defined; still, it would be rather curious to find Hdt. putting a large city into *karia* in one book, and into *Lygia* in the next, without a word of explanation; though the difference of sources, and the historians' indifference to their dis-harmony, will doubtless account for a good deal; cp. Introduction § 11. Stein approves of Steph. B. Ἀλαβαστρα, *καὶ ἐν Φρυγίᾳ* Herodotus. But unfortunately the other authorities, Ptolemy 4 5, 66, Pliny 4 v 61, place *Alabaster* in Egypt (cp. 3 23).

8. νίμεισθαι: epizeuxical infinitive. *προξένος τε . . καὶ εὐεργέτης* on the *παροιμία* cp. 6 5, 2 45. What *beneficium* Alexander conferred, or can have conferred on the Athenians democracy before 480 B.C. (unless his action recorded 7. 173 *supra* were to be so accounted), is unknown: Herodotus suggested that the connexion was with the Perseids, not with the Athenian democracy, cp. 5 94. But there may have been some approximation during the period of the Lorian Kovat. The story here is doubtless tinged with after-thought and anachronism; following the Persian war there must have been friendly relations between Athens and Macedonia for a time, or off and on, during Alexander's reign. Athenian aggression in the north, culminating in the capture of Amphipolis in 358 B.C. (Kallit 11 1 255) must have perturbed these relations; and it is quite clear from Thucydides that the hostility of Perdikas, son of Alexander, precipitated the so-called 'Peloponnesian war' (Thuc. 1, 96 2, 5) &c.

The structure of the passage *Μαρδόνιος* 11. *ἐπεμπε* is not elegant or quite correct *καὶ οὐκ ὀρθόν*, I judge. It runs, *Μαρδόνιος δὲ ἐπιδείξαμενος . . ἐπεμπε . . ἀμὰ μὲν δὲ . .* long parenthesis . . *ἐπεμπε δὲ ὁ Μαρδόνιος πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς . . ἐπεμπε*. Perhaps it marks Hdt. sloven upon phrasing and earlier style.

9. τοὺς γὰρ Ἀθηναίους. His object was to obtain the alliance or the assistance, of the Athenians, whereto his motive was simply the desire to win command of the sea.

Hdt. fully endorses this calculation (τά περ ἂν καὶ ἦν); alliance with Athens would have given Mardonios, and Persia, a vast superiority at sea.

Mardonios can hardly have failed to understand (what first appears in this place to me) that the predominance at sea would *ipso facto* carry pre-eminence by land too—not merely by withdrawing the Athenian land force from the confederate army, and completely breaking resistance in the Peloponnese, but by opening wide the doors into the Peloponnese itself—as Hdt. elsewhere and afterwards implies 2 9 *infra*, cp. 7. 136 *supra*. In this passage command of the sea is treated as a purely negative condition, however important, and Mardonios having obtained it, in alliance with Athens, is to finish the struggle on and simply with his own land forces.

The passage also runs into a somewhat verbose testimonial to Athenian prowess, as *Ἀθηναίων* apparently now conveyed to Mardonios by word of mouth (*ἀκούων*) for the first time. As a matter of fact Mardonios must long have known all this and much more about the Athenians, cp. 2 6 *supra*. But it here perhaps is the victim of his Attic sources.

11. *ἀρα*, 'to his surprise' (rather than 'of course')—perhaps there is a touch of irony in the word.

τά τε κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐπίσταται. The verb is co-ordinate with *ἰδὼκε*, and in its Heralotean use not of much stronger import (cp. 132 *supra*). The co-ordinate sentence, however, extends from *τοὺς γὰρ* to *αὐτὸν ἀλκιμω*, and the material considerations in the mind of Mardonios are, *ex hypothesis*, (1) the number and valour of the Athenians, (2) their recent achievements at sea.

εστί ὁ κτησάμενος τὸν Μακεδόνων τὴν τυραννίδα τρὶς
 τοσούδε ἐξ Ἀργεος ἔφυγον ἐς Ἰλλυριοὺς τὸν Τημένου
 ἀπογόνῳ τρεῖς ἀδελφοί, Γανάνης τε καὶ Ἀέροπος καὶ
 Περδίκης, ἐκ δὲ Ἰλλυρίων ὑπερβαλόντες ἐς τὴν ἀνω
 Μακεδονίην ἀπίκαντο ἐς Λεβαίην πύλιν. Ἰνδαυτα δὲ ἐθήτησαν
 ἐπὶ μισθῷ παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὃ μὲν ἵππους νέμων ὃ δὲ βοῦς.

3 Ἰλλυριοὺς B ὃ περδίκης CS || Ἰλλυρίων R || ὑπερβαλόντες EV
 ε. δε. καί z 7 βασιλεῖ ΔΗ

For the Τημενός 7. 1. 7 (B. Theophrastus
 Frog 29, 30 Musket, 193). A third
 variant was supplied by Καρπίος
 Ἀρχελαος ep. Νάσας p. 339, Hyginus
 F. 1. 219 (quoted in full by Nāssas
 and by Stein). This story was more
 romantic. Archelaos, a son of Τημενός,
 exiled by his brethren, took refuge in
 Macedonia and having won a victory
 for the king, demanded his promised
 reward (corruption of *stipendium*, the king,
 however, sought his benefactor's life.
 The plot was betrayed; Archelaos took
 his wound he lay in the pit prepared
 for him under *prophetae* *ex* *regnum*
 Ἀρχελαος in Macedonia *οὐρα ἀνε*
φραδύτατος *ex* *πονηρῇ* *ἐκείνη* *ἀγρία*
ἐκείνη. In this story was obviously
 accepted by Καρπίος a compliment to
 the reigning Archelaos, so the version
 in Hes. is probably a compliment to
 Perdikas, derived on the accession
 the present *ἐκείνη* *ἐκείνη* *ἐκείνη* *ἐκείνη*
ἐκείνη, ep. Hesiod, 11. 1. 567, 11. 792.

2 τὸν Μακεδόνων τὴν τυραννίδα: the
 phrase is remarkable: had Hes. not
 yet acquired his horror of the tyrants,
 at least he seems to condemn Lord Elms
 I and his whole descent, or does he take
 the phrase over from his master, or does
 he design to prepare the way for the
 Spartan myth in c. 142 *infra*, or does
 calling the Macedonian principle a
 tyranny assimilate it to Greek con-
 dition, or is *ἐκείνη* used here as it
 might be of the Lyones, or any foreign
 answer? Cp. 7 52 *infra*.

3. ἐξ Ἀργεος: these exiles are
 Ἀργεος ἱερότατος in the Orontes (cp.
 Theoc. 2. 80. 6, a father found the
 natives of the Balkan, in Upper
 Macedonia, Strabo 326 took the
 Orontes to Kynos, and became the
 foundation of the Argos by Orontes
 obvious *ἐκείνη* *ἐκείνη* *ἐκείνη* *ἐκείνη*. Prob-
 ably the Macedonian royal house had
 an ill-recol connection with Pto-
 lemy's Argos as had Orontes will

the Orontes in Upper Macedonia. ἐξ
 Ἀλλυριοῦ *ἐκείνη* *ἐκείνη* *ἐκείνη* *ἐκείνη*
 ὀργανισμοῦ ἴπ || ὃ *ἐκείνη*

4 Γανάνης: Stein takes the name as
 - *ἐκείνη* *ἐκείνη* *ἐκείνη* *ἐκείνη*. If so, Hes. has got the transposition of
 interpretations just below in reverse
 order.

Ἀέροπος: the name appears in its
 Ionic form 9. 26 *ἐκείνη*, the preserva-
 tion of the proper form here will be due
 to the nouns. The name might perhaps
 be appropiate to the holder of horses,
 'awful as air,' but there was a mountain
 sitting on the Acropolis of that name,
 Livy 31. 5. 11, and Hesychius has the
 name Ἀέροπος, ἐκ Μακεδονίας *ἐκείνη*, an
 illustration of the real significance of
 the three names as divinity of the Make-
 donian folk, or perhaps of the Ἀργεαί, *ἐκείνη*
 Strabo 326 ep. the translation of the
 Skythos 4. 5 etc.) (8 cm). The name
 Ἀέροπος as a proper name *ἐκείνη* *ἐκείνη*
 over, in the list of Macedonian kings in
 the fourth century B.C., Cp. c. 142

6 Περδίκης: he acknowledged *ἐκείνη*
ἐκείνη *ἐκείνη* *ἐκείνη* *ἐκείνη*, a true shepherd, or *ἐκείνη*
ἐκείνη. The expression suggests that
 Hes. might see *ἐκείνη* *ἐκείνη* *ἐκείνη*
ἐκείνη, ep. 9 53 *infra*.

ἐκ δὲ Ἰλλυρίων ὑπερβαλόντες
 took *ἐκείνη* *ἐκείνη* *ἐκείνη* *ἐκείνη* of the
 origin of the Macedonian Ἀργεαί.
 The route indicated would be over Mt.
 Skardos, presumably by the line of the
 later Egean Way, *ἐκείνη* 7. 168 in
 a somewhat different sense.

ἐς τὴν ἀνω Μακεδονίην ep. 7 128,
 Λεβαίη a nowhere else mentioned, nor
 identifiable; a problem of the same
 order as *ἐκείνη*, 7. 20.

6. ἰθὺσιον ἐπὶ μισθῷ: Homeric (not
 to any local); ep. *ἐκείνη* 4. 644. The
ἐκείνη *ἐκείνη* *ἐκείνη* *ἐκείνη* and *ἐκείνη*

7. παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ: Pausan. 9. 40.
 ἡ *ἐκείνη* *ἐκείνη* *ἐκείνη* *ἐκείνη* *ἐκείνη* *ἐκείνη*
 Hyginus (Euripides); ep. note, 1. 1
ἐκείνη.

ὁ δὲ νεώτατος αὐτῶν Περδίκκης τὰ λεπτὰ τῶν προβάτων.
ἡ δὲ γυνὴ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτὴ τὰ σιτία σφί ἐπείσσει· ἦσαν
10 γὰρ τὸ πάλαι καὶ αἱ τυραινίδες τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀσθενέες
χρήμασι [οὐ μοῖνον ὁ δῆμος]. ὅκως δὲ ὀπτῆρ, ὁ ἄρτος τοῦ
παιδὸς τοῦ [θητὸς] Περδίκκης διπλήσιος ἐγένετο αὐτὸς ἐωυτοῦ.
ἐπεὶ δὲ αἰεὶ τῶντο τοῦτο ἐγένετο, εἶπε πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν
ἐωυτῆς· τὸν δὲ ἀκούσαντα ἐσῆλθε αὐτίκα ὡς εἴη τέρας καὶ
15 φέροι μέγα τι. καλέσας δὲ τοὺς θῆτας προηγόρευέ σφι
ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐκ γῆς τῆς ἐωυτοῦ, οἱ δὲ τὸν μισθὸν ἔφασαν
δίκαιοι εἶναι ἀπολαβόντες οὕτω ἐξέλαι. ἐνθαῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς
τοῦ μισθοῦ περὶ ἀκούσας, ἦν γὰρ κατὰ τὴν καπνοδόκην ἐς
τὸν οἶκον ἐσεχων ὁ ἥλιος, εἶπε θεοβλαβὴς γενόμενος "μισθὸν
20 δὲ ὑμῖν ἐγὼ ὑμέων ἄξιον τοιδε ἀποδίδωμι," δείξας τὸν ἥλιον.

ὁ δὲ νεώτατος αὐτῶν Περδίκκης CS. ὁ δὲ δὲ . . ἐπείσσει *mediam hab. infra*
πρὸς δῆμος, *huc totum. Stien* || βασιλεὺς R: βασιλεὺς : | σφι τὰ σιτία S
ἦσαν : 10 γὰρ. δι B, Holder, van H. νοῖδα ἦσαν . . δῆμος
ut *enclitic a a molo q. d. am m. uel. van H* . οὐ μοῖνον ὁ δῆμος *daupn.*
Stien¹², Holder. *Necna* νεώτα ἦσαν γὰρ . . χρήμασι *inter βασιλεὺς et*
αὐτὴ) *potius innotenda* ? 11 μοῖνον α: μόνον || ὀπτῆρ AB: ὀπτῆρ
(Holder, van H.) 12 τῶν θητῶν Περδίκκης *van H.* Stien¹, *van H.* :
θητὸς *tantum in Stien*¹ τοῖς περδίκκας Pz, Holder, van H. τοῖς περδίκκας B
|| ἐωυτοῦ : 13 ἐπειτα | van H. || ἐγένετο R | τὸν ante ἐωυτῆς *om* :
14 ὡς δὲ ἤκουσε *Enck 1823* : | ἐσῆλθέ υἱ : 15 φέροι ἐς B.
16 γῆς *om. Bd* | ἔφασαν τὸν μισθὸν B 17 δίκαιοι AC: δίκαιοι
εἶναι *post μισθὸν B* | ἀπολαβόντες R: αἰτίας B 20 τοιδε C || εἴξει
Holder, van H. || <ε> τὸν? *Stein*¹², van H.

D. ἡ δὲ γυνή: was the *δραγόνος* of
Κριμαῖα a queen, I. 51. Hardly the
circumstances here are more primitive.
On the story of the Molossian queen,
Thuc. 1, 136.

ἦσαν γὰρ . χρήμασι: a note
worthy of Herodotus' *Archaeologia*.
The use of αἱ τυραινίδες after βασιλεὺς
(δα) is *not least* *cp. I. 2 supra*. For
textual criticism see *Arch. Crit.* Does
the note explain why the queen was
cook, or why the heads were provided
for in the house of host? The story
is all in one genre, making it easier for
the head to turn king, that he has had
a queen a *harem* for him. *Blackney*
cites *Naxos* a *wall* *old* *cp.* and
the *history* of *Andromeda* *standing*
head *H. 6, 422*. *cp. Paulin* *7^a ed.*
Blackney *comment* *enclitic* *et* *omission* *enclitic* *et*
σπερδίκκας *omission*.

1. ὁ ἄρτος . . διπλήσιος . . αὐτὸς

ἐωυτοῦ, 'the loaf of the laddie became
twice its own proper size.' The 'laddie's
portion' was a *part* *τάρας* *of* *the* *king's*
cp. 4. 67, 7. 10 *διπλῆς* *et* *in*
text *as* *a* *comparative*, *cp. also 2. 25*.

15 φέροι μέγα τι: of great importance,
potentia.

17 οὕτω: *cp. ἀπολαβόντες* *they* *de-*
clined *to* *depart* *until* *they* *had* *received*
their *wages*, the *nominatives* *δίκαιοι*
ἀπολαβόντες *are* *two* *synonymous* *κατά*
town.

8. καπνοδόκη *cp. 4. 103* *probably*
a *simple* *apertures* *in* *the* *roof*, *or* *chimney*.
The *construction* *of* *the* *Balkan* *house* *or*
palace *is* *in* *question*. It *had* *only* *a* *city*
door. Was *it* *more* *than* *a* *door* *in* *it*?

19. ἐσῆλθον, 'streaming in,' yet not
quite like one river into another as *cp.*
1. 193, nor as a canal into a sea, *2. 15^a*
not *as* *a* *bay* *of* *the* *sea* *into* *the* *land*,
2. 11 *ἐπὶ* *cp. ἀρρομέμενος* *cp. 1. 103*.

ὁ μὲν δὴ Γαυάνης τε καὶ ὁ Ἀέριπος οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἔστασαν
ἐκπεπληγμένοι, ὡς ἤκουσαν ταῦτα· ὁ δὲ παῖς, ἐτύγγανε γὰρ
ἔχων μάχαιραν, εἶπας ταδε "δεκόμεθα ὦ βασιλεῦ τὰ διδοῖς,"
περιγράφει τῇ μάχαιρῃ ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος τοῦ οἴκου τὸν ἥλιον,
περιγράψας δέ, ἐς τὸν κόλπον τρις ὑρυσάμενος τοῦ ἡλίου, 25
ἀπαλλύσσετο αὐτὸς τε καὶ οἱ μετ' ἐκείνου. οἱ μὲν δὴ 138
ἑτίισαν, τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ σημαίνει τις τῶν παρέδρων οἷόν τι
χρῆμα ποιήσεις [ὁ παῖς] καὶ ὡς σὺν νόφ κεινων ὁ νεώτατος
λάβει τὰ διδόμενα. ὁ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας καὶ ὀξυνθεὶς πίμπει
ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἱππίας ἀπολείοντας. ποταμὸς δὲ ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ χωρῇ 5
ταύτῃ, τῷ θύουσι οἱ ταύτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν <ταῦν> ἀπ' Ἀργεος
ἀπόγονοι σωτήρη· οὗτος, ἐπεῖτε διέβησαν οἱ Τημενίδαι, μέγας
οὕτω ἔρρυθ ὥστε τοὺς ἱππίας μὴ οἶον τε γενέσθαι διαβήναι.
οἱ δὲ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς ἄλλην γῆν τῆς Μακεδονίης οἴκησαν πέλας
τῶν κήπων τῶν λεγομένων εἶναι Μίδεω τοῦ Ἰορδέω, ἐν τοῖσι 10

21 καὶ Ἀέριπος B. Holder || οἱ πρεσβύτεροι del. van H., Holder οἱ
πρεσβύτεροι B 23 ὡς δεχόμεθα AB || βασιλεῦς C 24 τοῦδαφος &
25 ὑρυσάμενος van H. 26 ἐκείνου B: αὐτοῦ & 138, 2 ἑτίισαν
C ἑτίισαν P: ἑτίισαν B: || βασιλεῖ AB || σημαίνει S || τῶν τις Κτιομετ,
van H. 3 ὁ παῖς eocl. Stein² || συννοῖ C: συνόβ B: | ἐκείνω B12:
ἐκείνων C ἐκείνων ὁ νεώτατος eocl. van H. 4 δεδομένα Ps 5
- ἔν - ἀπολείοντας Naber 6 ποταμὸς & | - τῶν - 3 van H., Stein² ||
ἀπ' Ἀργεος ἀπ' ἀρχῆς Krueger: nonne patris eum van H. delevoria?
7 σωτήρια & 8 οὕτως & τε om. B 10 ταῦτοις B

22 ἐτύγγανε . . ἔχων μάχαιραν.
How did he come by it? If the tenth
were told probably this μάχαιρα had a
symbolical to say to the sequel: Was it
of iron? Was it a hymen? Or
maybe a son or man's disk?

23 δεκόμεθα ὦ βασιλεῦ τὰ διδοῖς
exactly the same motif appears in the
Assolola c. 114 *supra*, and with the
corresponding motif οἱς ἐκείνοις πρέει,
supra c. 115.

25 τρις ὑρυσάμενος, c. 119, as though
it had been water, a symbolical action
repeated, symbolically, thrice for
'force' and its position are significant
numbers: cp. 1. 86, 3. 105, and count-
less illustrations in all literatures, rituals,
games and formulae.

138, 2. παρέδρων, i.e. councillors,
as in 7. 147, rather than loose com-
panions, as in 5. 18. ἱππίας, 'horsemen.'
The political and military institutions
of this king seem more advanced than
the domestic.

3. σὺν νόφ S. 80. The Sappho

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appears to have more than a single
purpose: Perikles symbolically takes
possession of the Hearth and Home of
the giver and takes the man to witness
his claim. Stein quotes Grimm, *Kerida-
nt* 278, on the Sun as the source of real
property: the story of Darius's accession
is also to be cited, 3. 86. Cp. also 7.
5, II. 37 ff. *supra*.

5. ποταμὸς ἐστὶ . . σωτήρη, the
name of the river is unfortunately not
given, it could hardly have been mis-
sing if H. had known of the story
at the Macedonian court. It would prob-
ably be the Σαῖρος of Hekatomos; Stein
prefers the former, as H. did nowhere
mention it by name, though he has the
Aster of which it is a tributary and
the Halkinon. σωτήρια would be very
agreeable; cp. App. Crit. Stein thinks
ἐκείνου has dropped out after διοσι.

9 ἐς ἄλλην γῆν τῆς Μακεδονίης: no
doubt Macedonia proper: cp. 1. 17.

10 τῶν κήπων . . Μίδεω τοῦ Ἰορδέω.
Μίδεω, son of Ιορδέω, is, of course, a

φύεται αὐτόματα ῥόδα, ἐν ἑλαστον ἔχον ἱξήκοντα φύλλα, ὁδῷ τε ὑπερφόροντα τῶν ἄλλων. ἐν τοιούτοις καὶ ὁ Σίληνός τοις κήποισι ἦλαι, ὡς λέγεται ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν κήπων ὄρος κείται Βέρμιον οὖνομα, ἄβατον ὑπὸ χειμῶνος.

12 ἄλλων < καὶ χρῶν > 1 Stein¹³ σίληνος R: σιληνός S. σίληνός V: δηλινός Paris 1895 13 τοῖς κήποισι del. Uebel 14 οἶρος CPs | κείται α, ναι H. | βέρμιον B | ὄνομα ναι II.

'Phrygian' (cp. 1. 14, 86) and 'Silenos' has already met us on the Maresyas, cp. 2. 26 *εἴρη*, but it does not there so follow that the Mides and Sienos-myths have been transported from Asia, from Phrygia into Euxaria, into Macedonia. Did not the Bessos, or Phrygos, go from the Axios to the Maresyas? Do they not represent a folk perhaps pressed out by the advancing 'Macedonians' or even the antecedents of the Macedonians at Cp. 7 73 *μετα*?

11. ἐν ἑλαστον: a position on the ῥόδα. Hdt. nowhere else mentions the rose.

φύλλα, apparently here 'petals'—the roses must have been 'double'—do such grow wild αὐτόματα? And have any wild roses such a perfume? Did the Greeks greatly affect flower-gardens? Were their views on cultivation a rather utilitarian, aristocratic one *εὐχρηστὸν ποιεῖν*, then were roses? The garden of Alikia grew mainly fruit-trees, the rose is used by Homer but to point the dangers of the Maresyas (ὁδο-δασυλὸς 'Hdt'), or to preserve the corpse of Hector without (H. 23. 156: *αἰσχύνη*). The simple word first occurs in the *Hymn to Demeter*, 4.

1. ὑπερφόροντα, cp. c. 41 *εἴρη*, 3. 96 *εἴρη*.

ὁ Σίληνός . . ἦλαι: cp. 2. 28 *εἴρη* the article here might possibly be in reference to the 'Sienos' of that passage, but is more probably just on more general grounds, 'the Silenoi'. The 'epithet' this time is not made by Apollo, but by Mares, who caught Silenos and consorted with him (Plutarch *sc*). The poem was *Λαίη*, V H 3 14, puts a long tale on the happy land at the mouth of Silenos. Aristote represented him as something of a personified *Plutarch Mor.* 1. 5 and very reluctant to answer the question of his life, *sc* *εἰς τὰς τῆς φύσεως τῆς αὐτοῦ φύσεως* Cp. *Alcibiades*, *Thuc.* 1 48 *Affertur enim de Sileno fabula quodcumque quoniam a Midea captae erat, hoc in*

*mythos pro sua pietate dedisse credendum; utque regem non suum hominem longe cepitum esse; praeceptum autem quoniam primum inquit. That melancholy doctrine was 'Tausle' or 'Tausleia', according to Hdt. 5. 6 (cp. *pro sua ad 2.*)*

13. ὡς λέγεται ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων The citation of the authority, or sources, implies a misgiving, but does not prove that Hdt. had the story from headquarters, or was not drawing on hearsay tale. The version given was obviously 'Macedonian' in origin; cp. 7 73.

ὄρος: larger up the country, further inland.

14. ὄρος . . Βέρμιον. cp. Strabo 350 2. 25) τὸ Βέρμιον ὄρος ὃ ὑπερφορεῖ αὐτῶν κήποις ὄρεται ὁδὸς ὅν τινες διακρίνουν εἰς τὰς Ἀλφειοῦ φράγξας μετανομασθῆναι εἰς 26 ὃ ἑρμῆς πάλαι ἐν τῇ πόλει αὐτῶν τοῦ Βέρμιον ὄρος. The extent of Midea is traced (Strabo 680) to the mines east to B. 6. The mountain is identified with the range between the Haimanion and the Lelina, the highest point of which now bears the name of *Idion*. The exact position of the Haimanion is more indefinite. It is here placed in the neighbourhood of the city of Herakleia (without naming it) as in Macedonia proper, 7. 127. *Idion* (*Idiondromos*, pp. 153 ff.) would place it further east, in the neighbourhood of Elasson, or Argos, a more ancient cradle of the Macedonian folk. Kertan (cp. *Basileus* . .) were hardly taught at the base of a mountain, mythical region as Kertan's *Idiondromos* is. *Idion* on the other hand, but instead of Kertan and Elasson, another and Sienos was taken from only Midea and Sienos—the romantic interest is wanting!

ἄβατον ὑπὸ χειμῶνος, 'inaccessible by reason of the climate'—the which notwithstanding it was ascended, 'in evidence of the assertion of Herakleus,' by Leuko (cp. *Idiondromos* in 20 f.), who in fact does not say so an

ἐθεύτην δὲ ὀρμώμενοι, ὥς ταύτην ἔσχον, κατεστρίφοντο καὶ 15
 τὴν ἄλλην Μακεδονίην. ἀπὸ τούτου δὴ τοῦ Περδίκκου 139
 Ἀλέξανδρος ὥδε ἐγένετο· Ἀμύντου παῖς ἦν Ἀλέξανδρος,
 Ἀμύντης δὲ Ἀλκέται, Ἀλκέται δὲ πατὴρ ἦν Ἀέροπος, τοῦ
 δὲ Φίλιππου, Φιλίππου δὲ Ἀργαίου, τοῦ δὲ Περδίκκου ὁ
 κτηνόμενος τὴν ὀρχήν.

5

15 ὀρμώμενοι ὡς ὀρμώμενοι Stein¹, van II || ὥς ταύτην ἔσχον del.
 Cobet 139. 1 περδίκκου SV: περδίκκου R 2 διδο P || ἐγγόνους
 B || Ἀλεξάνδρος . . ἦν σπ. R 4 ἀργαίος B: ἀργαίος Paris 1836 s:
 ἀργαίος Maie. ἀργαίος A: ἀργαίος | περδίκκος B. περδίκκου C

restant mass between Lower and Upper Macedonia.

15. ἐθεύτην δι ὀρμώμενοι: three or rather four stages in all are indicated in the advance of the Μακεδονίαν, or Argolis. I. Αἰγός (Ὀρεστικόν), or Argolis may be taken as the starting point, situated far up the Hymettos, and about the middle, Upper Macedonia, the ἐκκλισίῃ city of Larissa. II. The points about Mount Bermion, Edessa, Beroea, the ἀλλή γῆ τῆς Μακεδονίης, near the home-lands of Midas: which might be called Little Macedonia, as to part of it touches the sea, but is essentially included in Lower Macedonia. III. The ἀλλή Μακεδονίαν, down to the sea, on 7. 127 κενὴ: τὸ σπ. Μακεδονίαν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ. Thus the Livy (2. 99) gives a more masterly account of the process, and in a somewhat different direction, including the earlier stage, the advance to the Strymon: the two representations are not at hopeless variance. I. the traces of the first region, the Ὀρεστικὴ, Βερμίων (+ Ὀρεστικὴ, 2. 80, 6 and others elsewhere, indicating the country, were under native kings or chiefs, though owning the suzerainty of the Persians. II. III. the overlordship was perhaps only nominal, or simulated by Perdikkas, the son of Alexander; cp. Plut. 4. 83. Διδο, Βεροία, Πέττα, Βοτρία, were the especial occupation of the Persians, and the strip of Paeonia along the coast, as well as Pontica Armenia, in which all the territory between the Hymettos and the Axios, together with the sea coast. IV. Mygdonia and the country of the Euxina, as far as the Persians. This region is not yet 'Macedonian' in Hdt. and was the especial possession of Alexander I. Cp. further, below to 7. 127. 5 supra.

139. 2 Ἀλεξάνδρος ὥδε ἐγένετο, 'the generation of Alexander was on this wise.' The pedigree of Alexander compares favourably with the Arrianist, Ptolemaei the founder ranging exactly with Arrianist, while by the addition on to the founding and Hellenist genealogies it leaves the Arrianist far behind. If the Macedonian genealogy be placed side by side with that of the Spartan Hellenists, Perdikkas appears almost contemporary with the kings Polydorus (Agad) and Theopompus (Eurydorus), at least with the Median war, or circa 730 B.C. (7 names = circa 235 years). Herodotus (Hist. p. 169-170 [2. 7. 16]) gives only 120 years from the accession of Perdikkas to the death of Amyntas, but probably 161 years for the three reigns of Perdikkas, and so reaches about 800 B.C. as the epoch of the Macedonian monarchy instead of 700 B.C., see below. The dates in Clinton *Fasti* 4th 274 work out rather differently.

Ἀμύντου: cp. 5. 17 supra, where Amyntas has something of a satirical character, in contrast to his hot-headed son. Before him two kings, Agad and Perdikkas, are more names. II. a given reign of 10 years: *de curia* 198-199.

3 Ἀλκείας. The name Ἀλκείας Ἀλκείας appears (Greek) elsewhere, and is not common to the Macedonian pedigree, in which it frequently recurs as a Hellenist name: the name in Xen. Ph. *Hell.* 2. 4. 16. The king is given a reign of 14 years.

Ἀέροπος: on the name cp. n. 137 supra. He is given a reign of 20 years by the *Chronicon*. The name recurs as that of a reigning king in the fourth century, who, according to Polydorus 2. 1 is alleged to have the name of Agad (n. 394 B.C.).

4 Φίλιππος is given a reign of 33

τε ἄδε Μαρδόνιε ποίεε· τοῦτο μὲν τὴν γῆν σφι ἀπόδος, τοῦτο δὲ ἄλλην πρὸς ταύτῃ ἐλέσθων αὐτοί, ἥντινα ἂν ἐθίλυνσι, εὐντες αὐτόνομοι· ἱρή τε πάντα σφι, ἣν δὴ βούλωνται γε ἔμοι ὁμολογέειν, ἀνὸρθωσον. ὅσα ἐγὼ ἐνέπρησα· τούτων δὲ ἀπυγμένων ἀναγκαίως ἔχει μοι ποιεῖν ταῦτα, ἣν μὴ ¹⁰ τὸ ὑμέτερον ἀντίον γίνηται. λίγω δὲ ὑμῖν ταῦδε. νῦν τί μαίνεσθε πόλεμον βασιλεῖ ὑειρόμενοι; οὔτε γὰρ ἂν ὑπερβαλοῖσθε οὔτε οἰοί τε ὅσπῃ ἀντέχειν τὸν πάντα χρόνον. εἶδετε μὲν γὰρ τῆς Ξέρξεω στρατηλασίης τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὰ ἔργα, πυνθανασθε δὲ καὶ τὴν νῦν παρ' ἔμοι εὐόσαν δύναμιν· ¹⁵ ὥστε καὶ ἣν ἡμίας ὑπερβαλεῖσθε καὶ νικήσητε, τοῦ περ ὑμῖν οὐδεμία ἐλπίς εἰ περ εὖ φρονέετε, ἄλλη παρέσται πολλὰ πλεονή. μὴ ὦν βούλεσθε παρισούμενοι βασιλεῖ στέρεσθαι

Ὁ μὲν οὖν οὗτος B || ποίεε V (S) || ποίεε R · ποίει α, Holder, van H. 7 θίλυν(ν) V B 9 τοῦτων : 11 αὐτοί Valckenauer, Holder, van H., Stein², αἰτίων || ταῦδε νῦν· τί Bekker, van H. 12 βασιλεῖ αB || ἀναειρόμενοι B, Holder, van H || οὔτοι γὰρ ἂν ὑπερβάλλουσθε C 14 τό <τε> πλῆθος Roml, Stein¹ 2, schw van H. 15 παρ' ἔμοι εὐόσαν P: παριστόσαν μοι Roml 1635 : παρ' ἔμῃ εὐόσαν τε καὶ εὐόσαν¹ || καὶ νικήσητε del. Cobet, van H. 16 τοῦ : τὸ 17 οὐδεμία : || φρονέετε : || <ἀλλ'> ἄλλη Cobet, Holder || παρὲν τε B || παραπλεονή B 18 βούλῃσθαι B || βούλησθε Pz || παρισούμενοι B || βίωσι AL || ἐντέρησαι malab. van H.

not exactly equivalent to attacks of battle.' The debt-metaphor does not quite work, but the king 'repays' the penalties owing to him; and from the extension of penalties to the extension of 'time' the translation is easy.

9. τοῦτων : sc. ἀγγελοῦ, ἐπιστολῆς, ἀγγελίᾳ, or rather, in the neuter abstract, meaning back generally to the king's edicts, just like ταῦτα immediately below.

12. ἀναγκαίως ἔχει μοι, 'necessity is laid on me' — ἀναγκαῖα.

ἣν μὴ τὸ ὑμέτερον ἀντίον γίνηται, 'unless you should interpret an obstacle : in which case ὅπως is μὴ εἰς αἰῶνα. Not εἰς ἄρτι (ist). The vulgarist always has, perhaps, been too lightly discarded : it would mean *perhaps* you should cause me to fail in my endeavor. The precatory force of the possessive, and the demonstrative use of αἰῶνα (cp. c. 7 l. 24. B *αἰῶνα*) would then be pointless.

11. λίγω δέ : Maronides is said to speak, reported by A. 1000000.

12. πόλεμον βασιλεῖ ὑειρόμενοι· π. ἀειρεσθαι, cp. 7. 132, 156 — in both places

with a dative. The term here is *εὐνοῦμαι* in the fresh campaign regarded as a fresh war, or warfare? Is not the door dramatically opened for the Athenians to strip their arms, by the suggestion that they have not yet quite concluded taking them up?

ὑπερβαλοῖσθε, 'prove superior'; 7. 132, 153, c. 24 *εὐνοῦμαι*.

13. ἀντέχειν κτλ., 'to withstand' *ἀντὶ* as if against — or ever?

τὸν πάντα χρόνον. Here *ἐνταῦθα*, cp. 3 85 (4. 187, 9. 73, 1007, in some cases the past 8. 123, 9. 27 *ἐνταῦθα*).

14. τῆς Ξέρξεω στρατηλασίης τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὰ ἔργα· στρατηλασίη corresponds to *στρατός*. The *στρατηλασίη* of Xerxes is one thing, that of Maronides another. Maronides may be supposed to be referring to Themistocles, and the destruction of Athens by Xerxes. He cannot be supposed to have known the naval strategy. He emphatically compares the impotence *ἀπὸ*, *ἀπὸ*, *ἀπὸ*, of Xerxes' army, *στρατός*, with his own reduced numbers and possible, though not probable, defeat.

μόλις τα αἰκημένον τῶν συμμάχων πάντων αἰεὶ τε φθειρομένων
μοῦσιον, ἐξαιρέτον μεταίχμιον τε τὴν γῆν ἐκτημένον. ἀλλὰ
πίθεσθαι πολλοῦ γὰρ ὑμῖν ἄξια ταῦτα, εἰ βασιλεὺς γε ὁ
μέγας μοῦσιος ὑμῖν Ἑλλήνων τὰς ὀμαρτάδας ἀπικνεῖ εἰλεῖ 35
φίλος γενέσθαι."

Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεξε Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ πενθεμένοι 141
ἦσαν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐκ Ἀθηνᾶς ἐκ ὁμολογίῃν ἄξιοιτα τῇ
Βαρβάρῃ Ἀθηναίους, ἀναμνησθέντες τῶν λογίων ὡς σφίνας

33 μόνον C: 'proat hoc in Italia non dividitur' Statia. ἔξαιρέτον
μεταίχμιον τε UV, Statia, Hoar. ἔξαιρέτον· μεταίχμιόν τε AB: ἐξαι-
ρετον τὴν μεταίχμιον R. ἔξαιρέτον, μεταίχμιόν τε D, μεταίχμιον tantum
Mata. ἔξαιρέτον τε μεταίχμιον ε van H. || ἐκτημένον α: πεσσημένον
24 πεσσημένον Colbat. 35 ἄφικος P: ὀφείας AC || βάλεν B. 141. 1
τοσούτοις B. 2 εἰ Ἀθηναίους C. 3 ὡς σφίνας R, van H.

bearing or likely to bear) and the front
of the war alone; (iii) their territory
being the natural battle-field, or the at-
tack ground, between the contending
armies (Persian, Peloponnesian). The
description agrees fairly well, to Athens,
which during this war was twice in-
vaded and devastated, and had been the
scene of the great naval battle, to say
nothing of Marathon, ten years earlier;
but in a general way and throughout
Greek history, Ionia would better
answer to the description (cp. D. 2. 3
infra) and even in this war it was north
of Athens that the *ἐξαιρέτος μεταίχμιον*
was to be found. The phrase here pre-
sents expresses the Athenian sense of
their national suffering in the common
cause (*τὴν κοινὴν ἀντιμάχου πόλεως*).

34 ἀλλὰ, with the imperative, to
cut short the question; cp. L. & S. and
α. II 2.

35 ταῦτα might seem to refer to what
follows: *εἰ βασιλεὺς γε ἀτλ.* which, how-
ever, introduces the preceding offer.
ὁ μέγας is an unusual addition, but a
correct, *king* is speaking.

141. 1 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' ατλ. Many
part of the story of Alexander's embassy
could have come from other than an
Athenian source, it is not this chapter,
which positively seeks Athenian. The
solidarity of the story as a whole carries
the Athenian source for every part.

σφίνας: who at them know!
The form is an Athenian! The next line
2 τῇ Βαρβάρῃ with ὁμολογίῃν.
Barbarea 2. ἡ δὲ Λακεδαιμονισμένη.
3 ἀναμνησθέντες τῶν λογίων what
oracles were those which they now

recalled to mind? Flacourcy detects
between the oracles found by Kleomenes
in the Akropolis in 511 B.C. (S. 50) and
further suggests that they were fabri-
cated by Onomakritos (cp. 7. 6 supra).
But was such a fabrication, as is here
reported, likely to have been formulated
so early as that? Or is the actual motive,
based upon these supposed oracles, re-
quired to account for the action of the
Lakedaemonians on this occasion? Onomakritos may have been the author
of these λόγια, but, if so, their fabrication
was probably of later date, and they
were perhaps part of the artifice
devised to bear upon the Athenians to
procure their mediation, not Laka-
daemonian reinforcements of discoveries
thirty years old.

In any case this prediction is preordi-
nately fulfilled and sweet, but these
unfulfilled are sweeter, to the historian,
their authenticity in no sense more
obvious. The unfulfilled prediction,
besides, makes room for some element
of prediction. The extreme precision
of the present instance raises it to the
level of a matter of policy, cp. α. 62
supra.

The expulsion of the Lakedaemonians
and all the other Dorians to boot from
the Peloponnesos by the Mene and
Athenians is the complete reversal of
the Dorian conquest and its effects, was
not a bad idea to conjure with, and has
rather a Thucydidean touch about it;
perhaps it was not an offer made by
Mantius to attract the Athenians, but
a bogie devised in Athens to terrify the
Spartans. It might at least suggest

χρεῖν ἔσται ἅμα τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Δωριεῦσι ἐκπίπτειν ἐκ Πελο-
 5 πονήσου ὑπὸ Μηδῶν τε καὶ Ἀθηναίων, κάρτα τε ἔδεισαν μὴ
 ὁμολογήσωσι τῇ Πέρσῃ Ἀθηναῖοι, αὐτίκα τὲ σφι ἔδοξε
 πέμπειν ἀγγέλους. καὶ δὴ συνέπιπτε ὥστε ὁμοῦ σφενν
 γίνεσθαι τὴν κατάστασιν· ἰστανέμεναι γὰρ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι
 διατρίβοντες, εὖ ἐπιστάμενοι ὅτι ἔμελλον Λακεδαιμόνιοι
 10 πείσεσθαι ἵκοντα παρὰ τοῦ βυρβάρου ἀγγελοῦ ἐπ' ὁμολογίῃ,
 πυθόμενοι τε πέμψειν κατὰ τάχος ἀγγέλους. ἐπίτηδες ὦν
 ἐποίησαν, ἐνδείκνυμενοι τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι τὴν ἐαυτῶν
 142 γνώμην. ὥς δὲ ἐπαύσατο λέγων Ἀλεξάνδρος, διαδεξάμενοι
 ἔλεγον οἱ ἀπὸ Σπάρτης ἀγγελοι "ἡμέας δὲ ἐπεμψαν Λακε-
 δαιμόνιοι δεησαμένους ὑμῶν μήτε νεώτερον ποιέειν μηδὲν κατὰ
 τὴν Ἑλλάδι μῆτε λόγους ἐνδέκεσθαι παρὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις.
 5 οὔτε γὰρ δίκαιον οὐδαμοῖς οὔτε κύσμον φέρον οὔτε γε ἄλλοις
 Ἑλλήνων οὐδαμοῖσι, ὑμῖν δὲ δὴ καὶ διὰ πάντων ἡκιστα
 πολλῶν εἵνεκα, ἡγείρατε γὰρ τότε τὸν πόλεμον ὑμεῖς οὐδε-

4 χρεῖν CPz van H. || ἐκ: ἀπὸ B. 5 τε post κάρτα om S V)
 6 δε σφι in V) B' ἔδοξεν AB ap Klein': ἔδοξε a. ἔδοξεν B ap H. || 7
 7 σφενν B': 10 ἐπομολογίῃ C. 11 πειθόμενοι B. 142 5
 φέρων B || οὔτε γε Werfer: γε om B ('locus viz sint a' van H.) 6 δὴ
 om S. 7 ἡγείρατε a || τὸν πόλεμον τότε B: (πόλεμον τότε adque
 τὸν S ap. Class.) || ἡμεῖς οὐδὲν ὁμῶν C

possibilities in the future: but what of
 Argos as the kings' but Lion II 7.
 150 f. Perhaps the whole notion really
 belongs to the later date, and the time
 of Themistokles' medium. The patriotic
 (i.e. Attic) aspects of that *propositio*
 were never allowed to emerge in the
 Themistoklean legend; and Athenian
 tradition was quite capable of ignoring
 the true and original connection of this
 prophecy, and utilizing it in the present
 connection, where it is materially and
 even grammatically *de tempore*.

6. *ἔδοξε*: here of a formal decision.

7. *ἀγγελοι*—*πρέβεαι*: cp. 7. 1.

καὶ δὴ; each particle has its full
 and ordinary sense.

συνέπιπτε ὥστε: cp. a. 15 *supra*;

it was a coincidence, but not an un-
 designated one: ἐπίτηδες ἐποίησαν just
 before. This latter verb may represent
 ἐπαρμέναι (so Stein) an abstract notion,
 corresponding to the use of our verb 'do,'
 'did' (which would, however, require an
 express object, however abstract: 'this
 they were doing').

8. *κατάστασιν*: in the same sense 3.
 40; in a different one, a. 83 *supra*.

12. ἐνδείκνυμενοι, 'displaying'; cp.
 Thuc. 4. 126. ὁ το εἰσφύχον το ερ ασφαλεῖ
 δείξει ἐνδείκνυται.

142. 1. διαδεξάμενοι: exactly as in
 Plato *Rep.* 611c ἡ ἀνάγκη ἐστὶν διαδεξί-
 μαιον τὸν λόγον ὁ Πλάτων CP διαδεχέ-
 σθαι.

2. ἡμέας δὲ: the conjunction is not in-
 evitable here; it might almost suggest a
 surmounting clause. 'Ἀλεξάνδρου μετ' αὐ-
 τῶν 2. 149 ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀπέστειμεν.

3. νεώτερον ποιέειν (zi b. 35), to do
 something newer, too new outrageous,
 etc. perhaps not a mere euphemism, but
 an implicit plea for the maxim *non super
 antiquitas vias*, and so prevalent in the
 first instance referring not to fore go but
 to direct a military. It may here might
 be taken to hint that a schism in the
 Greek ranks would be of the nature of
σάκος (cp. 3 *supra*).

4. *λόγους ἐνδέκεσθαι* 7. 230 *supra*.

5. *κύσμον φέρον*: cp. c. 60 *supra*.

6. *δια πάντων*: cp. a. 37 *supra*.

7. ἡγείρατε . . οὐδὲν ὁμῶν βολέ-
 μων a statement quite inconsistent
 with the alleged outrage at Sparta upon
 the Persian heralds. 7. 133 *supra*. If

ἤδη καὶ ὅτι οἰκοφθύρησθε χρόνον ἤδη πολλόν. ἀντὶ τούτων
 15 δὲ ὑμῖν Λακεδαιμόνιοι τε καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι ἐπαγγέλλονται
 γυναῖκας τε καὶ τὰ ἐκ πόλεμον ἄχρηστα οἰκετῶν ἐχόμενα
 πάντα ἐπιβρέψειν, ἔστ' ἂν ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε συνεστήκῃ. μηδὲ
 ὑμέας Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδὼν ἀπηγνώσθῃ, λήψας τὸν
 Μαρδονίου λόγον. τούτῳ μὲν γὰρ ταῦτα ποιητέα ἔστί·
 20 τύραννος γὰρ ἔων τυράννῳ συγκατεργάζεται. ὑμῖν δὲ οὐ

14 τούτων 3 15 οἱ λοιποὶ σύμμαχοι B 16 γυναῖκας
 τε καὶ ecl. van H. || πάντα οἰκετῶν ἐχόμενα P¹ 17 ἔσταν AB ||
 συνίστηκε S || μὴ δὲ ἢ τι 20 <ἀρχὴν> συγκατεργάζεται? van H.
 || δέ: δέ γε B, Holder

of 479! If so they failed to follow the directions of Themistokles *ὅπως ἀναλῶς* *ἔχαι* c. 109 *supra*, and so lost a harvest by anticipation! Or is not the expression here really a slight amelioration, the two harvests which the Athenians ultimately lost, one in 480 B.C. by the devastation of Xerxes, the other in 479 B.C. by the devastation of Mardonius, having been 'coloured' by the writer for his readers in the light of later events, from the point of view of the hypothetical calender? The *ἀναγνώστη* remains the same if Antheus' years are understood, or, for that matter, Spartans. The argument on ordination of the aorist (*ἔσταιρησθε*) and the perfect (*οἰκοφθύρησθε*) is grammatical in itself, yet a shade of illocution befalls them. The *καρπὸν ἀνέμῳ* is a precise and limited fact; the *οἰκοφθόρα* is a process, which, though now perfectly complete, has been a long time going on. Thus the tension of the two verbs here could not be simply interchanged without a loss of actual sense.

14. ἀντὶ τούτων δέ the δέ is emphatic, cp. 1.2 *supra*, 'I return, therefore, to compensate or console you.'

15. Λακεδαιμόνιοι τε καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι: i.e. the Peloponnesians. It may include Argives and Megarians, but at least the Athenians are conceived as excluded from the title, thus a redundancy within the symmetry *δοι τῷ Μηδῷ*.

ἐπαγγέλλονται, 'make you this offer'; cp 7.1.

16. γυναῖκας τε καὶ . . . οἰκετῶν ἐχόμενα. οἱ ἐχόμενοι c. 144 *infra*; cp. ec. 44, 106 *supra*. This phrase here is an elaborate periphrasis, cp. 1, 140, 193. The children are of course included, as *ἐπεὶ ἀρέσκει* would also suggest.

17. ἔστ' ἂν ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε συνεστήκῃ for the phrase (*συνίστημι*) cp. 7. 144, 227, 'while, so long as, thus was obtain.' The perfect subjunctive is noticeable, but the word is only 'perfect' in grammatical form and practically present, or rather aoristic, it seems.

18. λήψας: cp. 7. 10 *supra*.

20. τύραννος γὰρ ἔων τυράννῳ συγκατεργάζεται an obvious *genus auctoris* play on words rather than the ostensible occasion, and perhaps even inherited from 'the age of the Demos'. Not that what tyrant at times would work not with but against his fellow. 'Hands of a feather fly together,' 'thieves work in pairs,' etc. etc., were proverbial a little hard on Alexander and Mardonius. Alexander was not a 'tyrant' in the proper sense (cp. c. 137 *supra*), and Mardonius was not technically a 'tyrant' at all. The phrase might have worked better especially as contrasting the cooperation of the tyrant and the Mace, if applied to the Ionians on the later (4. 137 f.), or Hippas at Sardis (5. 96), or the Greek cities in the train of Xerxes (7. 6 *supra*). The point here, however, just raised is not primarily the comparison of 'madness' and 'tyranny,' but the tendency of tyrant to stand by tyrant against the Republic. The Republic Sparta herself, did not go into this matter with clean hands: she had worked for the restoration of Hippas (5. 81), she would have accepted the aid of Gelon upon conditions (7. 157 *supra*), as she was afterwards glad to accept the aid of Iphicrates or for that matter of Pericles himself. But there is a certain amount of truth in the solidarity of consistent and consistent. All states are forced from time to time into strange

οἴκου καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα, οὐ τε τοῦ λοεποῦ λόγους ἔχων τοιοῦτοδὲ μὴ ἐπιφαίνοσ' Ἀθηναίοισι, μηδὲ δοκῶν χρηστὰ ὑπουργεῖν ἀθέμιστα ἔρδειν παραίνεσ'· οὐ γὰρ σὲ βουλόμεθα οὐδὲν ἄχαρι πρὸς Ἀθηναίων παθεῖν ἔοντα πρόξενόν τε καὶ φίλον." πρὸς μὲν Ἀλέξαιδρον ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναιτο, πρὸς δὲ 144 τοὺς ἀπὸ Σπάρτης ἀγγέλους τῆδε. "τὸ μὲν δεῖσαι Λακεδαιμονίους μὴ ἰμυλογήσωμεν τῷ βαρβάρῳ, κάρτα ἀνθρωπότητιν ἦν· ἀτὰρ αἰσχρῶς γε οἴκατε ἐξεπιστάμενοι τὸ Ἀθηναίων φρόνημα ἀρρωδήσαι, ὅτι οὔτε χρυσὸς ἐστὶ γῆς οὐδαμοθι τοσούτος οὔτε, χώρα κἀλλει καὶ ἀρετῇ μέγα ὑπερφέρουσα, τὰ ἡμῖς δεξάμενοι ἐτάλαιμεν ἂν μηδίσαντες καταδουλῶσαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα. πολλὰ

13 μὴ δὲ ABz 13 ἀθέμιτα Macc. | ἔρδειν A ρεῖν B ἔρδειν z
τας H. 14 παθίειν B 144. 1 ὑπεκρίνατο RV 3 κάρτα
μὲν B 4 γε σπ. Apr 6 χώρα H || κἀλλει AB || μεγάλη B

and take no account of the offer to restore at the king's expense.

11 τοῦ λοιποῦ; α. χρόνου.

13. ὑπουργεῖν; α. ἡμῶν, α. 110 αμρσ, and 7. 85.

ἀθέμιστα ἔρδειν has a poetical πρξ; α. 7. 33 αμρσ. ἄχαρι, α. Hecataean εὐχρησμον, α. 7. 34

14. πρόξενόν τε καὶ φίλον; α. α. 135 αμρσ. The phrase here has, of course, no more evidential value than there. It would be odd for the Athenians to be recognizing not merely the *proxenia* but the *philia* of Alexander under such circumstances. The *philia* probably dated after the war, when Alexander turned against the Persians (see Denn. II. 23). But Lykurgos, the orator, c. *Lower* § 71, in representing Alexander on this occasion as having narrowly escaped death by staying at the banish of the Athenians, has connected this affair with that of *Lykurgos* & *Lykurgos*.

144. 3 ἦν. the imperfect here is the *perfect*. *ἦν* would obviously be out of place.

α. ἀτὰρ, or ἀλλά (Homer), a strong adversative, comparatively rare in prose, outside Hitt. (Xenoph., Plato). In c. 143, l. 45 as here, it answers to a preceding *αὐτὸς*.

αἰσχρῶς with ἀρρωδήσαι, and δὲ αὐτὸς φρόνημα. The further parenthesis is not quite regular: τοσούτος would naturally be accompanied by οὐδὲ (ἀρετῇ ὑπερφέρουσα) and followed by ὥστε, with infinitive. The place of the final sentence is taken by the relative (αὐτὸς) and conditional (δὲ). The neuter

relative is also observable, the antecedents being *χρυσὸς* and *χωρ.* *κἀλλος* and *ἀρετῇ* of the land refer to its importance and inherent value α. 7. 5 αμρσ. In Plato (*Agora*, 127 x the same co-location of words referring to an idea family is based upon the beauty and value of the members. It would have been interesting to have had *καλλος* here more fully defined.

δ. ὑπερφέρουσα, 'αὐτοκρατορική', α. c. 138 αμρσ. μέγα, αὐτοκρατορική, 'for'.

7 μηδίσαντες καταδουλῶσαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα: there is only too much point in the participle; the Athenian *proxenia* was originally based upon opposition to Persia, but opposition to Persia did not preclude *καταδουλῶσαι* τὴν Ἑλλάδα—rather it furnished the means and excuse therefore. This passage reads so naturally that it looks early; not then an apology on the part of the *τεταμένους* sons of the age of Pericles, but rather those who for the hegemony of a free Hellas. According to Plutarch (*Alexander*, 10), it was Alcibiades who dictated this answer, the assertion is at least not impossible. The Athenians would hardly have 'kept away' the actual situation so completely. Here, indeed, conspicuous by his absence on this occasion. He would hardly have dismissed the Spartans with an official inventory of τὰ διακείμενα and a simple *τεταμένους* στρατὸν αὐτὸς ταχίστα ἐκείνην. Plutarch (l.c.) also recorded a further act of Alcibiades calculated to make Sparta's assurance doubly sure: *ἐν δὲ ἀπὸς δεσφαι τοῦ αὐτοῦ στρατοῦ, αὐτὸς ἐνταρμίσαντο Νηΐδας ἢ τὴν σκηνίδα*.

τε γὰρ καὶ μεγάλα ἐστὶ τὰ διακαλύοντα ταῦτα μὴ ποιεῖν
μὴδ' ἦν ἐβέβαιον, πρῶτα μὲν καὶ μέγιστα τῶν θεῶν τὰ
10 ἀγάλματα καὶ τὰ οἰκήματα ἐμπεπρησμένα τε καὶ συγκεχω-
σμένα, τοῖσι ἡμέας ἀναγκαίως ἔχει τιμωρέειν ἐς τὰ μέγιστα
μύλλου ἢ περ ὁμολογέειν τῷ ταῦτα ἐργασασμένῳ, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ

Ὁ μὴ δ' ABR || βέβαιον B || τὰ τε? coul. Stein¹³, adsc. van H. 10
ἐμπεπρημένα uO || τε καὶ συγκεχωσμένα uul. Marc. 11 μάλιστα
Marc. 12 τοῖσι ταῦτα ἐργασασμένοις B

χωρ ἀπολίσσει τὸν Ἑλλάδων. That act
might be held to regularize the 'lynching
of Lykidas' ep. 9 5.

9. *πρῶτα μὲν*: the first place is
assigned to the *εὐλογία θεῶν* ep. Thuc.
5. 30 1, arising from the religious
destruction of any places and objects.
The constant recurrence to this con-
sideration accounts for that in previous
books (e.g. ep. 1. 143 *supra*), it
also supports a relatively early date for
the speech: after the glory of Persian
Athena had more than restored the
works destroyed by the Mede, the sharp-
ness of Ionian feelings was abated. But
the further inference that the Persian
war was in any special sense a religious
war, or that the Persians were inflamed
by excitement and iconoclastic zeal
against the idolatry of Hellas, is an
exaggeration, ep. c. 100 *supra*. τὰ
ἀγάλματα καὶ τὰ οἰκήματα ep. τοῖς
θεοῖς καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα c. 111. It is a
question whether the Persian invaders
or the Athenian restorers brought the
more honor on the old Akropolis and
its contents: the ancient wooden image
of Athena, still to be seen in the days of
Pausanias (l. 26, 6), had been trans-
ported to Salamis (Plutarch *Themist.*
10, and so *passim*). Cf. *Reiser* i.
210 f. H. u. p. *Reinhardt*, note ad l. c.

It is almost certain that the actual
destruction by the Persians was stag-
gered afterwards in any case at the
extensive date of this speech, the
work of destruction was not yet fully
accomplished; ep. 9. 15 *supra*. *Reinhardt*
remarks that after the battle of Plataia
it became the popular view at Athens
that the war had been waged against
the Persians in revenge for the destruc-
tion of Hellenic temples: it is a far cry
from the field of Plataia to the detestable
oath, which according to *Lykurgos* l.
1002, was taken by the collective

people just before the battle of Plataia;
ep. 7. 132 *supra*. But that the Athenian
legend was well understood in the genera-
tion after the battle is proved by the
very passage. Cf. *Reinhardt* *loc. cit.*
17, and note to c. 100 *supra*.

11. *τοῖσι ἡμέας ἀναγκαίως ἔχει τιμω-
ρεῖν ἐς τὰ μέγιστα*. This formula goes
beyond the case of merely defensive
warfare, and anticipates, or reproduces,
the *ἐπίσχυμα* of the Dorian alliance (Th.
1. 90.). *τοῖς* is mass. The Athenian
view differs from the Delphian, ep. c. 26
supra (both no doubt as *post factum*, as
seen from the 'vengeance is mine' of the
Hebrew God (ep. *Romans* 12. 19 and *pass.*).
But then Delphi had not been destroyed
by the Persians.

12. *αὐτὸς δὲ* the second *κρίσις* is
'positive,' in the highest sense; it is
the unity and sobriety of Hellenic
culture, and what is perhaps implied
rather than stated, its superiority to
barbarism, the obligation to defend and
to preserve it, the impetus of believing
it: 'the cause of civilization itself is at
stake.' The passage is, in fact, the *locus
classicus* on 'the unity of Hellas,' and
certainly great chapter under that title,
cf. *Reinhardt* i. 4 (1st ed.) pp. 458-461. *Das
griechische Reich*, a brilliant con-
temporary treatise.

τὸ Ἑλλάδικόν ἐστιν ἕνα γένος, or
simply a collective neuter—οἱ Ἕλληνες,
in their political union. *Reinhardt*
in the last two periods, and for a good
while before the fifth century, over the
Greek peninsula, and around the Aegean
coasts, to any sort of greater peace
and the settling of nations. *Reinhardt*,
there was several a dominant population,
more or less homogeneous and national
in character, and with a distinctive
type of civilization of its own. Divided
under various ethnic or tribal names
(e.g. Ἀχαιοὶ, Πέρσαι, Ἴωνες, Ἀχαιοί,
c. H. l. 1. 55-58, 142-45) divided
geographically into distinct territorial

τε κοινὰ καὶ θυσίαι ἡδεῖ τε ὁμότροπα, τῶν προδότας γεγέσθαι

14 τῶν B: ὅν καὶ π: ὅν

(ii.) Philology proves that the people whose native language was Greek belonged to the Indo-European (or European) stock an observation which makes it certain that the Greeks themselves were immigrants into the region which became the theatre of Hellenic history. There is some evidence, however, of the persistence of non-Hellenic tongues within the Hellenic area, e.g. *Hdt.* 1. 57, and the non-Hellenic inscriptions in Greek characters, found in Lemnos and in Erete. Perhaps also the varieties of Greek dialect may have been encouraged by the presence of pre-Hellenic elements in the population. The linguistic frontier is tolerably well defined round Greece proper: in the East, Persian is a foreign language, c. 136 *supra*, and the same is true of the Asiatic languages generally. In the West the Epirote and Libyan are non-Hellenic in the historic period, *Thuc.* 2. 68, 40-41. In the North the position of Macedonian is rather doubtful, but though alien to Greek, it differs by more than merely dialectal variation, while Thracian is distinctly 'barbarous'. In the South the Cretans of historic times speak Greek, but the non-Hellenic tongue survives in the east of the island (cp. 7. 171 *supra*).

κοινὰ ἰδρύματα τε κοινὰ καὶ θυσίαι, 'common foundations, common sacrifices to gods'—that is, a common religion; common cults, a common theology. The great national centres of religion, with their oracles, oracles, and festivals—Olympia, Delphi, Dodona (perhaps Delos), Eleusis—must be chiefly in the speaker's (or writer's) mind; the theology is not expressly mentioned, but may be assumed; cp. 2. 53. Perhaps nothing would more clearly show the genesis of a non-primitive character of the Hellenic national communion than the history of Hellenic religion. The Hellenic and pan-Hellenic significance of Olympia and of Delphi (to take the most conspicuous examples) was comparatively recent. The pan-Hellenic *Agon* of Delphi has the year 585 B.C. as its epoch, and it was established by Krotopoulos of Sikyon and Solon of Athens (cp. J. B. Bury, *The Hellenic Age of Delphi* 1880, Appendix D). The Olympian *Agon* was dated conventionally two centuries earlier, 776

B.C.) but this is a 'prochronism', the founder of the *Agon* was Phaidon of Argos, and the date of the foundation was probably 688 B.C. (*Ol.* 28, cp. *Hdt.* 14-15 i. 348, note to 6. 127). Delphi gave up to mankind what was intended for Hellenism, but the Hellenic character of the Olympian *Agon* is attested by two striking facts. (a) the title of the stewards, ἑλληνοδῆται, which must be associated with the establishment by Phaidon (the same title was used at Nemea). The adoption of this title presupposes the extensive recognition of 'Hellenes' and 'Hellas'. (b) The inclusion of all Hellenes 2. 160 and the exclusion of 'barbarians' (4. 21) is the competition which gave it a truly 'national' character. But the common theology (*theoi κοινοί* 9. 90 *infra*, *θεοὶ ὅλῳι* 6. 40) carries back further than the great festivals. There is apparent in Greece, even in the historic period, a wondrous variety of local cults and of local myths; but there is also apparent a large community of creed and worship of the community the Homeric-Hellenic theology (including the *Hymns*) may be taken as typical. This theology is, indeed, comparatively late (cp. *Hdt.* 2. 53), but its middle and latest age imply a long past, a long process, a genesis; and the systematisation, the general reception of the Homeric Pantheon, imply a large common stock of ideas and of practices, origins, or acquired, which in turn implies a long history, a long occupation of the area, over which this religious complex is recognizable.

14 ἡδεῖ τε ὁμότροπα, 'a uniform moral and political culture.' Under this head might be comprised: (i.) the city-state, with its republican constitution of one kind or another; (ii.) the family and domestic institutions, marriage, paternal descent, etc.; (iii.) the usage in peace and war *πολεμικά, ἀσπληνικά*, etc.; (iv.) the ethical ideals in the fullest sense. But no one knew better than the Athenian Thucydides that this culture was itself a gradual growth, and not a primitive or intrinsic possession of the Hellenes; that primitive 'Hellas' was itself barbarous (τὸ παλαιὸν Ἑλλὰς οὐκ ὁμοτρόπα τῷ τῶν βαρβάρων διακείμενον 1. 6. 3).

Ἀθηναίους οὐκ ἂν εὖ ἔχοι. ἐπίστασθέ τε οὕτω, εἰ μὴ πρό- 15
τερον ἐτυγχάνετε ἐπιστάμενοι, ἔστ' ἂν καὶ εἰς περιγ' Ἀθηναίων,
μηδαμὶ ἐμολογήσοντας ἡμέας Ξέρξη. ὑμῶν μίντοι ἀγάμεθα
τὴν προνοίην τὴν πρὸς ἡμέας εἰσῆσαν, ὅτι προείδετε ἡμῶν
οἰκοφθορημένων οὕτω ὥστε ἐπιβρέψαι ἐθέλειν ἡμῶν τοὺς
οἰέτας. καὶ ἡμῶν μὲν ἡ χάρις ἐκπεπλήρωται, ἡμεῖς μέντοι 20

15 μὴ καὶ B, van H. 17 μηδαμὶ R: 18 πρὸς: εἰς R,
Holder. εἰ SV, Gaisford, van H. || ὑμῶν B¹ || ἔχουσιν B, Holder, van H.
19 οἰκοφθορημένων R || ἡμῶν S marg. 20 ἡμεῖς B:

It is not the business of the speaker in this passage to qualify or to correct the extreme and enthusiastic assertion of 'the unity of Hellas'; but it is worth while for us to observe that under each of the four great tests, or *limera*, of Hellenism here propounded, history has significant exceptions and contrary instances. Blood, Disease, Corruption, Famine, were dividing Hellas in Hellas, though space here precludes further illustration.

16. *ἔστ' ἂν καὶ εἰς . . Ξέρξη*. The dotting of *εἰς* and crowding of *εἰ* (if it took place) was very unwise from a dramatic point of view to give such assurance to Alexander (c. 143 *supra*, was laid enough), to pledge themselves then to Sparta was almost suicidal. It looks downright foolish in the light of the sequel: not alone the *γνώμη* of Lysias (9. 5), who was the Athenian, but the formal declaration of Athenian representatives in Sparta, *ὅτι συμμαχοὶ βασιλεὺς γινόμεθα* (9. 11). Hdt. appears quite unconscious of the satire he thus brings against Athens. The two narratives are from independent sources, and even so he gives them both, without abatement, for what they are worth.

17. *ὑμῶν μίντοι*. Hitherto they have been speaking of themselves. The position of the words is emphatic. *ἀγάμεθα* appears to be used in a good sense as in 4. 46, rather than in an ironical sense, as in 4. 157. *στεινὴ* context, indeed a self-deprecating (*hōtōn humilō*) tone in this speech, and finds in that tone, and in the large scale on which the whole story of the negotiations is narrated, evidence for two conclusions: (1) that it was committed to writing at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war (c. 431 B.C.), and (2) that Hdt. takes sides with Athens against her ungrateful foes. As to the first point: (a) it assumes, as is too often assumed, that Sparta and Athens

quarrelled for the first time in 431 B.C. As a matter of fact the direct feeling between Sparta and Athens was probably not so bitter in 431 B.C. as it had been in 448 B.C. or in 451 B.C.; (b) it ignores the bearing of the Macedonian question. The war in 431 B.C. was largely brought about by Perikles and Athens (cp. Thuc. 1. 51). It would be a strange way of taking sides with Athens at the outbreak of the war in 431 B.C. to make so much of the *σβεσθῆς, ἀπεργασίας, πολεμίας, φιλίας* of Alexander of Macedon. Possibly Hdt. sympathizes with Athens rather than with Sparta in this passage, but if so, it is an ideal sympathy, projected into the situation of 475 B.C., not an objective and partisan commentary upon the outbreak of hostilities in 431 B.C. The Attenuating tone of the whole passage may be due to the Attic or post-Attic character, from which Hdt. has drawn it. So far as Attic is, it illuminates the problem of composition, the passage is most easily interpreted as belonging to the earlier, perhaps to the earliest draft of these books. The slight suspicion of post-late is, perhaps, ascending, for it ill accords with the nature of the immediate context. The Spartan offer here, indeed, rather too near a resemblance to inviting a colonial pledge or hostage, from the Athenians, but an Athenian suggestion to Sparta had not been suggested, probably only Perikles was intended, and for that move there was a precedent (cp. ca. 41 and 46 *supra*).

18. *προνοίην . . ὅτι προείδετε*, 'providence, provision, provide, etc. *εἰς* *εἰσῆσαν* in a different sense, c. 87 *supra*. The verb in this sense is more generally in the middle I. & S. *εὐδὲν* *προνοοῖται*.

19. *τοὺς οἰέτας* cp. c. 143 *supra*.

20. *ἡ χάρις ἐκπεπλήρωται*, 'your

λιπαρήσομεν οὕτω ὥςως ἂν ἔχωμεν, οὐδὲν λυπέοντες ἔν
 νῦν δέ, ὥς οὕτω ἐχόντων, στρατιὴν ὡς τάχιστα ἐκτέμ
 ὄν γὰρ ἡμεῖς εἰκάζομεν, οὐκ ἐκὰς χρόνου παρέσται ὁ βάρβ
 ἔσβαλέων ἐς την ἡμετέραν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴν τάχιστα πύθηται
 25 ἰγγελίην ὅτι οὐδὲν ποιήσομεν τῶν ἐκείνος ἡμέων προσεδ
 πρὶν ὧν παρεῖναι ἐκείνου ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, ἡμέας καιρὸς
 προσηθῆσαι ἐς τὴν Βοιωτήν." οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ὑποκρίναν
 Ἀθηναῖον ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς Σπάρτην.

21 λιπαρήσομεν Marc.

23 ἡμεῖς B || οἰκίζομεν Marc.

χρόνου C 24 ἐσβαλέων Naber, Strin^b: ἐσβαλὼν i, ἐπειδὴν
 Abicht, Holzer || ἐπειδὴν πιθγαί, τάχιστα malit van H. 25

ἐδεῖτο C 26 ἡμεῖς Wesseling, van H. 27 προσβωθῆ
 van H., προσβωθῆσαι SV, Gaisford || οἱ . . Σπάρτην in princeps
 noni Pz: utrobique ceteri

ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ Η | ΧΑΗΗΗ Λ

ἡροδότου ιστοριῶν η' CR: τέλος ἡροδότου ιστοριῶν ὁγδὼς Marc

kindness leaves nothing to be desired'—is full, to overflowing—in far more than we had any right to expect. χάρις is here better taken as the 'gracious' not (an offer on the part of Sparta) than as 'the feeling of gratitude on the part of Athens. The perf. pass. is not so much temporal as qualitative in regard to the

ἡμεῖς μέντοι contr. ἡμέων μέντοι just above.

21. λιπαρήσομεν, 'we shall continue to hold out'; cp. 2, 45 (μέπομεν), 5, 19 (τῇ πόσει).

οὕτω ὥςως ἂν ἔχωμεν, 'as best we may' cp. c. 113 supra λυπέοντες, 'causing annoyance to.

24 στρατιὴν ὡς τάχιστα ἐκτεμνεν: the conference at Athens is to be at the end of the winter. Marathon is, however, represented as still in Thessaly D, L. If the story just told, the speeches reported be true, or anywhere near the truth, the Athenians had themselves to thank for the Spartan delay in attacking to this demand. They have given away their diplomatic weapons as a bit of pan-Hellenic generosity.

23. οὐκ ἐκὰς χρόνου, 'before death is necessarily a *locus adverbis*; however and absolutely of time, *lych.* 2, 94 (54.), *Dieb.* 1, 1, 1, 1. For the use of the adv. with the genitive Stein compares *Amoy.* 207 εἰτότιν χρόνον.

25. προσβόητο like the example constructed with the double genitive of *πρὸς τὸν . . ἡρώδην*, cp. 2, 26 2 *supra* stronger than taking as genitive by attraction—*πρὸς τὸν ἡρώδην*—cp. 5, 40 *ἐξέωκεν*, 3 157 *ἐπερωπείσθαι* *ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων σφύρων*.)

26. ἡμεῖς, 'you and us,' as both *Schwenk.* and *Wess.*

27 ἐς τὴν Βοιωτήν the road could not be treated as a *locus adverbis*, except as the result of previous deliberations and a definite project, perhaps the organs, on a 60 *supra*.

οἱ μὲν καὶ The corresponding sentence opens the 14th book. It is no grammatical break. Of transition between Bks 7 and 8.

ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ

ΚΑΛΛΙΟΠΗ

Μαρδόνιος δέ, ὥς οἱ ὑπονοστήσας Ἀλέξανδρος τὰ παρὰ¹
Ἀθηναίων ἐσήμνη, ὀρμηθεὶς ἐκ Θεσσαλίας ἤγε τὴν στρατὸν
σπουδῇ ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας. ὅκου δὲ ἐκαστοτε γίνοιτο, τούτους
παρελαμβάνει. τοῖσι δὲ Θεσσαλίας ἡγεσμένοισι οὕτω τὰ πρὸ
τοῦ πεπρηγμένα μετέμελε οὐδὲν πολλῶν τε μᾶλλον ἐπήγον τὸν⁵
Πέρσην. καὶ συμπροίεμψέ τε Θιόρηξ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος Ξέρην

ΚΑΛΛΙΟΠΗ Θ Α: ΚΑΛΛΙΟΠΗ Β: καλλιόπη Θ' C: καλλιόπη R.
καλλιόπη ἡροδοτου ἱστοριῶν ἐννότη Ματα 1. 1 παρ' B δ
μετέμελεν B θ τε· τῷ R: 210 CP || Ἀθηναῖος BR: ξέρην B

1 1 Μαρδόνιος δέ, corresponding with
of αὐτοῦ in the preceding sentence the
last of Bk. 8. There is not merely no
material break between Bks. 8 and 9,
but not even a formal or grammatical
connection. ὑπονοστήειν, B 14 etc.

τὰ παρ' Ἀθηναίων, 'the Athenian
armies' an ellipse of τῶν οὐ λεχθέντων;
cp. Bk. 5. 68, 3-4 ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου.

2 ὀρμηθεὶς, of a physical act; cp.
Bk. 2. 100. ἐκ Θεσσαλίας: that
Macedonia was in Thessaly seems
a fairly well established fact (cp. 8. 114 f.,
116), but does not involve the supposi-
tion that his abandoned allies held on
against forces were not the Macedonian
armies, perhaps, in occupation of
Boeotia throughout the winter? Cp. 8.
34.

3 ὅκου . . . παρελάμβανε, for the
same cp. 8. 115. The statement pre-
pares us for the estimate in c. 32 *infra*
of 50,000 Greeks under arms in the
force of Marstonius. Diod. 11. 28
raises the figure to 500,000 by leaving an

Thracian, Macedonian and Greeks!
Cp. App. ix. VI. 1. 52, 53.

4, τοῖσι . . . Θεσσαλίας ἡγεσμένοισι
the Achaeta, cp. 7. 8, 180, their chief
man being Thome of Larissa, named
just below. The victory of Salamis had
apparently done little to convince the
Thessalian catalists that the Greek was
the winning side. Stein observes that
Hdt. means the Achaeta, the most active
possessors of the war, and is glad to
emphasize their quality. 7. 180, 172.
παρῆκε here in particular involves a
gross exaggeration: the roads and passes
were not in the hands of Thracians, Ther-
myssians, for example, was doubtless held
by a Persian force, and so on. Ionian
armies and the Athenian exiles cut no
figure in the camp of Marstonius have
they retired to the king's side?

6, Θιόρηξ remained again in c. 68 *infra*
with his brethren, before the end of the
sixth century he had given a commission
to Pindar, evidence of which we have
in the first extant extant work (Pind.
10, anno 502 B.C.), in which also Thoma

φεύγοντα καὶ τότε ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ παρήκε Μαρδόνιον
 2 τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ἐπεὶ δὲ πορευόμενος γίγνεται ὁ στρατὸς
 Βοιωτοῖσι, οἱ Θηβαῖοι κατελίσβανον τὸν Μαρδόνιον καὶ
 εβούλευον αὐτῷ λέγοντες ὥς οὐκ εἴη χάρος ἐπιτηδεύ-
 ἐν στρατοπεδεύεσθαι ἐκείνου, οὐδὲ ἔων ἵεναι ἑαστέρω,
 5 αὐτοῦ ἰζόμενον ποιεῖν ὅκως ἀμαχητὶ τὴν πᾶσαν Ἑλ-
 καταστρέφεται. κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν Ἑλλήνας

7 παρείκε : 2. 1 ἐπειτε? van H. 2 τὴν om. B
 συνεβοῦλεον αὐτῷ del. Cobet, van H. 3 ἐπιτηδεύετος CΡ, v
 4 ἐν στρατοπέδῳ O || ἑαστέρω α : ἑκατέρω B 6 καταστρέ-
 Steger: καταστρέφεται codd.: καταστρέφεται :

is named (l. 64). Thucyd. may have been
 Tagoi of Ithessaly whether the Skopadii
 (cp. 6. 127) were acquiescent or co-operat-
 ing is not quite clear; cp. 7. 172.

7. φεύγοντα: Στάσις νόστοι is a φυγή;
 cp. 8. 27, 103, 115, 120.

2. 2. οἱ Θηβαῖοι κατελίσβανον τὸν
 M., 'the Thebans tried to stay Mar-
 donion'

3. οἱ εἴη χάρος κτλ.: these re-
 presentations were not ultimately lost
 upon Mardonius, who had at least no
 intention of risking a pitched battle in
 Attica. The topographical merits of
 Boiotia, from a military point of view,
 made it again and again the scene of
 important battles both in Greek and in
 Roman times (Plataea, Tarnagra, Icton,
 Halae, Kironna, Leuktra, Orchome-
 nos, Chairene); but it was appar-
 ently not so much on its advantages as
 fighting ground that the Thebans laid
 stress, as on the advantages it offered 1)
 for supplies, 2) as a headquarters and
 base of negotiation. He was to hasten
 there (αὐτοῦ) and wait for allowing
 possession of Greece ἀμαχητὶ ἀμαχητὶ
 by itself would not necessarily imply that
 the Thebans apprehended a Persian de-
 feat in the event of battle: the Persian
 conqueror stood to lose by the losses he
 might inflict, as well as by those he
 incurred; but the next sentence suggests
 the greater alternative, συνβουλεύειν
 must be repeated after ἀλλὰ (δραστή-
 4074).

4. οὐδὲ ἔων ἵεναι ἑαστέρω, 'and were
 for hastening his further advance. The
 two reasons given for their advice are
 scarcely cognate, the one suggesting an
 appeal to arms, the other a resource to
 intrigue, but cp. next note.

6. κατὰ μὲν γὰρ . . ὅπασιν ἀνθρώποις :

a remarkable sentence both in a mi-
 nor and in a formal sense. Matera
 recognizes the power of a united
 especially for resistance cp. H.L.
 judgment upon 'a united Thucyd.
 or Aristotle upon the Greek road
 4 (7). 7. 3 = 1327 a δύναμιον ἄρχει ;
 αὐτὴν γὰρ ἔχοντες πολέμους. Formally
 are some demonstrative points in it
 (ence): (a) κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν is tā
 ἑκατὶ (followed by Stein) τίς ἄν
 cp. 1. 76 ἐκέρυετο κατὰ τὸ ἰ-
 ἀλλήλων ('they made trial of
 other in respect of strength'; or
 made trial of each other with vig-
 ours). The words in ght he tal
 by Gell. with ὁμοφρονιότητος ('
 heart and soul'); Blass, 'con-
 censes, 'in point of actual force';
 them as qualifying the whole sen-
 (b) of τῶν καὶ πάρος ταῦτ' ἔχον-
 any refer to the mortal members
 Helonic *Samnathy*, 'it is, to wit
 were premisses of one mind, or
 generally, those who should ag-
 viously (before being attacked,
 dominant power since are in fact
 the τῶν καὶ χαλεποῖς are ἄλλοι
 περιγίνουσαι, not so much 'to be
 as 'to get the upper hand'; the
 situation is curious, as the verb
 to govern the accusative (c) 'Ἐ
 ὁμοφρονιότητος, as though they
 but this acc. may better per-
 taken as an acc. pred. as (with B)
 Blassley explains the antecedent
 due to the identity of expression
 sentiment, notably (a difficult
 arising from Boiotian sympathy
 from the nature of the case'.
 ἵδουσι ἀνθρώποις is collective,
 all the world together, not divi-
 'any man in existence.' A

φρονέοντας, αἱ περ καὶ τάρως ταῦτ' ἐγίνωσκον, χαλεποὺς εἶναι περιγίνεσθαι καὶ ἅπασι ἀνθρώποισι· "εἰ δὲ ποιήσεις τὰ ἡμεῖς παραινόμεν," ἔφασαν λέγοντες. "ἔξεις ἀπόκωσ ἅπαντα τὰ ἐκείνων ἰσχυρὰ βουλευματα· πέμπε χρήματα ἐς τοὺς δυνα-¹⁰ στεύοντας ἄνδρας ἐν τῇσι πόλεσι, πέμπων δὲ τῇν Ἑλλάδα διαστήσεις· ἐνθούτεν δὲ τοὺς μὴ τὰ σὰ φρονέοντας ῥηιδίως μετὰ τῶν στρασιμίων καταστρέψαι." οἱ μὲν ταῦτα συν-³ ἔβουλευοι, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐπέθετο, ἀλλὰ οἱ δεινὸς ἐνέστακτο ἥμιρος

7 ταῦτα RV || χαλεποὺς com. Stein¹, van H. χαλεπὰ ('quod facti sumus, nisi forte ante περιγίνεσθαι excluderant verba νικᾶν τε καὶ ' van H.: δικὸν τοῦτον in textum recepit Holder) 8 περιγίνεσθαι B || ποιήσεις x 9 ἔξεις 'αὐ σὺ τίς;' Kullenberg || πάντα αὐτ', Stein¹ 10 κείνων x 11 ἰσχυρὰ om. αὐ, van H. 13 μετὰ στρασιμίων B || καταστρέψαι BC 3. 2 ἐτίθετο R || δεινὸς τις B, Holder, van H.

If we who know its own mind (even if only comprising the actually extant confederacy) could hold its own against a world in arms. 9 ἔχει, 'thou shalt be in possession of.' If ἰσχυρὰ were to stand, it would favour taking κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν just above with ομοφρονέοντες. But cf. App. I¹¹.

10 πέμπε χρήματα ἐς τοὺς δυνα-
στεύοντας . . . divide Hellas by bribery
—of the men in power in the cities.
From *facta* this might be taken to
imply that the masses, the *δημος*, were
more easily bribed than the 'dynasts, the
δυνατοὶ. Something of that sort is urged
for the Theban orator in Thucydides, 3
52. 3 and the term *δυναστεύοντας* here
is illustrated by the words here used
to describe the condition of Thebes in
130 A.C.: *δυναστεία δαίμων ἀνδρῶν εἴχε-
ται τοῖς πόλεσιν*. But perhaps Athens is
not included in the Theban programme,
and Syria with the Ptolemaic empire
may be mainly in view (cf. Thodot. *de
syria*). The proposal is not so much
to overthrow despotisms by invading
abroad as to divide the Hellenic
confederacy, separating the partisans of
Thebes τὸν στοσιμίων, 'your partisans',
from τοὺς μὴ τὰ σὰ φρονέοντας. The
two points are not perhaps clearly dis-
tinguished in this passage; and even
among the Athenians it must be ad-
mitted, just before Platina, there was
a strong medising faction, if the story
told by Plutarch *Arat* 13, is true. Cf.
Appian vi III § 2 (v.).

11. τῇν Ἑλλάδα διαστήσεις, 'then

shall divide Hellas against itself'; cf.
διαστήσαι 4. 11, 'dividing into two
halves' κατὰ πόλεις δὲ διαστήσαν. Thuc.
4. 51. 1. The advice is repeated by
Artaabazos c. 41 5/70.

3. 2. 5 δὲ οὐκ ἐπέθετο, yet just
below c. 5, Hot. himself suggests that
Lykidas, the Athenian, had perhaps
received money from Mardon or Thodor.
11. 24. 3 asserts that Mardonios *παν-
τὸν ἐν Πελοποννησῷ πόλεων ἐπικρατοῦ* τινὰς
ἀφιστάται, χρήματα διαπεμπόμενος τοῖς
πολεσιπράδοις. He was of course, as
suggested with Δίκος; cf. c. 18 infra.
The mission of Artabanos of Zela
(Plutarch *Pharnabaz* 4) cannot be re-
ferred with confidence to this precise
point (as he Dutcher vol. 1 313, but it
is hardly likely that Mardonios enlisted
to employ so obvious a weapon as
bribery. Hawthinson points out (iv.²
314) that Mardonios was very late in
recovering Athens, and thinks that
he spent the spring in efforts to win
over some of the Greek states by bribery.
The Atticizing source speaks in the next
words of M¹ and accounts for the
unpopular policy of Mardonios.

ἀλλὰ i.e. *divides* γὰρ of c. 11, ἐν-
στάκτο the simple verb c. 5, 74,
and in the literal sense, and with the
proposition uncompounded, Plutarch, *Lyth.*
11. 110 *μετὰ τὴν χερσὶν καὶ ἀφροειπῶν
ἀπάγειν*. Here, of course as there, it is
a brilliant metaphor (as of poison!) the
pluperfect pointing rather to the depth
than to the date of his passion. This
passage is, however, more probably a
reminiscence of c. 1. 2. 27, *αὐτὸς τοὺς*

τὰς Ἀθήνας δεύτερα ἔλειν, ἅμα μὲν ὑπ' ἀγνωμοσύνης, ἅμα δὲ
 πυρσοῖσι διὰ νήσων ἐδόκεε βασιλεῖ δηλώσειν ἔντι ἐν Σάρδεσι
 5 ὅτι ἔχοι Ἀθήνας· ὅς οὐδὲ τότε ἀπικόμενος εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν
 εἶρε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἀλλ' ἐν τε Σαλαμῖνι τοὺς πλείστοις
 ἐπυνθάνετο εἶναι ἐν τε τῇσι νηυσὶ αἰρέει τε ἔρημον τὸ ἄστυ.
 ἡ δὲ βασιλεὺς αἴρεσις εἰς τὴν ὑστέρην τὴν Μαρδοκίου ἐπι-
 στρατηγὴν δεκάμηρος ἐγένετο.

4 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν Ἀθήνῃσι ἐγένετο ὁ Μαρδόνιος, πέμπει εἰς
 Σαλαμῖνα Μουρυχίδην ἄνδρα Ἑλλησπόντιον φέροντα τοὺς

3 ἔλειν V, Schaefer, Gaisford 4 βασιλεῖ ΔΒ || δηλώσει H·
 δηλω eum σ supererit V 5 τὰς Ἀθήνας B „ ὅς: ὁ δὲ Steinf. 7
 τε post ἐν om. B „ ἐρήμον CPs 8 βασιλῆος α || ὑστέραῖν CPs | τῇς
 τοῦ Marc. 4. 1 ἐπεὶ τὸ van H. || ἐν om. B | ὁ om. α 2
 Μουρυχίδην C: Μουριχίδην Bz

παρὸς ἀνίστασθαι μῖνος ἥ (a passage
 which might have suggested to Pindar
 the use of the simple verb in *Nem.* 10.
 82).

2. *Δεύτερα*, 'a second time'; not τὸ
 δεύτερον—for Mardonius had not 'cap-
 tured' it the first time; cp. α. 4 *infra*.

ἅμα γὰρ . . ἅμα δέ: the two *αἰεῖς*
 are not strictly correlative. ἀγνωμοσύνη,
 vanity, arrogance, obstinacy—cause for
 effect; cp. α. 41 *infra*: the same word is
 used of the Athenians c. 4 *infra*.

4. *πυρσοῖσι διὰ νήσων*. cp. 7, 189
 on this method of signalling, and the
 opening of the immortal *Agamemnon*,
 which Stœm suggests was a grand ana-
 chronism, based upon this historic Mar-
 donian trap. But Mardonius did not at
 this time control the islands; his only
 line of communication was by the main-
 land. The king is a baron; cp. c. 108
infra. Perhaps then Hdt. has borrowed
 from Amyias (the *Onesieus* was pre-
 sented in 455 B.C.).

6. *ἐν τε Σαλαμῖνι*: was there in truth
 a second complete evacuation of Attica
 and Athens? i.e. had the Athenians in
 fact reoccupied their city and houses?
 Had they already begun the rebuilding
 in which Themistokles exhorted them
 8. 109 *supra*? They may have at-
 tempted to raise a harvest, perhaps, in
 Attica, or in the parts nearest Salamis;
 but there is fair room for doubt whether
 they undertook the rebuilding of the
 city until they were assured that they
 should not see the Persian army any
 more in the land. Hdt. is, indeed,
 explicit on the point α. 8 *infra*; but
 he might have been mistaken. A large

number of the Athenians may have
 wintered in Salamis. Their occupation,
 or reoccupation, of the island implies
 a confidence in their superiority by sea.

7. *ἐν τε τῇσι νηυσὶ*: the only Attic
 ships for which Hdt. accounts at this
 time are those with the Hellespont fleet
 at Argina, which numbers but 110 in
 all; 8. 181 *supra*. Where were the
 rest? Had they been let on the Attic
 side Mardonius would certainly have
 used or have destroyed them. A good y
 Attic fleet must have been in and around
 Salamis itself, and have counted for
 something in the whole plan of campaign,
 though completely ignored by Hdt.

8. *δεκάμηρος*: ten—or rather nine—
 months earlier. This date is doubtless
 correct, and reckoned by the Attic
 Calendar but unfortunately it is only
 approximate. Rawlinson places the re-
 occupation of Athens in June, and
 remarks even so upon the waste of time
 above accounted for. His chronology
 would show both occupations to the
 same Attic year, which brings
 Mardonius to Athens "after the middle
 of July," Xerxes having reached Athens
 "after the middle of September"; that
 is, places the two events a different
 Attic year. Busolt ii. 722 f. dates
 the event to the second half of June in
 Saitrophonon). Hdt.'s term, if any-
 thing, favours the view that the two
 events belong to the same official year;
 otherwise, too, he would perhaps have
 added the Archon; cp. 8. 51.

6. 2. *Μουρυχίδην ἄνδρα Ἑλλη-
 σπόντιον*. The proper name appears in
 Attic as *Μουρυχίτης* and *Μηρυχίτης*. cp.

αἰτοῦς λόγους τοῖς καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδὼν τοῖσι
Ἀθηναίοισι διεπρόβηυσεν. ταῦτα δὲ τὸ δεύτερον ἀπέστειλλε
προέχων μὲν τῶν Ἀθηναίων οὐ φιλίας γυνήμας, ἐλπίζων δὲ
σφίας ὑπῆσειν τῆς ἀγνωμοσύνης ὡς δοριαλώτου εὐούσης τῆς
Ἀττικῆς χώρας καὶ εὐούσης ὑπ' ἐωυτῷ. τούτων μὲν εἵνεκα δ'
ἀπέπεμψε Μουρυχίδην εἰς Σαλαμίνα. ὁ δὲ ἀπικόμμενος ἐπὶ τὴν

3 οὐκ αC 5 προέχων: προσδοκῶν Kraeger (προσδοκῶν? van II)
ἐλπίτας B | δε σφίας K, Stein²: δε σφίας 6 δοριαλώτου || πάσης
τῆς RSV, Gaisford, Holder 7 καὶ αὐτοῦς ἦδη RSV, Gaisford, Holder:
καὶ . . . ἐωυτῷ excl. van II. 5. 1 τούτων s || εἵνεκα αC: εἵνεκεν B
2 Μουρυχίδην s

Μαριχίος and Μόρυχος, a tragic poet, the last of ancient Attic dramatic poets (A. 4. 222). 37. 1409s 510, 1142, *Peace* 1068. Μόρυχος was also an epithet of Dionysus, in Greek, 'his face "soiled" with wine loss (ep. μορμύσσειν, and there was a proverb μορμύσσειν Μόρυχον or Μωρυχον (Hesiod *Lex.*, cf. n.). This Hel. argument with his proposal was really 'a son of the foul head' to Athens! There is a want of precision about his naivety, 'Ελλογόντως have, indeed, been mentioned collectively as furnishing 100 ships to the Persian fleet (7. 42), and an anonymous 'Hellenistic' is credited with a crude remark, 7. 50, 'was this Morychides the man?' How does a 'Hellenistic' come to be cited Mardonios? Was he the nearest thing to an 'Ionian,' or an Athenian, that the Persian could employ? Was he perhaps an ex-Athenian Kleuch?

Φύροντα τοὺς αὐτοὺς λόγους ατλ. cp. B. 140. Some of the λόγοι would suit the present situation better than the former; e.g. the order from the king τὸν γὰρ σὺ ἀνάσσεις ατλ. which have a direct bearing on Mardonios being emperor διὰ τοῦ Ἀθῆνας α. 3 *supra*. φύροντα is not slightly metaphorical, indeed, if the λόγοι were in writing (α. 3 *supra*), not even slightly διεπρόβηυσεν is very highly metaphorical, though less highly if the Athenians had already been in Salamina when 'Alexander the Macedonian' visited them. The word is elsewhere by Hdt. always used of actually crossing water, cp. 2. 140 *supra*, = 205, 4. 141, 5. 52.

4. τὸ δεύτερον: cp. 3. 3 *supra*.

5. προέχων μὲν τῶν Ἀθηναίων οὐ φιλίας γυνήμας, though already in possession of the hostile mind (or resolutions) of the Athenians (against

himself). This simple use of προ- in compound (=πρότερον, so Wesselingh) is characteristic; cp. προσφειλομένη in 6. 82. Hellenistic writers usually take προέχων as 'putting forward,' φιλοῖ (λόγους) 7. 163 and in the correlative 7. 151.

6. ἐπῆσειν τῆς ἀγνωμοσύνης: the verb itself intrins. as in 1. 125 *supra* τῆς ὀργῆς (cp. also 7. 164 *supra* ατλ.), in the middle vol. 2. 151, 4. 181. The substantive as in α. 3 *supra*; here used from Mardonios point of view (εἰς-φω, not by the way, 'hoping' but 'expecting', δοριαλώτου, as in 8. 74 *supra*).

7. εὐούσης ἐπ' ἐωυτῷ: the proposition with the dat. is no doubt very strong, but the participle, especially in repetition, is rather thin; it would be strengthened by omission the first time (cp. App. Crit.).

8. 2. ἀπικόμμενος ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν. The Athenian βουλῆ, the Athenian ἐκκλησία, are working in Salamina, this is a 'record' in its way—for Salamina was not strictly a part of Athens (cp. 8. 11, 13 *supra*), it marks again a stage in the education of the Athenians, who grasp the principle that where the Athenians are there is Athens. It is especially remarkable that the *probovoulaitic* office is discharged by the *boule* of 500 (not by the *Stratagoi*, for example, as at Sparta in 412 B.C.) notwithstanding the state of war. It is just, however, conceivable that the *Boule* here in action was not the 500 but the *Areopagus* which performed some vague *utivica* in the Persian war; cp. Aristotle, *Pol.* 8. 4, 5=1304a, *Ar. n.* 25, *Plutarch*, *Them.* 10. ἐκκλησίαν (cp. α. 7 *supra*) or *παρθεσίαν* (cp. 8. 31) might have been expected here in place of the less technical ἀπικόμμενος.

βουλὴν ἔλεγε τὰ παρὰ Μαρδονίου. τῶν δὲ βουλευτῶν
Λυκίδης εἶπε γνώμην ὡς ἔδοκεε ἄμεινον εἶναι δεξαμένους τὸν
λόγον, τὸν σφί Μουρυχίδης προσφέρει, ἐξενοῖται ἐς τὸν δῆμον.
ὁ μὲν δὴ ταύτην τὴν γνώμην ἀπεφαίνετο, εἴτε δὴ δεδεγμένος
χρήματα παρὰ Μαρδονίου, εἴτε καὶ ταῦτά οἱ εἰκόταν. Ἀθηναῖοι
δὲ αὐτίκα δεινὸν ποιησάμενοι οἱ τε ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ οἱ
ἔξωθεν ὡς ἐπύθοντο, περιστάτες Λυκίδην κατέλειψαν βάλλοντες.

ὁ Μουρυχίδης : || προσφέρει Κουερετ, Οὐβελ, van H., Stein³ : προσφέρει Ι,
ἐξενοῖται B 7 οἱ αὐτοὶ καὶ ε 9 Λυκίδης B || βάλλοντες del.
van H.

1. Λυκίδης εἶπε γνώμην, 'Lykidas makes a resolution . . . ' The phrase is technically correct, γνώμην being generally dropped in the declension. Hdt. does not know, or at least does not give, the man's patronymic or Demotikon. The name Lykidas was, or became, very rare in Athens; it occurs twice in Demosthenes, (1, of a slave belonging to Oinasus, (2 of a miser (cp. *Orat. Att.*, Baster and Baugher, *Index* ii. 91). The odd thing is that Demosthenes, *de Corin.* 204, tells this story, but with two important variations: (1) the traitor's name is Kyrinos; (2) the date is before Salamis; cp. *Orosius de Off.* 3. 11. 2. Thirlwall (ii. 263 n.) attempts to harmonize by supposing Kyrinos a nickname of Lykidas; but Kyrinos is a good proper name; cp. Strabo, 526 (a Phaulian), and *CTG* ii. 2347 (a Naxian). Moreover, the discrepancy of date remains. Rawlinson reconciles the two stories by accepting them both as true (*Grote* iv. 219 n.), while recognizing the Herodotean as the more probable of the two stories, shows the improbability of both being true; it would indeed be easier to believe that they are both fictitious—an hypothesis more creditable to the constitutional morality of the Athenians and to common humanity of their view. The personal animosity to Lykidas would be 'sufficient' cause under the not of Aristides above cited, cp. notes to 3. 114.

ἔδοκεε ἄμεινον εἶναι, 'it seemed good' (not *edoke* 'it was decided'). But if it's in perfects are not always to be literally passed.

δεξαμένους cp. 3. 115 supra.

6. προσφέρει, not like the Persian, cp. 3. 151, 5. 63 a divine revelation or behest, still less like the Persian writers,

1. 3 (a reproach), but more simply, 'I speak forward'. But cp. App. (ii) ἐξενοῖται ἐς τὸν δῆμον: i.e. 'lay before the Ekklesia,' exactly as in 5. 70.

6. εἴτε δὴ δεδεγμένος χρήματα, the more plausible alternative, εἴτε καὶ the less. δεδεγμένος, perhaps merely to avoid repeating δεξαμένους (given just above), albeit δεδεγμένος could not be used above without a change of sense. (The passive form of *degein* with n.a. is never noticeable.) Does Hdt. overlook the inconsistency of this alternative with his own statement in 2. 3 supra? or has Marathon now, being in possession of Athens, thought better of the Thasian advice?

7. εἰκόταν, cp. 6. 10 supra.

8. οἱ τε ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ οἱ ἔξωθεν: these two classes, or groups, are combined in 'Athenians just before'. By οἱ ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς Hdt. might have meant simply 'the members of the Council,'. Each a sentence *quod est sensus* appears clear, goes beyond the necessary meaning of the words (though perhaps not beyond the actual facts of the case). Nor need οἱ ἔξωθεν mean 'those outside the Council chamber,' but only those outside the Bar or *prae-torium* exactly described by Demosthenes: i.e. *πολλοὶ περιστάται ἐξώθεν αὐτὸν ἀποκρίσσαντες*, i.e. persons with hearing of the proceedings in the Council (Baster unfortunately equates *ἀποκρίσσαντες* there with *ἀντιθέτοντες* here!). Hdt. himself, indeed, by adding *ὡς ἐπύθοντο* which of course refers only to οἱ ἔξωθεν shows that he does not understand the *Attic source*, which intended of ἔξωθεν *περιστάται* to be taken together.

9. Λυκίδην κατέλειψαν βάλλοντες to Hdt. this execution is apparently a verdict of irregular justice, an instance of 'Lynch law.' On the face of it this

τὸν δὲ Ἑλλησπόντιον Μουρυχίδην ἀπέπεμψαν ἄσινέα. γενο-
μένου δὲ βορύβου ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι περὶ τὸν Λυκίδην, πυνθάνονται
τὸ γινόμενον αἱ γυναῖκες τῶν Ἀθηναίων, διακελευσάμεναι δὲ
γυνὴ γυναικὶ καὶ παραλαβοῦσα ἐπὶ τὴν Λυκίδει οἰκίῃν ἦσαν
αὐτοκελές, καὶ κατὰ μὲν ἔλευσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα κατὰ δὲ
τὰ τέκνα.

Ἐν δὲ τὴν Σαλαμίνα διέβησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὧδε. ἕως 6
μὲν προσεδέκοντο ἐκ τῆς Πελοποννήσου στρατὸν ἤξειν
τιμωρήσονται σφί, οἱ δὲ ἔμενον ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ· ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ μὲν
μακρότερα καὶ σχολαίτερα ἐποίησαν, ὁ δὲ ἐπιὼν καὶ δὴ ἐν τῇ

10 μουρυχίδα RV· μουρυχίδα S: Μουρυχίδην:: del van H 11
ἐν... Λυκίδην del van H | Λυκίδα BPz 12 τῶν Ἀθηναίων αἱ γυναῖκες
τὸ γινόμενον z 13 ἦσαν α. ἦσαν BPz: ἦσαν C 6. 1 οἱ σφί
Pz || διδὲ CP 2 τὸν ἐκ z 3 σφί: σφίσι I van H. 4 τε
καὶ || σχολαιότερα S || ἐς τὴν βοιωτὴν BPz

which is unsatisfactory. Was the execu-
tion of Lykidas an instance of that
summary jurisdiction which the *helle*
literally possessed? cp. 48 v. 41 2,
45, where was the *helle* here in question
the *Areopagus*? Was Lykidas stoned
as 'Anathema' under the purphism of
Aristides (cp. 8 144, and c. 2 100),
or, again, was there a formal purphism
concerning the traitor? Lykidas, *cont.*
Lykidas, 122 ἔδωκε τὸν αὐτὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ
τοῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Σαλαμῖνι τελευτήσαντος
γενόμενος ὑποστράτης, ὅτι ἡ Βοιωτὴ, ὅτι
ἔδωκε τὸν αὐτὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν
τελευτήσαντος τὸν αὐτὸν αὐτοῦ αὐτοῦ
αὐτοῦ αὐτοῦ. Οἱ αὐτοὶ τὸν αὐτὸν αὐτοῦ
αὐτοῦ αὐτοῦ, to whitewash and justify
the legal execution? (Of all the
writers Lykidas is the worst as a
historical authority—how even by antipa-
thony makes the mistake, not uncommon
in the case of a historian, of whitewashing
the King with a *helle*—the *Regent*,
cp. c. 123 infra.)

περὶ τὴν Σαλαμίνα, c. 120 infra.

10 τὸν δὲ ἄσινέα· a remarkable
illustration of their respect for law, the
law of nations, cp. 7, 144 supra.

12 αἱ γυναῖκες τῶν Ἀθηναίων: the
only record of any active service by the
Athenian women in the war who appear in
general passive as sheep, slippers and
shirts about from one place to another.
It recalls the action reported on another
occasion, 5. 87 of which H. 1. 1000
Ἀθηναίων δὲ ἐν τῷ πατρὶσι δικαστηρίῳ
τὸ δικαίωμα εἶναι τὸ τὸν γυναικὸν ἔχειν.

διακελευσάμεναι: cp. 7 16 supra.

13 παραλαβοῦσα καὶ γυνὴ γυναῖκα,

cp. παραλαμβάνει c. 1. supra. The whole
construction is a kind of σχῆμα καὶ ὁμοί-
ασις.

τὴν Λυκίδει οἰκίαν: the house
is laid in Salamis but Lykidas too
Councillor of a house there? Or was his
house in Athens, or in Attica, and is
this a ship? Should the scene have
been laid in Athens, and earlier? Or in
fact, is Demosthenes right that the
scene was before the battle of Salamis?
It would be easier to account for the
'Hellenism' in that case. But the
whole story is unsatisfactory. Within
a few days of this heroic scene—with the
'No surrender' and 'As long as the Sun
shines in the sky, or one Athenian
citizen survives' the Athenians
went to Sparta threatening to make
terms with the King, cp. 6, 11 supra.

14 αὐτοκέλευς is an *Homeric* term
cp. 100 supra (c. 4 & 5).

κατὰ μὲν... κατὰ δὲ, a violent
contrast, cp. 6, 81.

6. 1. ὧδε gives the material, or
rather ideal grounds, for the move, not
the physical method or means (e.g.
ship):

ὧδε μὲν is answered by ἐνὶ δὲ...

3. τιμωρήσονται, to support, to
assist; cp. 8, 160.

οἱ δὲ πυνθάνονται a δὲ in apposition, and
also with resumed subject; cp. 7, 81.

οἱ μὲν καὶ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι.

4. ἐπιὼν, 'were acting, lingering in
too long and leisurely a fashion', cp.
δυσκόλως εὐραὶ 7. 1 supra.

3 δὲ καὶ ἡ Βοιωτὴ
καὶ δὴ—ἔδωκε. Cp. Index

ἡ Βοιωτὴ ἐλέγετο εἶναι. οὕτω δὲ ὑπεξεκομίσαντό τε πάντα καὶ αὐτοὶ διέβησαν ἐς Σαλαμίνα, ἐς Λακεδαιμονίαν τε ἔπεμπον ἀγγέλους ἅμα μὲν μεμφομένους τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι ὅτι περιείδον ἐμβαλόντα τὸν βάρβαρον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀλλ' οὐ μετὰ σφίον ἠγνίσαν ἐν τὴν Βοιωτῇ, ἅμα δὲ ὑπομνήσοντας ὅσα σφί ὑπέσχετο ὁ Πέρσης μεταβαλοῦσι δώσειν, προεῖπεν τε ὅτι εἰ μὴ ἀμνηεῦσι Ἀθηναίοισι, ὥς καὶ αὐτοὶ τινα ἀλεωρὴν εἰρήσονται. οἱ γὰρ δὴ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὄρταζον τε τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον καὶ σφί ἦν Ἑκάνθια, περὶ πλείστον δ' ἔργον τὰ τοῦ

δ τε: τότε P 6 ἐς Σαλαμίνα del. Cobet ἢ ἐπέρχον S, Schaefer, Bekker 7 μεμφομένους B: μεμφορέουσιν 8 ἐπιδύλλοντι C ἐμβαλόντα ε 10 σφί: σφίσιν van H ἢ προεῖπε τε C προεῖπται H 11 ὥς del. van H. 7. 1 ὄρταζον CPs 2 δ: B

5. *ἐλέγετο*, 'was being reported'; the evacuation of Attica might seem to have commenced as soon as Marathon was reached. Chiospolis (the frontier town of Boiotia; cf. Plutarch, *Kimon* 1. But Marathon may have negotiated from Thebes. In any case there is a chronological rupture in the text as a point before which reached a 3 *supra*.

ὅτω δὲ, *ἐπεμπεύοντες*, ἐπεμπεύοντες. cf. 8. 4 ἐπεμπεύοντες, 8. 41, 60 ἐπεμπεύοντες.

6. *ἐς Λακεδαιμονίαν τε ἔπεμπον*, 'sending at the same time to L.

7. ἅμα μὲν . . ἅμα δὲ, strictly correlative, but *προεῖπαι* τοῖσι δώσειν, with a change of construction, *ἀπαγγελῶν* (ἔπεμπον) ἀγγέλους προεῖπαι = ἀγγέλιοντες.

8. *παριόντων*: cf. C 41 *supra*, 7 16 *supra*, ἀλλ' οὐ, 'instead of'.

10. *ὑπέσχετο* must be from *ὑπέσχω*, *ὑπέσχεσθαι* or *ὑπέσχεσθαι*, cf. *ὑπέσχετο* 7. 168, though Hdt. also uses the form from *ὑπέσχωμαι* as in a 109 *supra*; cf. *ὑπέσχε* 2 151, *ὑπέσχετο* 4 72, *ὑπέσχωμαι* 7. 104, and *ὑπέσχετο* 2-23 in a somewhat different and sinister sense.

μεταβαλοῦσι, 'if they changed sides': preconditional and conditional participle.

11. *ὥς*, 'quasi in altera ubiunda.' Becker; cf. 3. 71. Cf. *Agg. Crit.*

ἀλεωρὴ, found in Homer both of an ant. *Il.* 24. 214 and of an obj. ant. 21. 67, 16 533, and in Aristophanes in the latter sense, *Hesych.* 6 6.

7. 2. *Ἑκάνθια*, a three-days celebration, apparently common like the

Karnian to all Dorians, but certainly of pre-Dorian origin in the 12th century. Scholasticism: *Laus* 11. (1902) 473. For the text bearing upon the festival see *W. H. D. Liddell* *Lexicon* (1843) 334-5. The feast was held during the Lesbian month Hekatombeia (Hesych. s.v. Ἑκατομβία (not necessarily = Attic Hekatombeia) perhaps = Thargelion, cf. van Duijn 11. 722). The text implies a spring festival. The celebration lasted three days, on the first day the death of Hyakinthos was bewailed (*Thucyd.* 2. 19. 3); on another day the women of Sparta brought a *choreia* as an offering to the god of Apollo (*Thucyd.* 8. 16. 2), on another day (*Athenaeus* 139 *τῇ δὲ μέσῃ τῶν τριῶν ἡμέρῃ* but, if so, he omits to say what was done on the third, there was a great and joyous festival, with songs and dances, with sacrifice and banquet; presumably in honour of the apotheosis of Hyakinthos (τὸν θεὸν ἔδωκεν), whom by that time it was very difficult to distinguish from his doublet (Apollon). (How many seems to think the Hyakinthos lived only one day, and that Alcmæon was a Thucyd. 3. 23. 4 might occur an earlier date, in spring; but that would quite discredit the chronology of this story in Hdt., not indeed in itself a very strong objection. *Smith* 12. argues from Xenophon *Hell.* 4. 3. 1 ff. that the Hyakinthos were celebrated a few weeks at most after the latetima, which he places in *Μεσσηνίᾳ* south Attica north. But Xenophon's records are very misleading, nor does he say how long after the latetima or how long before

θεοῦ πορεύειν· ἄμα δὲ τὸ τεῖχος σφι <ἤμετα>, τὸ ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ ἵτειχεν, καὶ ἤδη ἐπάλξις ἐλάμβανε. ὥς δὲ ἀπίκου= ο ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα οἱ ἄγγελοι οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων, ἄμα ἀγόμενοι 5 ἐκ τε Μεγάρων Ἀγγίλους καὶ ἐκ Πλαταιῶν, ἔλεγον τάδε ἐπελθόντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους. "ἐπεμφαν ἡμέας Ἀθηναῖοι λέγοντες ὅτι ἡμῖν βασιλεὺς ὁ Μήδων τοῦτο μὲν τὴν χερρὴν ἀποδοῖ, τοῦτο δὲ συμμάχους ἰθέλει ἐπ' Ἴσθ' τε καὶ ὁμοίῃ ποιήσασθαι [ἄνευ τε δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης], ἰθέλει δὲ καὶ ἄλλην 10 χερρὴν πρὸς τῇ ἡμετέρῃ διδόναι, τὴν ἂν αὐτοὶ ἐλώμεθα.

3 <ἤμετα> Stein² 4 ἤδη. δὲ Schaefer, van II. || ἐπάλξις α. ἐπάλξις β ὁ Ἀθηναίων αP, Stein², Holder, van II : αθηναίων 7 ἐς τοῖς β 10 ἀνευ . . ἀπάτης socr. Stein, reugn. Cozet, van II, Holder

the Hyakinthia the Amykians started home for the latter celebration in 390 B.C. (*ibid.* 342).

πρὶ πλείστου δ' ἦγον, 'they considered it of almost importance', *cp.* 40 *μίσθοι* 7 166 *supra*. *cp.* 5. 63 *τα γὰρ τοὶ θεοὶ προσβητέρα ἐπαινεῖται* (ἢ τὰ σῶα ἀνθρώπων). The Hyakinthia again and again brought Spartan arms, or equipments, home from the field, *cp.* *Acroch. Hell.* 1. 5. 11, Pausan. 3. 10. 2, 4. 19. 4.

2 *προσφύονται*, "words of strength" = strength, to "further" 1) an epic, poetic and solemn word; "never found in comedy," L. & S. The god is of course Hyakinthos, or Apollo.

ἄμα δὲ there is no antecedent ἄμα μὲν to correspond; but the phrase, working as it does the terms of the Athenian message just above, makes a humorous approximation, perhaps unintended.

τὸ τεῖχος. This wall at the Isthmos has been a most unresponsible time-saver, if it is only now, about 1800 B.C., building the existing Isthmos, in the shape of its last remnant (*ἐπάλξις*). *cp.* 8. 71 *supra*. It had been begun immediately after (if not before) the disaster of Thermopylae, and the work had been pushed on at high pressure. It could not have taken longer to finish than the double wall around Plataea, with battlements and towers to look, started in 429 B.C. in the course of the summer (Thuc. 2. 73, 3. 71). Had the Peloponnesians left the wall unfinished on the retirement of the Persians, and only renewed and completed it on the advance of Mardonius in the spring of 479 B.C.?

5. οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων at uncertainty, or perhaps again an understatement (indication that the embassy is dated too late, if placed after the occupation of Athens by Mardonius). We can hardly discontinue by aid of the prepositions *ἀπὸ* and *ἐκ*: the Megarians and Plataians were doubtless in Salamis with the Athenians, or at any rate not at home in their own cities; or, if they were, then this embassy to Sparta took place in the early spring.

7. ἐπελθόντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους, *ἐπιλθεῖς* the correct form; *cp.* α. 5 *supra*. If they address the Ephors it is because the question is not of justice, of peace or war, but merely a question of the maintenance, apparently a function of the Ephors; *cp.* Xenoph. *Hell.* 3. 2. 21, etc. At the same time the Ephors were the presidents both of the *Gerousia* and of the *Apella*, and no doubt our authorities, H. & S. *supra*, may speak of meetings of the Ephors acting, where they acted really with *Senato* or Assembly, *cp.* Xenoph. *loc. cit.* Lectionichides, by the way, would appear to have been by this time at Argos, or even Delos (S. 13-133) unless, indeed, it was in response to this spring embassy that the fleet was mobilized.

2 βασιλεὺς . ἀποδοῖ αὐτῷ - this with the early message of Mardonius 8. 140 *supra*, and would have been no news to the Spartans. If it is supposed to refer to the same offer, repeated by Mardonius, α. 5 *supra*, Athens had rejected it again. But the repetition of the terms from 8. 119 is very tedious and inconsequent.

τοῦτο μὲν . . τοῦτο δὲ : *cp.* Index.

ἡμεῖς δὲ Δία τε Ἑλλήνων αἰδισθέντες καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ξεινὸν
 ποιούμενοι προδοῖναι οὐ καταινέσαμεν ἀλλ' ἀπειπάμεθα,
 καί περ ἀδικούμενοι ὑπ' Ἑλλήνων καὶ καταπρυδιδόμενοι.
 15 ἐπιστάμενοί τε ὅτι κερδαλέωτερον ἐστὶ ὁμολογέειν τῷ Πέρσῃ
 μᾶλλον ἢ περ πολεμέειν· οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ ὁμολογήσομεν ἐκόντες
 εἶναι. καὶ τὸ μὲν ὑπ' ἡμέων οὕτω ἀκίβδηλον νέμεται ἐπὶ
 τοὺς Ἕλληνας· ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐς πᾶσαν ἀρρωδίην τότε ἀπικόμενοι
 μὴ ὁμολογήσωμεν τῷ Πέρσῃ, ἐπεὶ τε ξεμαίθετε τὸ ἡμέτερον
 20 φρόνημα σαφέως, ὅτι οὐδαμὰ πρυδῶσμεν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ
 διότι τέχως ὑμῖν διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ἐλαυνόμενον ἐν τέλει ἐστί,
 καὶ δὴ λόγον οὐδένα τῶν Ἀθηναίων ποιέεσθε, συνθεμένοι τε
 ἡμῖν τὸν Πέρσῃ ἀντιωσέσθαι ἐς τὴν Βοιωτὴν προδίδωκατε,

13 ἀλλὰ πάντα τε : 14 ὑπὲρ B 15 πέρι R 16 εἴπερ C
 17 ὑπ' ἡμῶν : ἡμέτερον P ἀκίβδηλον ἐόν CP 19 ξεμαίθετε R
 20 οὐδαμὰ B 21 ὅτι B, Holder, van H. τὸ διὰ? Stein²² ἐν
 τέλει ἐστὶ Stein²³ ἐν τέλει ἐστί AB, ἐντελής ἐστί : 22 δέ, δέ C
 23 τῷ Πέρσῃ Holder τὸν Πέρσῃ del. Krueger, Holder, van H.

12. Δία . . Ἑλλήνων looks rather like an anachronism: the Zeus Hellenios or Panhellenios known at this period in the Augustan, cp. Pausan., *Alm.* 5. 15 composed before the date of the battle of Salamis, cp. Maeger, *Frühgeschichte der Griechen*, p. 352). Were the Augustan represented in this way too (cp. 5. 60 *supra*), or have the Athenians generally adopted the Augustan title? cp. Farnell, *Chry.* 1, 301) 53. Anyway, the appeal from the local or Panian cult to a pan-Hellenic deity (cp. 2. 144) is effective.

αἰδισθέντες, cp. 7. 141 *supra*.

13. οὐ καταινέσαμεν ἀλλ' ἀπειπάμεθα, 'we did not consent but refused'—a sort of *Hendakeimē* κατανέειν, cp. 33. 34 *infra*, συνετασθαι, 7. 14 *supra*.

15. κερδαλέωτερον, in earlier Ionic 'cheerful, easily' (Homer, *Andromach.*) in Attic (Aristoph., *Thesm.*), as here, 'advantageous,' 'profitable' (cp. L. & S.) μᾶλλον is *de trop*. The sentiment expressed is characteristic: the Athenians are still in heroic mood.

16. οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ, 'not indeed that . . ' ἐκόντες εἶναι : cp. 7. 104 *supra*.

17. τὸ μὲν ὑπ' ἡμῶν 'our conduct, our policy.' ὑμεῖς δὲ supplies the contrast. ἀκίβηλος, 1. 66, 73. 5. 21, of omens (De pluk, not as 'apathetic' but as 'unreliable,' doubtful.

νέμεται ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, 'is being exercised, conducted, towards

the Hellenes' (with perfect honesty, without hypocrisy), or, distinctly locative, as in c. 98 *infra*, 'throughout Hellas' or *across*, 2. 79, cp. *ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις οἰκίσαι*.

18. τότε πρώτη φασὶν τελεῖν ἔργα to the Acropolis, at Athens in c. 140-134, when the *ἐκκλησιασταὶ* ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ μὴ διαδοχῆσαι ἐν Πέρσῃ Ἀθηναίους.

20. καὶ διότι gives a further reason, parallel to *εἴπερ* just above.

21. ἐν τέλει, 'complete,' or 'near completion'; cp. *πρὸς τέλος* c. 8 *infra* (and compare *τελεῖ* c. 196 *infra*).

22. καὶ δὲ, *etiam* (Homer, *Eschyl.*) in remarking that these words intensify the previous: 'no doubt *and* why not?' cp. with Krueger : 1 p. c. 6 *supra*.

λόγον οὐδ'. π. : cp. 7. 13, 37. 218 *supra*.

συνθέμενοι . . τὴν Βοιωτὴν, as expresses agreement *σύνθημα* or *συνθήκη* to this effect has not been actually recorded, but has been taken for granted : cp. 2. 144 *ad f*.

23. προδίδωκατε, a rather strong language, both in matter and tense, a present, the effects of which are not past. *προδίδωκε*, a particular act or a particular occasion, the occasion being apparently the Persian invasion of Attica by Marathon (not the previous occupation by Xerxes, to which the remark might have applied, cp. 2. 40 *supra*). These Athenian ambassadors, however, have

περιεῖδ' αὖτε προσβαλόντα ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν τὸν βάρβαρον.
 ἐς μὲν νῦν τὸ παρὸν Ἀθηναῖοι ὑμῖν μνηιοῦσι· οὐ γὰρ 25
 ἐποιήσατε ἐπιτηδεύειν. νῦν δὲ ὅτι τάχος στρατιὴν ἅμα ἡμῖ
 ἐκέλευσαν ὑμέας ἐκπέμπειν, ὥς ἂν τοὺς βύρβαρον δεκώμεθα
 ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἡμάρτομεν τῆς Βοιωτίας, τῆς γε
 ἡμετέρης ἐπιτηδεύεσθαι ἐστὶ μαχέσασθαι τὸ Θριάσιον πεδίου.
 ὥς δὲ ἄρα ἤκουσαν οἱ ἔφοροι ταῦτα, ἀνεβάλλοντο ἐς τὴν 8
 ὑστεραίην ὑποκρινέσθαι, τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίῃ ἐς τὴν ἐτέρην· τοῦτο

21 προσβαλόντα Stein. ὑβζυλόντα B¹, Holder, van H. προσ-
 βαλόντα α· προσβιάλλοντα C 28 ἐπεὶ γὰρ C 29 ἐπιτηδεύ-
 εσθαι α· ἐπιτηδεύσαντων B ἐπιτηδεύεσθαι εἰσισι ἡμαχίσασθαι B, Holder,
 van H. 3. 1 ἄκουσαν α· ἀνεβάλλοντο BCP, Hilder 2 ἐπο-
 κρινέσθαι Cobet, Stein², ὑποκρινέσθαι van H.: ὑποκρίνασθαι B¹ C,
 Stein², Holder: ὑποκρίνεσθαι α

left Athens (or Salamis) for Sparta before
 Mardonius had actually entered Attica
 (cp. α. 6 *εἰρηά*), and if they here
 rhetorically treat the invasion of Attica
 by Mardonius as a *fait accompli*, it is
 rhetorical, not strict history: how *can*
 could they proceed to call upon the
 Spartans to send an army back with
 them *ὥς ἂν τὸν βάρβαρον δεκώμεθα ἐν τῇ*
Ἀττικῇ, to 'receive' the barbarian
 in Attica?

25. *ἐς μὲν νῦν τὸ παρὸν* . . . *τὴν δὲ*:
 the antithesis between *τὸ παρὸν* and *τὴν*
 is not *prima facie* a sharp one, but *νῦν*
 is purely temporal, *τὸ παρὸν* is circum-
 stantial. Again, *ἐς* might be taken
 'down to' the present—*ἐς τὸ νῦν* (cp. α.
 τὰς 7 29, but *ἐς τὸ παρὸν* does not mean
νῦν δὲ in this instance. *οὐς* qualifies
ἐπεί rather than *ἐκπέμπειν*.

μνηιοῦσι cp. 7. 220

28. *οὐς ἐπιτηδεύειν* = *μελεῖν*; *leider*
dasu (Kock-Holmes).

ὅτι τάχος = *ὅτι τάχος* α. 106 Cp.
 Thuc. 7. 42. 5.

ἅμα, σίμωλ, σίμωλ συμ-σόν but
 stronger.

27. *δεκώμεθα*, cp. 8. 24 *συμ-σόν*

28. *ἡμάρτομεν τῆς Βοιωτίας*: they
 were too late to 'receive' him in Boeotia,
 but there was still time to receive him
 in the Thessalian plain. This argument
 likewise points to an earlier date for the
 campaign.

29. *τὸ Θριάσιον πεδίου* cp. 8. 65
συμ-σόν. If Mardonius was already at
 Athens the Peloponnesian forces could
 not count on getting into the Thessalian
 plain, for Mardonius was a doubtless be

in possession of Elis; and, indeed,
 he had entered Attica by Dekeleia or
 Phyle, and omitted to use or occupy the
 pass of Drymonthron: not a very prob-
 able hypothesis.

The advantages of the Thessalian plain
 as a battle-field, from the Peloponnesian
 point of view, are open to question: if
 the Greeks could have encountered
 Mardonius as he emerged from the pass
 of Klenethrai-Kienae they might have
 scored a blow, *perhaps*, but they would have
 had to hold the main way by Isthmus
 and the route between Aegaleo and
 Patras (crossed by Archedonios in 431
 B.C., Thuc. 2. 19. 2), while on the plain
 itself the Persian cavalry would have
 ridden round them. This pass was
 indeed one of the great battle-fields of
 Greece. The Greek fleet could not have
 been of much account in the war.

3. 1. *ἄρα*, 'well,' not without surprise
 cp. 1. 131. About *ἄρα* the particle
 here as marking an advance in the
 action (or intention).

ἀνεβάλλοντο *ἀφίστατε*, α. 86 *εἰς*.

2. *τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ δέκα ἡμέρας ποιεῖν*
 i.e. for a whole week, cp. α. 43
ἡμέρας. There is an *ἀνὰ δέκα*. The
 next week, if *ἀναβάλλοντο* are
 not otiose (pace Sauer), for, without
 them, the sentence might mean (in
 spite of the imperf. *ποιοῦν*) that they
 postponed the answer 'for a week' (i.e.
 twelve days in all). Meanwhile they
 were working away at the wall around
 the Isthmus, cp. α. 7 *ἡμέρας* *οὐκ*, which
 is even yet not quite satisfied. I
 πάντῃ Πελοποννήσῃ α. 11. *ταῖς*

καὶ ἐπὶ δέκα ἡμέρας ἐποίηον, ἐξ ἡμέρης ἐς ἡμέρην ἀναβαλλόμενοι. ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ χρόνῳ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἐτείχεον σπουδῇ, ἔχοντες πολλὴν πάντες Πελοποννήσιοι, καὶ σφι ἦν πρὸς τέλος. οὐδ' ἔχω εἰπεῖν τὸ αἷτιον διότι ἀπικομένου μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνα εἰς Ἀθήνας σπουδῇ μεγάλῃ ἐποιήσαντο μὴ μηδίσαι Ἀθηναίους, τότε δὲ ὥρην ἐποιήσαντο οὐδεμίαν, ἄλλο γε ἢ ὅτι ὁ Ἰσθμὸς σφι ἐτετείχιστο καὶ ἐδόκεον Ἀθηναίων ἐτι δεέσθαι οὐδέν· ὅτε δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρος ἀπίκητο εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, οὐκ ἔτετετείχιστο, ἐργάζοντο δὲ μεγάλως καταρρωδηκότες τοὺς Πέρσας. τέλος δὲ τῆς τε ὑποκρίσεως καὶ ἐξόδου τῶν Σπαρτηγέτων ἐγένετο τρόπος τοῖόςδε. τῇ προτεραίῃ τῆς ὑστατης καταστάσεως μελλούσης ἐσεσθαι Χίλκος ἀνὴρ Τεγεστήης, δουρίμενος ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι μέγιστον ξείνων, τῶν ἐφόρων ἐπιθετο πάντα λόγον [ταῦ

8 εἶπε. 8a, van H. 8 ὥρην Cl⁷. 9 οὐδὲ μὲν αἰ οὐδὲ μὲν 8 οὐδεμίαν 7 10 διώσθαι aCP⁷, Holder, van H. | οὐδενὶ 8 | ὁ ἐλέξανδρος CP⁷ 11 οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν εἰ ἐτετείχιστο Marc. 9 4 χίλκος Marc. Χίλκος Plutarch Mor. 871. Χίλκος οὐνοματι 2 | τεγεστή 8 H 8 ἐφόρων ἐνα 2 | τὸν . . . λέγον vocl. Stein², Holder

were at the Isthmos, building or re-building, they surely had arms with them. The building operations at this point may be put down to Hdt. They are not required to keep the Isthmos secure at home, but he seems to think the action of the Peloponnesians to have been determined simply by the state of the building.

8 οὐδ' ἔχω εἰπεῖν τὸ αἷτιον διότι καὶ . . . I cannot state the reason why . . . αἷτιον, cp. 7. 126.

8. ὥρην here is plainly ἐπιστοδία (cp. 1. 4. 3. 126), a poetic word, cp. ἀλιγμῶν, ἀλιγμῶν.

9 ἐτετείχιστο: a strictly temporal phrase (not reinforced in ἐτετετείχιστο).

11 δεέσθαι οὐδέν, 'to have no need of . . .': ἵππερ was possible here, but not obligatory, as the governing verb is not itself in a form or construction which requires μὴ for its negation, Ματθ. 4. 205.)

12 μεγάλως καταρρωδηκότες the abrupt utterance of the Peloponnesians is expressed in formal (a) (a) by the strong word ἀρρωδῶν (ἀρρ), (b) by the preposition in comp.; (c) by the perfect tense; d. by the adverb. Imbrius Hdt. found all this in the Attic sources.

9 1 χίλκος 84. αἰνετήν, 'et. ast.'

2. ὑποκρίσις - Attic ἀπόκρισις, cp. 1

116. Aristot. Eth. N. 3. 10 4-1114 a clearly shows the Attic meaning. Hdt. never uses the word ἀπόκρισις.

ἱόθος a practically a technical military term; cp. oc. 19 26 αἰν, 7 228 οὐρα; Thuc. 2. 10. 1, Xenoph. Hell. 1. 2. 17.

ἐγένετο τρόπος τοῖόςδε, 'took the following turn,' occurred on this occasion.

3 καταστάσις as in 3 45, not as in 8 141 supra.

4. Χίλκος the name appears in Plutarch de H. 8. m. 41 (Mor. 871. Thucyd. 5, as Xenodotus, in Polyam. 5 22 as Χίλκος, a form (Chilcos) used by Thucyd. and Att. 1 9 2, 12 2 12 15 of a later poet. What Chilcos was doing to dispute neither Hdt. nor Plutarch, nor Livianus remarks. His criticism of the epistolary policy was notorious; but who first let it out? The situation demanded as really a meeting of the Synedrion at Sparta—there may very well have been one in the winter or spring, or about the Feast of the Hyacinthia and the remarks of Chilcos were made in that Syned., if the H. 8. 12 were specially addressed, it was scarcely as the preceding paragraph.

δυνάμενος of power Influence; cp. 7. 8 supra.

5. ξείνων, not used in the Spartan law, given c. 11 supra.

5 τῶν εἰλωτῶν, Πανσανίη τῇ Κλεομβρότου ἐπιτάξαντες ἐξήλθιν.
ἐγένετο μὲν ἡ ἡγεμονίη Πλειστάρχου τοῦ Λεωνίδου· ἀλλ' ὁ
μὲν ἦν ἐτι παῖς, ὁ δὲ τοῦτου ἐπίτροπός τε καὶ ἀνεψίος.
Κλεομβροτος γὰρ ὁ Πανσανικῶ μὲν πατὴρ Ἀναξανδρίδου δὲ

5 ἐπιτρέψαιτες B, Holder, van H.
ἡ B, Holder, van H.
8 Πανσανίῳ van H.

8 ἐγένετο α, Stein! | μὲν νυν
7 ἀνεψίος κλεομβροτος· κλεομβροτος γὰρ R

substantially correct; what cannot be allowed to pass is the assertion that they took 25,000 Helots with them, seven Helots in attendance on (περὶ) each Spartan, by special order (ταξάντες). There may be some error in this figure, but not as here stated. Pausanias was not well-satisfied with 7000, cp. c. 60 infra but cp. c. 28 infra, so these Helots are probably not fighting men, badly as such were wanted, doubtless large numbers of Helots were employed on the extraordinary service; cp. c. 39 infra—roughly speaking some 30,000—and this *Antydrone* Corps is here represented as all accompanying the citizen militia. Or again, the figure may represent an estimate of the total number of Helots employed in any capacity during the campaign, or during the war (naval ops etc.), which still has misinterpreted and misapplied; cp. Appendix VIII § 2 iv.

6. Πανσανίη τῇ Κλεομβρότου: the question of command was not settled by the Ephors but by the Areia, cp. Xenoph. *Hist.* 1.2.9. Pausanias, son of Kleombrotos mentioned § 8 supra without patronymic: perhaps therefore in a passage added afterwards; but cp. note ad 1, cannot have been an old man at this time, but the fact that he is of age to be Regent, and to command a Spartan army in the field, rather supports the view that his father Kleombrotos, and his uncle Leonidas, were twins; cp. 7 *ὁ δὲ* supra and note to 1.8 infra. The relationship of the persons here mentioned may be accurately exhibited:—

| | | |
|----------|--------------|-------------|
| Doricus | Leonidas | Kleombrotos |
| | | |
| Euryanax | Pleistarchos | Pausanias |

Doricus, Leonidas and Kleombrotos being full brothers and being the younger brothers of Kleomenes, the son of their father's (Anaxandrides) second wife; cp. c. 6 supra.

6. ἐγένετο μὲν ἡ ἡγεμονίη: i.e. by custom or prescriptive right the actual king would have had the command, the leading Laotychidas was already in command of the fleet; cp. § 131 supra, if Pleistarchos had been in command of the army, the arrangement would apparently have conflicted with the law reported by Plat. 5.75, albeit the 'law' might refer to one and the same person only, and even so, was hardly quite strictly observed (cp. Xenoph. *Hist.* 6.8.10). But Hdt. in this passage is not concerned with any such scruples, and lik. 5 is probably of later composition than this passage; cp. Introduction, §§ 7, 8.

Πλειστόρχου τοῦ Λεωνίδου: Pleistarchos was the son of Leonidas and Gorgo, and so the grandson of Kleomenes on the Spartan side. Anaxandrides was both his grandfather and his great grandfather. His exact age is a matter of doubt, but he was still apparently a minor at that time of the fall of Pausanias—424 B.C.—Thuc. 1.12.1.

7. ἐπιτροπὸς τε καὶ ἀνεψίος: Bähr has here made a curious blunder from misunderstanding Pausan. § 6.1; he says, *successorum principum Pleistarchos Pleistarchos qui regno initio abiecit*. Well, Pleistarchos was the son of Pausanias, and could only succeed in his father's stead if Pausanias himself was never king, nor is he named so by Aristotle, *politeia* (Antiquities 1.2.1), though so described sometimes by orators, lexiconographers, and modern scholars; cp. c. 5 supra. Pleistarchos was still king in 473 B.C.; cp. previous note. *ἀνεψίος*, cp. 7.120 supra, and for the naming here 1.65. ἀνεψία, 'first cousin' here, cp. 7.82.

8. Κλεομβροτος . . ἀνεψίος: 'Kleombrotos (and) first cousin' here, but taking home the army which had laid the waste of the Laconians. He was no doubt in the first instance 'Regent' or guardian to Pleistarchos. The much debated *van* here appears as a *fast accident* into a

παῖς οἰκίετι περιῦρ, ἀλλ' ἀπαγαγων ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ τὴν
στρατιὴν τὴν τὸ τεῖχος δέμασαν μετὰ ταῦτα οὐ πολλὸν 10
χρόνον τιὰ βίους ἀπέθανε. ἀπῆγε δὲ τὴν στρατιὴν ὁ
Κλειμβροτος ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ διὰ τούδε· θυομένη οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ
Πέσῃ ὁ ἥλιος ἀμαυρώθη ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. πρυσαιρέεται δὲ
ἐν-ῷ Πausanias Εὐρύνακτα τὸν Δωριέος, ἀνδρα οἰκίης
εἶντα τῆς αὐτῆς.

Οἱ μὲν δὲ σὺν Πausanias ἐξεληλύθεσαν ἐξω Σπάρτης· οἱ 11
δὲ ἀγγελοι, ὡς ἡμέρη ἐγεγόνεε, οὐδὲν εἰδότες περὶ τῆς ἐξόδου

10 τὴν om. BC | πολλὸν τινα χρόνον B, Holder, van H. | ἐπὶ conl.
Stein | 11 ἀπῆγε Cobe, van H. | 13 πρυσαιρέεται S | 14
ὁ παυσανίης B || ἀνδρα del. van H. | 11. 1 ἐξεληλύθησαν (2
2 ἰδόντες C

Kleombrotos returned to Sparta in 480
B.C. 1 In c. 8 *supra* it is still being
happened on in the spring—or, as some
would have it, after midsummer of 479
B.C. See note 214.

13. ὁ ἥλιος ἀμαυρώθη ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ.
Zsch attempted to make out that
ἀμαυρώθη did not imply an eclipse.
Noting short of an eclipse not neces-
sarily total) would account for the act
of Kleombrotos. Plutarch (*Themist.* 69
and *Themist.* 69) similarly. Plutarch (*Themist.*
69) and Oct. 489. Hoffmann and
Lang *op. loc.* 716 n. 1 agree in
the late, and true the next main observa-
tion at Corinth to 480 B.C. a partial
eclipse. Stein very ingeniously suggests
that the *ὥς* was misread, a *τὸ* *Σαμίου*
on the question of interpreting the re-
turn of the Persian and forces from
Attica.

With οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον τιὰ βίους
cp. S. 49 cō (ὅτι τινα πολλὸν χρόνον ἔζη
ὁ Κλειμβροτος). The sense local taken is
that Kleombrotos died comparatively
young. He can hardly have been less
than fifty, or his son would scarcely have
succeeded him as *ἐπιστάτης* and *ἡγεμὼν*.
But the statement suggests that Pau-
sanias was about as juvenile as a Regent
could be.

πρυσαιρέεται δὲ ἐν-ῷ: there is
something very curious in this arrange-
ment. If the Spartans will scarcely have
allowed the *ἡγεμὼν* to select a co-regent
at his own free will. Perhaps Pausanias
was barely of age to assume the great
responsibilities of his position and an
older man of the Herakleid lineage, was
associated with him in virtual command,
though nominally Pausanias has the
supreme honours, perhaps the great

victory, for which Pausanias claimed
(*Thuc.* 1. 132. 2) and obtained (c. 84
B.C.) a 1 the *ἐπὶ* t, was more due to
the intelligence of his cousin: if, in fact,
there was but a still greater intellectual power
in the background. Cp. *Agamemnon* VIII.
§ 2.

11 Εὐρύνακτα τὸν Δωριέος appears
again in c. 13, 85, as Dorion was the
eldest of the three brothers. Euryanax
was probably senior to Pausanias. Why
had he not succeeded Leonidas, or, for
that matter, Kleombrotos, as one of the
next eldest sons? Leonidas may have
renounced, or forfeited the right of
succession; or a king's son (Leonidas,
Hic-starchon) may have succeeded in
preference to a *procurator*; cp. 7. 3, where
Demaratos lays down a law, which may
be illustrated by, or generalized from,
the case of Euryanax.

Kawilson has an erroneous but very
interesting note on this passage. He
attempts to prove that the Dorion here
mentioned cannot be Dorion son of
Anaxagoras for two reasons: 1. Had
Dorion not a son in Sparta? He would
undoubtedly have succeeded to the
throne—but no! norative. 2. The
word of 1st. imply a more distant
relative? Nay the end is on two
wrong horse! Hdt. in Bks. 6 and 9
follows different names; had he known
the story of Dorion when he wrote this
passage he must have guarded his readers
against the error into which Kawilson
has fallen; in other words, this passage
makes strongly for the earlier composition
of Bks. 7, 8, 9. Cp. Introduction, §§ 7, 8.

11. 1. ἐξεληλύθησαν: before any one,
the Athenians for example, knew of it.
2. ἐγεγόνεε. not until after daybreak.

ἀν ἐκείνῃ ἐξηγίανται. ὑμεῖς δὲ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν μαθήσεσθε ὁκείαν ἰο
 ἂν τι ὑμῖν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐκβαίῃ." ταῦτα λεγόντων τῶν ἀγγέλων,
 οἱ ἐφόροι εἶπαν ἐπ' ὄρκου καὶ εἰ δοκεῖεν εἶναι ἐν Ὀρεσθείᾳ
 στεῖχοντας ἐπὶ τοὺς ξείνους. ξείνους γὰρ ἐκάλεον τοὺς
 βαρβάρους. οἱ δὲ ὡς οὐκ εἰδότες ἐπειρώτων τὸ λεγόμενον,
 ἐπειρόμενοι δὲ ἐξέμαθον πᾶν τὸ εὖν, ὥστε ἐν θώματι γενόμενοι 15
 ἐπορεύοντο τὴν ταχίστην διώκοντες, σὺν δὲ σφί τῶν περιοίκων

10 ἐξηγίανται B 11 ἐκβαίνει C: ἐκβαίῃ B || ταῦτα δὲ B 12
 ἐφόρων α || ἀρεστῶν R: ἀρεσταί B V: ἀρεσταί Marc. x 13 στί-
 χοντας B || ξείνους. βαρβάρους. nouns tollenda? cf. comment. || ἐκάλεον
 B 14 οἱ δὲ Stein¹: om. C || ἐπειρώτων α, Stein², Holder: ἐπειρώτων
 B, Stein¹, van H.: ἐπρώτων CP: ἐπρώτων α 15 ἐπειρόμενοι. (C) ||
 θώματι C S, Stein², van H θώματι Y: θώματι α R, Stein¹, Holder

either party comes very well out of this story, which is told more or less at the expense of both parties, perhaps by this or that ally — Arkadian, Epidaurian, Megarian, Argivean, or so forth! Cp. further Appendix VIII § 3.

10. ἐκείνῃ: sc. of Heracles.

11. ἢ αὐτοῦ. sc. βασιλῆος? But, as *εἰσέω* has intervened, perhaps αὐτοῦ is used more vaguely 'thereout': sc. of our alliance with the Persian.

ταῦτα λεγόντων τῶν ἀγγέλων: the speaker just delivered only takes account of the case of Athens; Plataea and Megara being ignored as also the mobilization of the fleet!

12. ἐπ' ὄρκου = *ἐπὶ ὄρκῳ* very unusual and the more remarkable as *ἐπὶ ὄρκῳ* means to swear (cf. 38, though *ἐπὶ ὄρκῳ* α 5) not so.

καὶ δὲ δοκίαν εἶναι: the subject of *εἶναι* will be τὰς ἀποδείξεις ἀνδρῶν or sm. cf. 54 with *εἶναι* = *δοξ.* Cp. α. 6 *εὐπρία* *σπείχων* is an eminently Ionic, or Epic, or poetic word.

ἐν Ὀρεσθείᾳ. Pausanias 5. 3. 2 gives *Orestheion* as the original name of this town, *Ὀρεσθεῖον* τοῦ ἐν Ὀρεσθείᾳ ἀγέλειας τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος. The change of name may belong to the same 'movement' and have as discovered the bones of *Orestes* in Tegea for the benefit of the Spartans, l. 67 f. Orestes was henceforward the patronized founder of 'Orestheion' cp. *Εἰρη. Ὀρεσθ. 166*, *Σπάρτ. 1273*. In reality Orestheion was the capital town or village of the Orestidae cp. Thuc 4. 134. 1. itself a part of the Manalis (Thuc 5. 65. 3, cp. *Paros 4. 2. 3* or more certainly region between the gulf of Tegea and

the later Megalopolis, the watershed between Argos and Eurystia. The remains of the city lay to the right of the route from Megalopolis to Tegea (*Pausanias 3. 41. 2*), and quite off the direct road from Sparta to the Lathmos (via Tegea, Mantinea, etc.). *Hawthinson* suggests that this mountainous route was selected in order to effect a junction with a contingent from the Laconians, a really an unnecessary arrangement. Perhaps all the forces from Sparta did not take one and the same route, those that started first may have been sent by the longer road. Or could it be that they took the longer way round to avoid the Argives? Cp. next c. In days of yore the Orestheion had done 'yeoman's' or rather 'heron's' service' in the wars between Arkadians and Sparta; cp. *Pausanias 3. 30. 2 ff., 41. 1*.

13. ξείνους γὰρ ἐκάλεον τοὺς βαρβάρους. This appears to me to be a gloss, introduced from α. 55 infra: the nearest *ἐκάλεον* suits. Stein observes that the Spartans applied the term not merely to *ἄλλοθεν* but to all foreigners (cp. *Ἰουδαῖοι* as the Romans *hostes*).

14. ἐπειρώτων τὸ λεγόμενον, incurred their meaning . . . cp. 3. 22. *ἐπειρώτων* *ἐμπεδοί* are the Ionic forms, cp. *ἐπειρώτων* α. 44 infra.

15. πᾶν τὸ εὖν: i. 200 miles ὥστε ἐπορεύοντο, *Ματθ. 3. 6*.

ἐν θώματι γενόμενοι, 'after recovering from their astonishment. The army seems to have almost perfect of pure force.

16. ἐπορεύοντο ἐν ταχίστην διώκοντες: cogn. acc. Their object was to overtake the Van; they were accompanied

Λακεδαιμονίων λογίμους πεντακισχίλιοι ὅπλιται [τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐποίησαν].

- 12 Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἠπείλουντο· Ἀργεῖοι δὲ ἐπειτα τάχιστα ἐπίθοντο τοὺς μετὰ Πausanίῳ ἐξεληλυθότας ἐκ Σπάρτης, πέμπουσι κήρυκα τῶν ἡμεροδρόμων ἀνευρόντες τὸν ἄριστον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, πρότερον αὐτοὶ Μαρδονίῳ ὑποδείξαι-
5 μνοι σχίσσειν τὸν Σπαρτητὴν μὴ ἐξίεναι· ὃς ἐπειτα ἀπέκιστο ἐν τὰς Ἀθήνας ἔλεγε ταδε. "Μαρδόνιε, ἐπεμφὼν με Ἀργεῖοι

17 Λακεδαιμονίων del. van H., Holder || ὅπλιται om. B., Holder, van H.
|| τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐποίησαν scil. Stein, Holder, van H. 12. 4 αὐτὸ B
B ἐπίτετε ἐπὶ B: om. C

by 5000 picked hoplites of the Lakadaimonians Perikleus, who tried to keep up with them and overtake the Van.

17. τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐποίησαν — rather a bathos! Cp. App. Crit.

It is not asserted that the Rear overtook the Van at Oenothron: probably not, for they would go the shorter and more direct route (the *ταχίστην οὐρίαν*).

12. 1. Ἀργεῖοι 84. The tradition of the Argives was a serious matter for Sparta, and helps to account for the apparent weakness of her policy and action in this campaign. It cannot, however, have been very ardent, or the Argives would have made more of their opportunity, when the Spartans actually invaded the Peloponnese; cp. 8. 73 *supra*. It was over a century in evidence to Greece, making the Spartans more sure, to the good consequences.

ἐπείτε τάχιστα ἐπίθοντο: how soon was that! Had the *Περσέων*, or friends in Sparta, to inform them, or was it only when the Spartan army was marching past their own borders? ἐξεληλυθότας ἐκ Σπάρτης might perhaps mean 'has crossed the border'; cp. v. 14 *supra*.

2. τοὺς μετὰ Π., Pausanias and his men.

3. κήρυκα not ἄγγελον cp. 7. 1). ἡμεροδρόμων cp. 6. 106. The story would be more convincing if the name of this crack runner had been preserved; cp. 6. 106.

4. ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν. ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας: while the Athenians, Plataeae, and Megarians conjured have been leaving their homes in Sparta, Mardonius has ex-
ἀπὸ τῆς ἀποσκευῆς αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν
πρότερον αὐτοὶ Μαρδονίῳ ὑποδείξαι-

μενοι — according to this story the Argives were pledged to Mardonius to keep the Spartans at bay. If true, this passage implies previous negotiations between the Persian and the Argives, of which nothing further has transpired. It was a very pretty plan, or a very pretty commentary on a want of plan. Had the Argives really been co-operating with the Persian to that extent they might have made it impossible for Sparta to send 10,000 Hoplites and 40,000 H. etc. beyond the Isthmos. Argos observed neutrality, perhaps a neutrality impervious towards the 'barbarian', but Sparta must have been well assured that a real neutrality would be observed before she denuded Ionia of fighting men. A forgotten chapter in Greek diplomacy might have recorded the negotiations between Athens, Argos and Sparta during the winter, or spring, which convinced the Greeks that they had no active hostility to expect from Argos. Smeaton made a drastic suggestion upon Argos than upon Thebes and Corinth, powers which took their cue from the Macedon at Thebes or at Thebes. The embassy, whose absurd and pitiful record has just been given above, may have been better employed in warning Argos than in denouncing Sparta.

αὐτὸς may best be taken with *ἐπεμψεν*.

6. λέγε ταδε. How this ἡμεροδρόμος got past the stone wall, which was without doubt guarded from sea to sea. Hdt. does not say: the problem does not exist for him. The message a desperate Mardonius would have and something to say in reply, before he allowed the messenger to depart on Argive impotence and breach of faith; except, indeed,

φράσσοντά τοι ὅτι ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος ἐξελήλυθε ἡ νεότης, καὶ ὥς οὐ δυνατοὶ αὐτὴν ἔχειν εἰσὶ Ἀργεῖοι μὴ οὐκ ἐξίεναι. πρὸς ταῦτα τήγχανε εὐ βουλευόμενος." δὲ μὲν δὴ εἶπας ταῦτα 13 ἀπαλλάσσετο ὀπίσω, Μαρδόνιος δὲ οὐδ' αὖτως ἔτι πρόθυμος ἦν μένειν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, ὥς ἤκουσε ταῦτα. πρὶν μὲν νυν ἡ πυθέσθαι ἀνοκώχους, θέλων εἰδέναι τὸ παρ' Ἀθηναίων, ὁκοῖον τι ποιήσουσι, καὶ οὔτε ἐπῆμαινε οὔτε ἐσίνετο γῆν τὴν Ἀττικὴν, 5 ἐλπίζων διὰ πᾶντος τοῦ χρόνου ὁμολογήσειν σφέας· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε, πυθόμενος πάντα λόγον, πρὶν ἢ τοὺς μετὰ

7 σοὶ αC (re S) || ἰάλυθεν C 8 αὐτοῖ B || ὤχειν B. Holder, van H.· σχῆν? Stein | Ἀργεῖοι wecl. van H. 13 3 ἤκουε C | μὲν γὰρ? van H. | ἡ οἱ BPa ἡ α 4 ἀνοκώχους van H. παρὰ α ὁ ἐπῆμαινε <αὐτοῖς> van H. ἐσίνετο B 5 τοῦ χρόνου del. Cobet, van H. 7 τὸν πάντα BP, Stein¹, Holder van H. πρὶν ABR· πρὶν S

[that Mardonios' chief wish must have been to draw the Peloponnesians into Boeotia, which is not the point of view of the anecdote.]

ἵ ὅτι ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος ἐξελήλυθε ἡ νεότης. 'The Lacedaemonian militia has crossed the border'—a frequent formula, perhaps, in Peloponnesian νεότης, a collective term, here apparently includes all men liable for service abroad; cp. Thuc. 2. 8. 1 etc. and 7. 13 supra.

δὲ ὥς οὐ δυνατοὶ αὐτὴν ἔχειν . . μὴ οὐκ ἐξίεναι: a genuine example of the double negative μη οὐ; cp. Index, *ἐξ* = 'the strong'—'hold', 'with-hold', 'prevent' (cp. Index, itself a negation), just before, *σχῆσαι* . . μὴ ἐξίεναι, where, however, the action is contingent and future, while here it is present, or, indeed, if the Argive would only confess its honesty, past; a consideration which may help to account for the positive αὐτὴν.

5 τήγχανε εὐ βουλευόμενος. But even a good plan (by yourself!) . . if true, could any message be more fatuous, under the circumstances? With the expression cp. 8. 101 *ἀποτερο τοῖσι* = *εὐτελεστέον* βουλευόμενος. The imperative here is a rule or peremptory optative.

13 2 Μαρδόνιος δὲ had no mind to star in Attica once he was assured that the Peloponnesians would cross the Isthmus, that assurance can hardly have been conveyed to him by the Argives, unless, indeed, the Spartans had taken them into the secret; he convinced himself, perhaps, by becoming aware of movements from the Isthmus (cp. c. 14 infra), perhaps by *rumour-mongers*

with the Athenians, perhaps by information obtained through Greeks in his camp, that a large force was under arms; and he apparently retired in hopes that the Greeks would follow him into Boeotia, where the ground was more favourable to cavalry, his base nearer, and an attack on the Greeks, as they emerged from the passes into the plain, feasible. He may, not to say must, have made sure of their débouché by the pass of Ilysiakrphala.

3. πρὶν . . ἡ πυθέσθαι ἀνοκώχους: *πρὶν* δ with *μὴν*, just below again, as in a. 68 infra without δ 8. 114 supra, a. 101 supra ἀνοκώχους = *in hand* (cp. 7. 86 supra (of ropes), δ 116 (of π) *τοι*; here apparently idiomatically 'stayed, held his hand,' or possibly 'restrained from acts of hostility'—'observed an armistice'; cp. Thuc. 1. 40. 4 *καρπύσειν* *αὐτὸν* *γὰρ* *ἐνσπῶσαι* *ταῖς* *καρπύσειν* *δὲ* *αὐτὸν* *δὲ* *ἀποκρίνῃ* *παύσας* *ἐγένετο* δ. 32. 7 *Κορινθίους* *δὲ* *ἀποκρίνῃ* *ἀπαρτῶν* *ἢν* *πρὸς* *Ἀθηναίους*, 5. 25, δ *μετ'* *ἀποκρίνῃ* *οὐ* *βελόαιον* *ἐλάσαν* *ἐλάσαν* *τὰ* *μέγιστα*.

4 εἰδέναι . . ὁκοῖον τι ποιήσουσι: the normal prose construction; cp. c. 11 supra.

τὸ παρ' Ἀθηναίων. cf. *ἴσμεν*, cp. c. 7 supra.

5 οὐτε ἐπῆμαινε οὐτε ἐσίνετο the former word is rhetorical, the latter phrase? *πᾶντα* *λόγον* cp. c. 8 supra, *πρὶν* *ἢ* . . *ἐσβαλεῖν* looks like an approximately precise date. That seems to assume that the wall was underfenced, the Isthmus unfenced, that is incredible. If Mardonios retired

Παιστανίην ἐξ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἐσβαλεῖν, ὑπεξεχώρει ἐμπρήσας τε
τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ εἴ κού τι ὄρθον ἦν τῶν τειχέων ἢ τῶν
οἰκημάτων ἢ τῶν ἱρῶν, πάντα καταβαλὼν καὶ συγχώσας.
ἐξήλαυσε δὲ τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ὅτι οὔτε ἱππασίμη ἢ χώρη ἦν ἢ
Ἀττικῇ, εἰ τε νικῶτο συμβαλὼν, ἀπάλλαξις οὐκ ἦν ὅτι μὴ

ἐσβαλεῖν B, Stein?, Holder, van H. ἐμβαλεῖν || τε· δὲ Δργ C
11 δὲ σπ. σCε | εἵνεκα σ || ἢ post ἦν om. C

before Pausanias reached the Isthmos, it was perhaps inferred that he retired because he had heard that Pausanias was on the march, and so, again, that the Argives must have told him.

8 ὑπεξεχώρει: so αἰτοῖς: he went out of Attica to avoid them; cf. Plato, *Phaed.* 103 ε προσόντος τοῦ θέρμου ἢ ὑπεσχωρήσει αὐτῷ ἢ ἀπολείπειν αὐτὸν τῇ χώρᾳ).

ἐμπρήσας τε . . . καὶ . . . πάντα κατλ., 'but not until he had fired Athens, and thrown down and demolished (συγχώσας, cp. 7. 225) every house, whether of the city walls, the (private) houses, or the (holy) temples, which was still standing upright' i.e. plainly after the previous demolition by Xerxes, 8. 50-53 *supra*; for δοδον cp. Thuc 5. 42. 2. Hdt. says nothing of any retreating in the meanwhile, τῶν τειχέων might be taken to support the view that Athens was a walled town in 480 B.C. (cp. E. Gardner, *Ancient Athens* (1902) pp. 46 ff., who does not, however, cite this instance), but of course it only proves at most that Hdt. thought so, nor does it even prove that, for 'the walls' here might be those of the Akropolis; or even if the city-walls, would not prove that the event was complete in 480 B.C. or that a siege of Athens was a military possibility, cp. further Appendix VI. § 1.

Kawlinson well remarks that this account of the destruction of Athens by Mardonios is exaggerated; Thuc 1. 89, 3 leaves some of the houses (αἰεταί) standing, and even portions of the city-wall, (καὶ ἀποδοκῶν θύρας). Pausanias (1. 18. 1, 20. 2) mentions temples older than the Persian war (τοὶ Λαλαῖαι Athens and the *tema*, 1. 12 points out the great difficulties of such total destruction as Hdt. asserts. More recent excavations have shown that even on the Akropolis a good deal was left standing when the Persians departed. Marstonios had neither time nor zeal

for such wholesale annihilation; it was only a 'Razeration' that could make away with the past so utterly. Cp. 6. 50-53 *supra*.

11. τῶνδε εἵνεκεν. Hdt. supplies himself, and gives the military reasons for the evacuation of Attica with the provision of a professor of Mr. Such-Krúk! The reasons are three in number, and admit of development.

(1. The Persian's strength lay in his cavalry; Boeotia was better adapted than Attica to cavalry operations. Hdt. says nothing of a great superiority in cavalry).

(2. Attica was difficult to evacuate in case of defeat. The point is not fully or very clearly put, but at any rate Marstonios is not counting on success as a *fortissime* campaign.

(3. He wished to be nearer his base in Thebes. The reason is not quite clearly put; speaking generally it is better to fight your enemy's than in your friend's territory. Marstonios, however, was thinking of his communication, and also perhaps of the loyalty, or potential disloyalty, of Greece in his rear, in case of defeat a position north of Kithairon was better from this point of view. Artabanus might never have effected his masterly retreat (c. 481/0) if the great battle had been fought on the Thracian or even on the Achaean plain. The argument as a whole was purely strategic and Hdt. does well not to ascribe to Marstonios the policy of limiting the Persian frontier of the Hellespontary province to the Kithairon. Pausanias has price G. B. Grandy, *Great Persian War* p. 450).

ἦν: the reason carries back to the historic situation.

12 εἰ τε νικῶτο . . . οὐκ ἦν, 'should he be defeated . . . there was no . . .'. The construction is irregular but clear, and even more forcible than stricter grammar would have been.

ἀπάλλαξις is very rare, H. L. uses

στρατιὴν ἤγε ἐπὶ τὰ Μέγαρα· ἡ δὲ ἵππος προελθοῦσα
κατιππύσατο χώρην τὴν Μεγαρίδα. ἐς ταύτην δὴ ἐκαστάτω
τῆς Εὐρώπης τὸ πρὸς ἡλίου δύσιςτος ἡ Περσικὴ αὕτη στρατιὴ
15 ἀπύκετο. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Μαρδονίῳ ἦλθε ἀγγελίη ὡς ἄλεις
εἴσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ. οὕτω δὴ ὀπίσω ἐπορεύετο
διὰ Δακελῆς· οἱ γὰρ Βοιωτάρχαι μετεπέμψαντο τοὺς προσ-

5 προελθοῦσα B. προσελθοῦσα C δὲ B ἐκαστάτω αῖΡ 7
στρατιὴ αὕτη α 15. 1 ταῦτα del van H. | ἤγε Ρ 3 δακελῆς
RS: δακελῆς Βοιωτάρχαι? van H.

by Argosthena into Boeotia, while the main column marched by the eastern pass or passes; see next chapter.

5. ἐπὶ τὰ Μέγαρα: apparently Megara, unlike Athens, was fully fortified, and strongly held. No previous attack upon it has been mentioned; and the Megarid has survived a Persian visitation in the previous year, improbable as such immunity may in itself appear, cfr. 8. 70. The loss of Megara was treated by Themistokles, 8. 61, as the certain consequence of the occupation of Salamis: *per contra*, the victory at Salamis may have saved the city. Even now may the words suffer. That would principally be the plain lying between the Kerata, *Κεραται*, and the two seas. The city itself possessed two citadels (Pausan. 1. 36. 5, 42. 1) hence perhaps the plural form of the name.

8. ἐς ταύτην δὴ· ἀπύκετο. "Here was the furthest point in Europe towards the setting sun to which the Persian army ever penetrated," Rawlinson. "This was the furthest point [not 'the westernmost'] of Europe, looking westward, which was reached" (or this army of Persians), Blackley. "This was the furthest land in Europe towards the sun-setting to which the Persian army came," Mackail. Blackley is no doubt right in saying that the emphasis is not on the exact orientation, but on the distance; nevertheless the orientation is given, and involves Hdt. or his cartographer, unwittingly, in error. Hdt. evidently conceives of Central Greece as running approximately north and south (cf. his orientation of Thermopylae 7. 17). It did not occur to him, when he wrote this passage, that not merely was Delphi (visited *ex hypothesi* by the Persians, 8. 35) far to the west of the Megarid, but that the whole route of the Persian forces in Central Greece,

Mardonios marched from Thessaly in this very spring, had lain west of the point here marked as the furthest point of Europe in the west reached by the Persian arms. The orientation, then, breaks down equally whether Hdt. meant by the words *ἐπὶ τὰ Μέγαρα* the army (cfr. 8. 12) where it is (and was) merely for *πρὸς ἡλίου δύσις* of Athens or the army of Mardonios; and this passage evidently belongs to a composition *d. v.* dated before Hdt. *owns* road to Athens, to Delphi, Thebes and Central Greece, and was left standing, perhaps he conceived, after he must have known better (perhaps like the Thermopylae orientation, cfr. Introduction § 9) Hdt. certainly did not mean that another Persian army had penetrated further, i.e. further westwards into Europe; but he may have had in his mind the possibility that other Persian armies had penetrated further into Europe, to wit, northward, or north-eastwards, having regard to his conception of the continent, and he probably has no special intention of distinguishing here the army of Mardonios from the army of Xerxes.

15. 1 ἦλθε ἀγγελίη: omitting the *ἄλεις* in c. 12, this is the third express message that reaches Mardonios, his own intelligence department, or the marching troops, will have procured it. This message is not quite correct: the Athenians only joined the Hellespontic army at Euboea c. 19 *infra*, but it marks probably the arrival of the rest of the Peloponnesians with the Spartans (cfr. c. 19 *infra*).

3 διὰ Δακελῆς. *Δακελία* (*δακρυ* = ἵπποδωκεντος φύλη Στεφ. H. 2. 6) is placed by Thuc. 7. 19. 2 at 120 stades from Athens, and a very little more from Boeotia: its position is further defined by this passage, as on the eastern

στρατιὴν ἔχε ἐπὶ τὰ Μέγαρα· ἡ δὲ ἵππος προελθοῦσα
κατιππάσατο χώραν τὴν Μεγαρίδα. ἐς ταύτην δὴ ἐκαστίτω
τῆς Εὐρώπης τὸ πρὸς ἡλίου δύοντος ἡ Περσικὴ αὕτη στρατιὴ
15 ἀπύκετο. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Μαρδονίῳ ἦλθε ἀγγελίη ὡς ἄλλες
εἶησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐν τῷ Ἴσθμῳ. οὕτω δὴ ὀπίσω ἐπορεύετο
διὰ Δεκελῆς· οἱ γὰρ Βοιωτάρχαι μετεπέμψαντο τοὺς προ-

§ προελθοῦσα §: προελθούσα 6 δὲ § || ἐκαστίτω § Ρ 7
στρατιὴ αὕτη α 15. 1 ταῦτα δελ. van H. || ἦκε Ρ 3 δεκελῆς
RS: δεκελῆς || βοιωτάρχαι van H.

ly Aegina into Boiotia, while the main column marched by the eastern pass or passes, no next chapter.

§. ἐπὶ τὰ Μέγαρα: apparently Megara, unlike Athens, was fully fortified, and strongly held. No previous attack upon it has been mentioned, and the Megarid had escaped a Persian visitation in the previous year, impossible as such a thing may in the future appear, cp. R. 76. The case of Megara was treated by Thucydides, 2. 60, as the certain consequence of the evacuation of Salamis: per contra, the victory at Salamis may have saved the city. Even now only the ruins survive. That which practices y be the passing between the Kerata, Genium, and the two seas. The city itself possessed two citadels (Pausan. 1. 30, 8, 42, 1). Hence perhaps the plural form of the name.

6. ἐς ταύτην δὴ . ἀπύκετο. "Here was the furthest point in Europe towards the setting sun, to which the Persian army ever penetrated," Rawlinson. "This was the furthest point (not 'the westernmost') of Europe, looking westward, which was reached," (by this army of Persians, Bakeney). "This was the furthest land in Europe towards the sun setting to which the Persian army came," Macaulay. Bakeney is no doubt right in saying that the emphasis is not on the exact orientation, but on the distance; nevertheless the orientation is given and involves Hdt., or his cartographer, new theory in error. But, evidently conscious of Central Greece as running approximately north and south (cf. his orientation of Thermopylae 7. 176). It did not occur to him, when he wrote this passage, that not merely was Delphi situated ex Aegina by the Persians, 8. 36, far to the west of the Megarid, but that the whole route of the Persian force in Central Greece,

Mardonius' march from Thebes in this very spring, had lain west of the point here marked as the furthest point of Europe in the west reached by the Persian arms. The orientation, too, breaks down equally whether Hdt. meant by the words ἐς τὸ πρὸς ἡλίου δύοντος a compass-point for which στρατὸς, of Xerxes or the army of Mardonius; and this passage evidently belongs to a composition which dated before Hdt.'s own time in Europe, to Delphi, Thebes and Central Greece, and was left standing, perhaps by oversight, after he must have known better (perhaps like the Thucydidean orientation). (cp. Introduction § 9. Hdt. certainly did not mean that another Persian army had penetrated further (either, i.e. further westward into Europe, but he may have had in his mind the possibility that other Persian armies had penetrated further into Europe, to wit, northward, or back eastwards, having regard to his conception of the continent; and he probably has no special intention of distinguishing here the army of Mardonius from the army of Xerxes.

16. 1 ἦλθε ἀγγελίη, containing the Aeginae c. 12, that is the third express message that reaches Mardonius, his own intelligence department, or the medizing Greeks, will have produced it. This passage is not quite correct: the Athenians only joined the Helian army at Megara c. 19 infra, but it marks probably the union of the rest of the Peloponnesians with the Spartans (ii) or vice versa.

3. διὰ Δεκελῆς. Diodorus (8. 60) the Ἰσθμῶντος φέρει στεγὰ. B. and S. is saved by Thuc. 7. 12. 2 at 120 stades from Athens, and a very little more from Boiotia: its position is further defined by this passage as on the eastern

όμενον ἀπὸ Ἐρυθρίων παρὰ Τσιῶς, κατέτεινε δὲ εἰς τὴν
ἰταῖδα γῆν, παρὰ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν ποταμὸν τεταμένον. οὐ

2 Ἐρυθρίων κ

13 περί τὸν κ || τεταμένον Reiske, Holder,

H., Stein²: τεταγμένον

appearance of the camp are not
lled, and a large number of other
ons are left unresolved.

Was the *τρίγων* square? Hdt. may
as mean this, for otherwise he
d have given the measurements of
other sides, or flanks, and *prima*
each side of a fort is a *μέτρον*.
Here in similar cases he is more
ular to specify quadrature, e.g. of
lon, 1. 178 τοῖς μέτρον ἑκάστον
καὶ ἀκέραις σπείων τοῖσιν τετρα-
: 2 149 of a pyramid, τὴν ἐστὶ
ἑξή μετῶν ἑκατόν δατω πλῆρε
ἰστροπύων.

Was the Laager on one side, or
th side the Asopus and in what
of the Laager was the fort? The
was on the left bank of the Asopus,
a Patians cross the river to reach
erks c. 59 *stades*, and the wooden
is to *πολεμὸν τῷ Ὀφθαλμῷ*, c. 66 *stades*
but cf. 1. 6 *supra*. Stein² places
ort south of Asopus in the neigh-
out of Nkolos, but Skene has
ng to say to the camp as described
is, nor to the battle the mention
oles above is to be otherwise
ated for. Probably the fortified
was close to the river, and to the
thence the Asopus, the *site du pont*
south side being no doubt strongly
eland held, the rest of the Persian
would be behind, and away from
ver, and no part of the Laager
would be on the right bank of
iver. The main road to Thebes
have passed through the camp,
ly dividing it in half, the 10
may be the measurement of the
front, which was all *παράδοτος*;
assuming probably went on round
Fort, and the fort may have been

It is quite certain that no part of
main Laager or Fort actually
ed the towns of Erythrai and
l, for these places are presently
measured of the *ἑσπερά* c. 19, 25

The description here given of
ext of the Persian camp must
beantend either a to be taken upon
st of the appearance of the Persian
as seen from the Greek line above,

which enclosed Erythrai, and afterwards
Hysiai; or (δ) to mean that the Laager
(though north of Asopus occupied ground
belonging to the two townships named,
and extended further into Platian terri-
tory north of Asopus. But for two reasons
the former explanation is to be preferred:
(1) the contrast here between the names
of the towns and the designation of
Ἰλαρῶν γῆ; (2) the doubt whether the
territory of Erythrai and Hysiai did
extend to the farther bank of the stream,
which was probably a Thesian. The
first reason may be further enforced by
the assumption that the name of Platana
is avoided because Platana was in ruins,
the second, by the observation that the
Thebans had only been driven across
the Asopus by the Athenians in or about
549 B.C., the river being then made the
frontier between the Thebans on the one
side and the Platians and Ilarians on
the other, 5. 108 *supra*.

12. ἀπὸ Ἐρυθρίων παρὰ Τσιῶς: there
is little room for doubt that Leake, N. G.
II. 329, located these towns much too far
east, and that they occupied sites in
close proximity to the main roads from
Eleusis Eleutherae to Thebes and to
Platina, Erythrai probably commanded
the main road to Thebes, while Hysiai
about a mile farther west, commanded
the branch to Platina, cf. cc. 22, 26
infra, and G. B. Grundy, *G.P.H.*, pp.
455 ff.

13. τὸν Ἀσωπὸν ποταμὸν: to be
distinguished from the Maian stream
of the same name (I. 199 etc.), as also
from a river by Sikyon, Ἀσωπὸς δὲ παρ-
αφῶν τῇ Σικωνίᾳ καὶ ποταμὸς τῇ Ἀσωνίᾳ
χῶρος, μερὸς οὖσαν τῇ Σικωνίᾳ, Strabo
382. There was also an Asopus in
Patras, and the Pontian Asopus rises
near Louktia and flows eastwards into the
sea near Oropos (δ *supra* *ἵππος περὶ καὶ*
Ἰλαρῶν καὶ Ταραγῶν, Strabo, id. along
the shores of Attica—Strabo 46) a
relatively large and fertilizing stream,
(Ἀσώπος δὲ Τραπο δαίτρυχον καὶ ἑσπερά
II. 5. 382) liable to sudden floods in
spring (δ γὰρ Ἀσώπος ποταμὸς ἐκπύει καὶ
καὶ οὐ παύει διαλύει τῇ Θεσ. 2. 5. 2,
for ever a *φύλος* *στρατῆς* *ἰσχυρὸς* *χέρον*
(Anab., I. 2. 206).

ἐν Ὀρχομενῷ. ἔφη δὲ ὁ Θέρσανδρος κληθῆναι καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Ἀτταγίνου ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον τοῦτο, κληθῆναι δὲ καὶ Θηβαίων ἄνδρες πεντήκοντα, καὶ σφῶν οὐ χωρὶς ἑκατέρους κλίνειν, ἀλλὰ Πέρσῃ τε καὶ Θηβαίων ἐν κλίνῃ ἑκάστη. ὥς δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ δειπνίου ἦσαν, διαπινύοντων τὸν Πέρσῃ τὸν ὁμόκλινον Ἑλλάδα γλώττωσαν ἵέντα εἰρῆσθαι αὐτὸν ὁποδαπός ἐστι, αὐτὸς δὲ ὑποκρίνασθαι ὥς εἴη Ὀρχομενίος. τὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν "ἐπεὶ νῦν ὁμοτράπεζός τέ μοι καὶ ὁμόσπουδος ἐγένεο, μνημοσυνά τοι γνωμῆς τῆς θυῆς καταλιπέσθαι θέλω, ἵνα καὶ προειδῶς αὐτὸς περὶ σεαυτοῦ βουλευέσθαι ἔχῃς τὰ συμφέροντα. ὁρᾷς τούτους τοὺς δαιτυμένους Πέρσας καὶ τὸν στρατὸν τὸν ἐλίπομεν ἐπὶ

7 κληθῆναι Reiske, van H.; κλινῆναι Dindorf 11 ἦσαν: 12
ἵέντα C; | ποδαπός B; ὁποδαπός Bekker 13 εἶπας: van H. | ἔπει
van H. 14 ἐγένετο R; | τοι. τε C3 15 ἐβέλω B 16
ἵέντα C 17 τοὺς om. A¹C

against that. Therandros is memorable as one of the three men with that actual name among his informants (cp. 3. 55, 1. 76 the anonymous Saita anonymous 2. 28). The pseudo-antithesis ἄνδρες μὲν Ὀρχομενίου, λαγίον δὲ ἐν Ὀρχομενῷ is curious, or, perhaps, no contrast to his position as an exile in Asia; or, worse it were a stylistic infelicity. Was the exile of Orchomenos reduced to keeping a school, like Διοσκύρος ἐν Κάρδιῳ (Strabo ad A. 9. 9. 1 and F. 9. 15. 1-3)? Was he one of Hll.'s tutors? His lecture is thoroughly Herodotean: τα πρῶτα: cp. c. 78 *infra*, 1. 134 *supra*; rather differently in 7. 13.

8. Θηβαίων Κωνσταντίνος understands "Boeotians" generally: there would be more Thibians perhaps than from any other city, but probably not the cities of the Boeotian Confederacy would be represented. Was the banquet rigidly confined to "Boeotians" and "Persians"? With no Macedonians, no Medes, no Thracians present?

9. οὐ χωρὶς ἑκατέρους κλίνειν Ἀτταγίνης λατρεῖς (admirer) ἄλκιροι, cp. 1. 126 τοὺς Πέρσας κατακλίνειν δὲ λατρεῖς οὐκ ἐστὶν ἄλκιροι οὐκ ἐστὶν κλινεῖναι (ibid.). Cp. App. (iii) ἑκατέρους, *scilicet*, ἑκατέρω, i.e. Greeks and "Boeotians." A Greek couch had to be a human three persons. Ἀτταγίνης evidently wanted the "Thibians" and "Persians" to fraternize.

10. ὥς δὲ ἀπὸ δεῖπνου ἦσαν: when they were done eating: cp. ἀπὸ δ. ἐγχεροτο G. 129. 5. 18. Therandros and his companion seem to have protracted such a

during the eating, and only showed at the arrival of the wine. Διοσκύρος ἐν Κάρδιῳ. The "Persian" could speak Greek Ἑλλάδα γλώττωσαν *infra*, cp. 1. 67.

11. ὁποδαπός: cp. *scilicet* *infra* 5. 13. 7. 213. The Orchomenian does not appear to have simulated the curiosity of his ὁμόκλινος (an *Homoclimenon*). The idea is, perhaps, that the Persian would not have been so frank to a "Thetan" proper.

12. ὁμοτράπεζος. ὁμόσπουδος: the one referring to eating the other to libations, the tables had no doubt been taken away before the drinking began: *opéra* 3. 132.

13. ἦσαν: a perfect might have been expected; but the point emphasizes the fact that they were ἀπὸ δεῖπνου and that the sword had taken place.

μνημόσυνα, 3. 109. The Persian speaker apparently treats his own hearth as a foreigner's *anachronism*, though he assumes that his boon-companion will survive *ὅθεν ἡσυχία*; his γνώμη is to be found less in his propriety than in a pithiness. The word γνώμη is used here in the more abstract sense, animal will, *Id.*

14. ὅρα ἔχῃς: Therandros might have acted on this last at once, perhaps afterwards he wished that he had done so. *ἔχῃς* here 'to be able'.

15. ὁρᾷς . . . τὸν δαιτυμένον. only possible to 'the man's eye', so that there was a kind of *zeugma*.

17. δαιτυμένους, *mullie*, 'to have a

τῷ ποταμῷ στρατοπεδεύομενον· τούτων πάντων ὄψαισι ὀλίγου
 τινὸς χρόνου διελθόντος ὀλίγους τινὰς τοὺς περιγενομένους."
 20 ταῦτα ἄμα τε τὸν Πέρσην λέγειν καὶ μετῆναι πολλὰ τοῖς
 δακρύουσι. αὐτὸς δὲ θαμάσας τὸν λόγον εἰπεῖν πρὸς αὐτοὶ
 "οὐκᾶν Μαρδονίῳ τε ταῦτα χρεὼν ἔστι λέγειν καὶ τοῖσι μετ'
 ἐκείνων ἐν αἵῃ ἔουσι Περσέων;" τὸν δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα εἰπεῖν
 "ἔτινε, ὃ τῷ δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀμήχανον ἀποτρέψαι."
 25 ἀνθρώπων· οὐδὲ γὰρ πιστὰ λέγουσι. ἐθέλει πειθεσθαι οὐδεὶς
 ταῦτα δὲ Περσέων συχνοὶ ἐπιστάμενοι ἐπύμβα ἀναγκαίῃ

18 ἐστρατοπεδεύομενον malit van H. τούτων x 19 τοὺς del.
 Collet, van H. 20 ταῦτα τε ἄμα B, Holder van H. πολλοὺς i
 21 θουμάσας P, Stein! | εἰπαι x, van H 22 χρεὼν BF, van H ||
 μετα α 23 εἰπαι x, van H. 25 πείθεσθαι θέλει B

least prepared for one'; cp. 1. 211; active, 1. 162—a poetic word.

18. ὄψαισι . . ὀλίγου τινός, predicative, 'few will be the survivors thou shalt see.'

20 ἄμα τε καὶ a strong parataxis. μὲντοι πολλά τῶν δακρύων, *emphatic*, cp. γλῶσσαν μετὰ 8. 29 *clausulae demittere, dimittere, omittere, remittere*, cp. Schwarg, *Lex.*) 'his tears were many' though his words were few. This inebriated gentleman is a faithful copy, or perhaps model, of the weeping demagogue at Abydos, 7. 45 but he continues in his own person the weeping of Xerxes with the wisdom of Artabazus! Thereunder a misdirection: were not lost on Herodotus; ~~the~~ anecdote appears to be the nucleus of that more elaborate and rhetorical scene.

22. οὐκᾶν Μαρδονίῳ τε κτλ. The astounding *anecdote* of this remark leads one to doubt whether Pharnaces or Herodotus, has reported the conversation quite fully. Stein indeed suggests that the Persian name here known of the treacherous intrigues against Mardonius headed by Artabazus, op. c. 66 *infirma* but are they proven?

τοῖσι μετ' ἐκείνων ἐν αἵῃ ἔουσι Π. would include Artabazus *impetator*, to whom it would be useless or dangerous to say *mens* 'ex αἵῃ εἶναι' 8. 112. Περσέων μετ' τοῖσι.

21. ὃ τῷ δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ κτλ. This Persian not only speaks good Greek but has drunk deeply at the wells of Greek wisdom. In a less poetic expression the same fatalism appeals to Athens as the moral of the story of Pelagates

Ring, 3. 42; in a still higher region it raises the gods themselves, as the Pythia informed Kroton 1. 91 *την περὶ τοὺς μοῖρας ἀδύνατα τοῖ ἀποφυνέειν καὶ θεῶ*. There is no such pessimistic quotation on the Achaemenid monuments, which breathe glad confidence in the patronage and providence of Ahura-mazda (*εὖ θεοῦ*), but it must be admitted that Mazdeism sought to overcome its inherent dualism by tracing Good and Evil to a common Artisan—the *Spenta*. These Fata or such like, such monism existed in the fourth century if not in the fifth, though if Parmenides be right, no direct trace of such a system is to be found in the *Anaxagoras*, cp. *Secrets of the East* iv p. 177 et seq. But surely fatalism as a belief, or sentiment, the recognition of the unapproachable Power behind the brilliant Person, is not the special product of any nation, of any creed, but *allgemein menschlich*. It is less Hellenic than Hellenic, less Persian than Achaean. Ionian Herodotus and Western Hardy are as deeply tinged therewith as Babylonian or Omar Khayyam; and the Greek are here the older sources. (p. 5. 4 with my notes ad l.)

25 ταῦτα δὲ Περσέων συχνοὶ κτλ. not so much the mass generalization, which has immediately presented us (as the approaching destruction of the army, as the necessity of addressing Mardonius and those in authority. This anecdote may perhaps be taken for evidence that a Persian victory was by no means regarded in the Persian camp as a foregone conclusion; many other hints point to the same inference.

ἐνδεδεμένοι. ἔχθιστη δὲ ὀδὺν ἔστί τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις αὕτη. πολλὰ φρονέοντα μηδένος κρατέειν." ταῦτα μὲν τοῦ Ὁρχομενίου ἱερσάνδρου ἦκουον, καὶ τὰδε πρὸς τούτους, ὡς αὐτὸς αὐτίκα λέγει ταῦτα πρὸς ἀνθρώπους πρότερον ἢ γενεσθαι ἐν τῷ Πλαταιῇσι τὴν μάχην.

Μαρδονίου δὲ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτῇ στρατοπεδευομένου, οἱ μὲν 17 ἄλλοι παρείχοντο ἅπαντες στρατὸν καὶ συνέσβαλλον ἐς Ἀθήνας

17 ἐστὶ del. Polder. om. Γ. ἔστιν ποτὶ ἀνθρώποις B 28 κρατεῖν C, van H. || τοῦ Ὁρχομενίου B, Haldie, van H., Stein¹: Ὁρχομενίου 29 ἱερσάνδρου ael. van H., Haldie 30 ἀνθρώποις: ἄλλοις Valckenburg || ἐν om. K 31 πλαταιῇσι AB: πλαταιῇσι K 17 1 στρατοπεδευομένου B: ἐστρατοπεδευμένου ael. van H. 2 συνέσβαλλον C συνεσβαλλον PS: συνεσέβαλλον F¹⁰ (συνέβαλλον B aq. Haldie) || ἐς Ἀθήνας ael. Krueger, van H.

(1) the advice of the Thebans, c. 2 *supra*, (2) the repeated efforts of Marodonius to win over the Athenians, cp. c. 4 *supra*, 3. 156; (3) the probable tampering with the Peloponnesians, cp. c. 12 f. *supra*, (4) the evacuation of Attica and the reasons therefor, c. 13 *supra*, (5) the formation of the fortified camp, c. 15 *supra*; (6) the other suggestions in this very anecdote, (7) these indications are transferred later, c. c. 42 *infra*.

ἀναγκαίη ἐνδεδεμένοι. cp. 1. 11 ἀναγκαίη ἐνδεδεμένοι of a choice of evils? Cp. cp. ἀναγκαίη ἐχόμενοι 7. 234, and c. 15 *supra*: (κατεσκευασμένοι) 8. 22. The comparison is ideal and in the present case would arise from (a) loyalty, (b) military discipline, (c) the divine order, (d) of humankind in case of orders, (e) cowardice, or faint-heartedness.

ἔστί, ὀδὺν, a poetical word for pain of body as well as of mind, and frequently in the plural. (Found also in Xenophon, Plato.)

τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις. cp. δδύνων, or, perhaps, more generally, 'in the wide world'.

28. πολλὰ φρονέοντα μηδένος κρατεῖν, to have much wit and little weight, cp. Sophokles 2. T. 3. 6 (Ταῦτα μὲν λογὸς καὶ φρονέειν οὐ δύναται διὰ μὴ εἶλην ἔχει φρονέοντα. The two passages are hardly independent. Sophokles uses something parhomo to Hdt. Cp. Bacht, 'Untersuchungen' 53 iv. 416 ff.). The poet, however, has a more general word in mind, *ἀνδρῶν*, 1367 πολλὰ φρονέειν ἐνδεδεμένος πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, and also a word, *ἐνδεδεμένος* for any word he chooses. *Ant.* 1413 ὁ πολλὰ βροτοὶ ἐστὶν

ἰδοῦναι γνῶναι πρὶν ἰδέειν ὁ οὐδὲν μάστιγι μελλόντων δ τι πρόειπεν.

29. ἦκουον, as above. Onomachos: Themander used to add that he had made no secret of the matter at the time, but mentioned it to several persons (ἀνθρώπων) his wife, perhaps, among others? before the fulfilment of the Persian disaster bearing in the battle of Plataea. It is plain that Themander and Hierodotus, were much concerned to refuse criticism of this anecdote as a *malum in se* *bonum in re*. But were any of these persons ever produced as witnesses? How much of the anecdote as here related in Themander, and how much is due to the art and language of Hdt.? Or was the Onomachos one of Hdt.'s sources? Cp. 1. 6 *supra*.

30. ἐν Πλαταιῇσι: as the battle certainly did not take place in the city of Plataea, which had been destroyed (8. 55), and the site of which was at some distance from the actual battlefield, cp. 52 ff. *infra*, it is clear that ἐν Πλαταιῇσι here = ἐν τῇ Πλαταιῇ.

17 1 ἐν τῇ Βοιωτῇ - ἐν τῇ ἑσπερίῃ, but here used probably from the reference to Attica on the one side and to Phokis on the other.

2 καὶ συνεσέβαλλον ἐς Ἀθήνας: not content with taking all the Persian forces into Attica p. B 50 Hdt. here taken about 50,000 Greek warriors in aid. Hdt.'s strategy is like some modern tactics. Destroying, besides the infinite majority of Labour and Capital: τὸν οὐδὲν οὐκ ἐκείνων ἐκείνων probably those in Peloponnesos Asia the islands, etc. The next sentence as

δοσοι περ ἐμῆδιζον Ἑλλήνων τῶν ταύτῃ οἰκημένων, μόνον δὲ
 Φωκέες οὐ συνεσέβαλον (ἐμῆδιζον γὰρ δὴ σφόδρα καὶ οἱτοί)
 5 οὐκ ἐόντες ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκῆς, ἡμέρησι δὲ οὐ πολλῇσι μετὰ
 τὴν ἀπικεῖν τὴν ἐς Θήβας ὕστερον ἦλθον αὐτῶν ὀπλίται
 χίλιοι, ἦγε δὲ αὐτοὺς Ἀρροκύδης ἀνὴρ τῶν ἀστῶν δοκιμώ-
 ταιος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπικατο καὶ οὔτοι ἐς Θήβας, πέμψας ὁ
 10 Μαρδόνιος ἱππείας ἐκέλευσε σφείας ἐπ' ἐωυτῶν ἐν τῇ πεδίῳ
 ἵζεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐποίησαν ταῦτα, αὐτίκα παρὴν ἱπποὶς ἢ
 ἀπαντα, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα διεξῆλθε μὲν διὰ τοῦ στρατοπέδου

ὁ συνεβαλον S συνεβαλλον Macc: συνεσεβαλλον PR (συνεσεβαλλον
 Bm, Holder) | γὰρ σφόδρα BC. γὰρ μεγάλως τ. σφόδρα Jcl, Lactonue,
 Holder γὰρ ἡδὴ σφόδρα? (Lactonue) δ αὖ σφόδρα? ἐκότες Gomperz,
 Holder ὁ πτεων B: 7 δυνατότατος AC 8 σπειρε? van H.
 | ἀπικατο Pz | ἐς τὰς B 9 ἱππείας ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἐκέλευε B, Holder
 ἱππείας wcl. Kullenberg, Holder ἀπ' B 10 ἐπεὶ ὡς B, Holder,
 van H. || ἢ πῶς ἀπαντα B, Holder, van H. 11 ταῦτα del van H.

it stands is not clear; σφόδρα makes the d. doubtful; it would go better with the preceding ἐμῆδιζον, as out together; σὺν makes the sentence: μόνον δὲ Φωκέες οὐ συνεσέβαλον . . . οὐκ ἐκόντες δ' ἄλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκῆς, perhaps intending the last five words to be taken with the first and συνεσέβαλον ἐς Ἀθήνας rather a remote reference. And would it have been true that the Thebans, for example, invited Athens and ἐκότες? (Yes, perhaps, in view of c. 2 supra.)

6. ἡμέρησι δὲ οὐ πολλῇσι. Hdt.'s conventionalized journal of Plutarch has not yet begun; if the arrival of the Phocians at the Persian camp preceded the arrival of the Helles at Byzantium (c. 19 infra) the Greeks were rather slow in crowding Kittaurion.

6. τὴν ἀπικεῖν τὴν ἐς Θήβας: not the visit to Thebes for the banquet of Alcibiades, c. 18 supra, but the arrival of the army out of Athens at the Lager, c. 16 supra. The name of the city is put for the name of the country, as ἐς Ἀθήνας just above; cp. ἐν Ἰλλυρίῳ p. c. 16 supra.

7. χίλιοι: the same number had served in the army of Leotidas 7, 208-212, 217 f., and no doubt very much the same then. The anecdote here is the 'touching' of the situation, to wit, towards the Phokian Lelias, whose reputation had been somewhat blasted by the Spartan Pterophrades story of Thermopylae.

Ἀρροκύδης: the name appears to be unique; no patronymic is given;

the leader's name at Thermopylae: αὐτοῦ τοῦ αὐτοῦ.

It is not easy to establish much difference between δοκιμώτατος (δεχόμεν.) and λαχόμεν ἐς τὰ πρῶτα or λαχόμεντος (c. 18), but perhaps δοκιμὸς is here obviously relative also to ποσότης.

8 ἀπικατο. ἐς Θήβας, p. p., 'πρὸς ἐκότες' ἴσταν δοκιμώτοι ἐς Θ-ε-ε-Θηβαῖα τῇ ἀπικατο.

9. ἐπ' ἐωυτῶν ἐν τῇ πεδίῳ ἵζεσθαι the active ἵζει is used of the act of sitting literally understood, c. 20, d. 57-60 is the middle, c. 18 which is, however, constantly used of this military operation, c. 71, c. 2 supra, c. 26 infra, etc.

ἐπ' ἐωυτῶν, 'by themselves' seems at all; cp. c. 38 supra. This use of ἐπὶ is primarily locative, as ἐπὶ τῇ γῆνι, l. 51, 'in the corner'; cp. d. 32 ἡ κορυφὴ καὶ Νέων πάλιν ἐπ' ἐωυτοῖς - differing from the temporal sense ἐπ' ἐκείνῃ, ἐπὶ Περσέων, etc., 'on the plain' need not be taken to imply that any part of the forces, or the camp, was on the mountain, it merely prepares the way for the ensuing cavalry development.

10. αὐτῶν παρὸν ἵσταν ἢ ἀπαντα: the exact number of soldiers, or myriads, would have been acceptable; but this phrase will in any case be an overstatement - unless, indeed, there were far fewer of the cavalry than Hdt. seems through out to assume.

11. διεξῆλθε μὲν . . . φάμη, there seems to be nothing supernatural in this

Ελληνικοῦ τοῦ μετὰ Μήδων ἔοντος φήμη ὡς κατακοντιῖ
 ε. διεξήλαθε δὲ δι' αὐτῶν Φωκέων τῷτ' αὐτῷ. ἔθθα δὴ
 ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἀρμοκύδης παραΐναι λέγων τοιαῦτα. "ὦ
 ἴες, πρύθλα γὰρ ὅτι ἡμέας οὗτοι οἱ ἄνθρωποι μέλλουσι 15
 πτω θανάτῳ δώσειν, διαβεβλημένους ὑπὸ Θεσσαλῶν, ὡς
 ἰκαίῳ· νῦν ἄνδρα πάντα τινὰ ὑμῶν χρεὼν ἐστὶ γενέσθαι
 ὄν· κρίσασιν γὰρ ποιεῦντάς τι καὶ ἀμυνομένους τελευτήσας
 αἶονα ἢ περ παρέχοντας διαφθαρῆναι αἰσχίστη μύρρ.
 μαθῆτω τις αὐτῶν ὅτι ἔδνται βάρβαροι ἐπ' "Ελλήσι 20
 ἴσι φόνον ἔρραψαν." δ μὲν ταῦτα παραινεῖ· οἱ δὲ 18
 κ ἐπεὶ σφας ἐκυκλώσαντο, ἐπήλαινον ὡς ἀπολέοντες,
 δὴ διετείνοντο τὰ βέλεα ὡς ἀπήσοντες, καὶ κού τις καὶ

1 Μῆδεϊ S 13 σφας AB: σφίαι || αὐτῶν a || Φωκέων om. B
 2 τοῦτο C || δὲ S 14 Ἀρμοκύδης del. van H. || τῷτ' B 16
 3 πτω Suidas a.v. πρύπτος 17 νῦν ὄν B, Holder ἄνδρα πάντα
 4 καὶ τὰ τινὰ ἄνδρα B, (Holder). ἄνδρα τινὰ πάντα CP. ἄνδρα μιὰ
 5 γαῖρος Cobet, van H χρεὼν CP, van H γίνεσθαι B 20
 6 18. 1 μὲν «ὄν» H. Strophomen, van H. 2 ἐπεὶ
 7, van H.: ἐπεὶ γὰρ B ἀπολέοντες B 3 δὴ: δὴ καὶ D: om. C ||
 4 αὐτες σC

ep. c. 100 *infra*), even when it
 is stated, the wife's effect, *glossa*
 ἀνὰ τὴν ἱστορίαν ἐκείνην.
 στρατηγὸς here apparently—
 for στρατηγ. Cp. c. 51 *infra* etc.
 μετὰ Μήδων [the story of the
] which is in the nature of a
 r, will hardly have come from a
 personal or from a political

It might be of Phokian or of
 mixed race, who distinguishes
 and Ionia from the East, will
 have taken over the phraseology

κατακοντιῖ κατακοντιῖν· so, ἡ
 The weapon is noticeable, and
 close proximity.

τῷτ' αὐτῷ: so ὡς κ. σφας.
 ep. Thuc. 8. 108. 4 for the story
 fate of the Lelian exiles in Atrac-
 b, was were immediately and
 2 and shot down at their morning
 7 Atakes the Persian Sept. 411
 80 too stern)

πρύθλα this p. is a favourite
 words with H. H.: ep. 1. 81
 2. 3. 35 ὅθλα 3. 108 ὅθλα,
 ὅθλας *Asch. (Glossa) 5. 108*, ex-
 11 as arrived from the use of the
 ep. Some tentative *ταῦτα τοῦ*
 8 state one idea, or thing.

ἄνθρωποι, of course contemptuous
 L. I. PT. II

ep. 7. 210) and taking ἄνδρα just below
 to signify a man.

16. διαβεβλημένους ὑπὸ Θεσσαλῶν.
 ep. 8. 27. 1, for the Thessalio-phokian
 feud.

17 πάντα τινὰ with the *asoci-*
 pation, *Kuehnert* p. c. 321. 4 y The
 subject is indefinite, yet conceived as
 present, and capable of being addressed
 directly.

19 κρίσασιν γὰρ κτλ. It is a pity
 these worthy sentiments had not inspired
 the Phokians on the point above [Ias-
 popyias ep. 7. 218. But that was
 another a Phokianization story]

20. τὸν αἶονα. 'life', ep. 7. 16

παρέχοντας, 'without opposition',
 like our 'yield.' There is perhaps an
 elipsis *παρὰ* ep. 1. 8. 5 and 11.
 2 and passages there quoted, which
 show no direct evidence that the word
 is used of submitting to medical examina-
 tion, surgical operations etc. (*Xenophon*,
iatr.)

21. ἐπ' Ἑλλήσι ἀνδράσι: 'all the
 φωνὴν ῥαπτὴν in poetic, not as in 6.
 1. 1. 10. 379 φωνὴν ἀκρὴν τραπέζης.
 But the metaphor here is rather poet-
 ical, unless it were referred to the dialect
 of the Ionia, in which the Phokians
 could not mean to dwell as barbarians.

22. 1 καὶ δὴ διετείνοντο τὰ βέλεα ὡς
 T

ἀπήκε. καὶ οἱ ἀντίοι ἔστασαν πάντῃ συστρίψαντες ἑαυτοὺς
 5 καὶ πυκνώσαντες ὡς μάλιστα. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ ἱππῆται ὑπέ-
 στρέφον καὶ ἀπήλαινον ὀπίσω. οὐκ ἔχω δ' ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν
 οὔτε εἰ ἦλθον μὲν ἀπολέοντες τοὺς Φωκίους δεηθέντων Θεσσαλῶν.
 ἐπεὶ δὲ ὥρων πρὸς ἀλέξῃσιν τραπομένοι, δεισαντες μὴ καὶ
 σφίσι γένηται τρώματα, οὗτοι δὲ ἀπήλαινον ὀπίσω· ὥς γὰρ
 10 σφί ἐνετείλατο Μαρδονίος· οὐτ' εἰ αὐτῶν πειρηθῆναι ἤθελεν
 εἰ τι ἀλκῆς μετέχουσι. ὥς δὲ ὀπίσω ἀπήλασαν οἱ ἱππῆται,
 πέμψας Μαρδόνιος κήρυκα ἔλεγε ταυτε. "Θαρσύνετε ὦ Φωκίαι·
 ἄνδρες γὰρ ἐφάνητε εὐντες ἀγαθοί. οὐκ ὥς ἐγὼ ἐπυθιναύωμην.
 καὶ νῦν προθύμως φέρετε τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον· εὐεργεσίῃσι
 15 γὰρ οὐ νικῆσετε οὐτ' ἂν ἐμὲ οὔτε βασιλεῖα." τὰ περὶ Φωκίων
 μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐγένετο.
 19 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ὡς ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἦλθον, ἐν τρίτῃ

4 ἀπήκε αΟ· ἀπήκετο z | καὶ οἱ Αz· καὶ οἱ Η Ε Ξ V· καὶ Η
 ἔστασαν Pz, van H, Stem²: ἔστασαν (·) Marc. ἔστταν | ταντες 8
 στρίψαντες αΟ 8 κυκλώσαντες B 6 δε B | εἴπαι z, van H.
 7 εἰ οἱ C H 8 ὥρων αC· 9 τρώματι Naber || ὡς Α1C· ὡς R
 10 οὔτε B | αὐτῶν z 11 ἔχουσι duo Paris. prob. Valckenauer .5
 οὔτε ἐμὲ οὔτε βασιλῆα z 16 τοσοῦτον B:

ἀπ· καὶ ἴδω δ. εὐ τοῖς ὡς ἀπῆσαντες τὰ
 μέλας would be more correct.

4 πάντῃ συστρίψαντες ἑαυτοὺς: cp.
 Livy 8. 11 δ eam se in unam confu-
 densent (Valckenauer). But the tactics
 mentioned here described is really at
 closer quarters; just as I. 101 ἀπὸ ἀπὸ
 τῶ Μηδίων ἐθύν συστρίψαι is on a larger
 scale. Cp. συστρίψαι 7. 9, συστρίψαντες
 δ δ. ὑποστρίψαν just below gives a
 different result, cp. συστρίψαι α 22
 εντα.

6, οὐκ ἔχω δ' ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν. Hdt.
 thinks that if the intention really was
 to destroy the Phocians, it must have
 been dictated by the Thesalians, and
 this view is certainly a witness of his
 source or authority; but he himself
 suggests another alternative, viz. that
 Mardonius merely meant to put their
 flight to the proof ἀλκή, cp. cc 70 1-2
 infra. A third alternative he does
 not give, viz. that the whole story was
 an exaggeration, or even based upon a
 misunderstanding, of what was intended
 for a complimentary reception.

7 οὔτε is, of course, the abnomic
 doubling of the negative, after οὐκ ἔχω.
 εἰ ἦλθον . . εἰ ἦλθον . . the two
 alternatives put as virtual co-ordinates.

8. πρὸς ἀλκῇσιν τραπομένους, cp.

πρὸς ἀλκῇν τραπέσθαι α. 102 infra and
 ἵστασθαι πρὸς τὴν ἀλκῇ δύναμις ἔχει τὴν
 ἀλκῇσιν ἢ μάχην. The word is an analog
 λ. in Hdt., and Schwyzer's remark over-
 looked this passage in his *Lexicon*.

9. εὐ-οῦντα, as often with εἰ αὐτὸν
 only here with γὰρ Krueger.

13 ἐπυθιναύωμην of course from the
 Thesalians.

14 π φέρετε cp. α. 10 supra: also
 the Thesalians.

15. ὦν emphasizes his own case.

16. ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐγ., 'went no further.'

19 1 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ if we read
 Φωκίους, or 17 14, should be joined an
 insertion, second hand cp. Introduction,
 § 9, these words would connect with
 ταῦτα μὲν ὅρκοι οὐκ at the end of
 α. 18. The exact point of time at
 which the Lacedaemonians reached the
 Isthmus has not been previously in-
 dicated. The 3000 Phocians have
 started in α. 10, followed by 6000
 Persians in α. 11. These forces are under
 way in α. 12; but the Spartans have
 not reached the Isthmus in α. 13 when
 Mardonius decided and began to evacuate
 Attica πρὸς τὴν μετὰ Παιονίαν ἐν
 τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἐσβαλεῖν. The arrival of
 1000 Lacedaemonians, apparently an
 advanced guard, at Megara is recorded

στοπεδύνοντο. πυνθανύμενοι δὲ ταῦτα οἱ λοιποὶ Πελο-
 ὤησιοι ταῖσι τὰ ἄμεινω εὐάδανε, αἱ δὲ καὶ ὄρωντες ἐξίστανται
 ρυτύντας, οὐκ εὐκαίενιν λείπεσθαι τῆς ἐξόδου [Λακεδαιμονίων].
 ὃν ὦν τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ καλλιερησάντων [τῶν ἱρῶν] ἵπορεύοντο
 5 τες καὶ ἀπικνέονται ἐς Ἐλευσίνα· ποιήσαντες δὲ καὶ
 ὕτα ἱρά, ὡς σφί ἱκαλλιερε, το πρῶτον ἵπορεύοντο,

Θ. 2 λοιποὶ om. S 3 ὄρωντες CP, Stein¹, van H. 4
 εὐάδανε van H πομπὴν incl. Stein 5 τῶν ἱρῶν incl. Krieger, Stein²,
 et, van H. 7 ἱκαλλιερε, τὸ διεγερτῖν ἱκαλλιερετο, R
 λικιερετο || ἵπορεύετο R

14, and Marathon is apparently in Attica, in c. 15 interpreted as Marathon; that does not seem to be the case. Only then does the word out of Attica. οἱ Ἕλληνες comes more than Antidromos here does, and Antidromos is the junction between the two armies. It is with the Lakedaimonians which comes here immediately below. position of the two armies is strange, especially when c. 14, at Marathon is the case, but there is a moment only before Marathon has been taken. Attica with 1000 Lakedaimonians at Marathon, and some 2000-3,000 Athenians, or on the way thither, or getting to the coast. At this time they are joined by the rest of the federate forces from Peloponnese, only after Marathon has been of the situation and concentration down towards Attica; and only after the federate Athens do the confederate advance to Eleusis. It is just (note that the arrival of the troops in Eleusis is not quite as it is suggested in c. 14, and that is not separated by a large number as it is there implied from the use of the confederate forces from Athens to Eleusis. Probably the of the Persian cavalry had ridden the northern slopes of Marathon, by construction of the camp on the as was reported at Eleusis, before the Persian forces were able to do so into Eleusis.

πομπὴν τὰ ἄμεινω εὐάδανε, 'with being moved with the letter'—or not? Is it the same as οἱ εὐάδανε (cp. 7. 14) or

The ones who were with the Athenians, and some of the Achaean and Ilian towns, with the exception of

the Iepsonai at the states mentioned below, c. 26, had sent men to Therapies and Salamis 7. 202, 8. 1, 43.

οἱ δὲ καὶ ὄρωντες εἰ. Στ. seems to be a quotation of the unimpaired present, e.g., 'out only when they saw'—or even perhaps but 'none of them only when they saw'. Others may have been at the Isthmus before, or at along. The 'seeing' is not perhaps to be taken quite literally, cp. c. 14 *supra*.

4. εὐκαίενιν: cp. 8. 125
 λείπεσθαι: to leave, remain behind; cp. 7. 148, 8. 44 115

5 καλλιερησάντων: for the constr. cp. 7. 134. In the previous year the confederates had proved uninvincible: cp. c. 10 *supra*, and the Peloponnesians had not advanced beyond their wall. Now, they are only as little when Marathon is already out of reach, or clearly not remaining in Attica; or at least not in occupation of the Thracian plain.

5. ὡς σφί ἱκαλλιερε: why was there a Greek army? There was a Greek frontier to be crossed. Even if the motive at the Isthmus might have carried the Peloponnesians to Eleusis (no express evidence is recorded in the Marathon text that they may have been there were the Athenians to be concerned, and Marathon remained about Athens there could have been no fresh διαβόλαια, but no doubt there would have been some other motive for the march until the opportune moment arrived for forward attack, cp. c. 34. 30, 41 f. *supra*.

Is it as all likely that the Peloponnesians expected to find the Persians on the Thracian plain as it is suggested? The Athenians in Eleusis to say nothing of their own πρόδοσις and ἡμεροσκόποι, will have kept them better informed than that. It appears, on the contrary,

Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἄμα αὐτοῖσι, διαβάντες μὲν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος, συμμειγνύμενοι δὲ ἐν Ἐλευσίνι, ὡς δὲ ἄρα ἀπὸ τῆς 10 Βοιωτίας ἐς Ἐρυθραί, ἔμαθον τε δὴ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀσπυῇ στρατοπεδευομένους, φρασθέντες δὲ τοῦτο ἀντετά-

11 ἐσπρωτοπεδούμενους expectaret van H. || δέ: τε Schoefer, van H.

obvious that the sacrifice became favourable to an advance only when the road was known to be clear.

Εἰς δὲ τὰς ἀκροτάτας τοῦ Βοιωτοῦ
ἐπὶ Ἐρυθρῇ, there was something of
a little surprising in this at present, what
certainly marks a new departure in the
action, *ἔπειτα*, nothing like it has been
attempted on, and since the hasn't at
Thermopylae; and the Persians might
have been holding the pass. No doubt
the action with the Athenians in the
vicinity factor, and the Athenians are the
driving force, in the advance to *Ἄρκτης*.
The a liaves to Euboea was not utterly
what the move into Roman is, a resump-
tion of the offensive; perhaps at this
same time the fleet leaves Salamis for
Aegina, or Aegina for Dece, not to say
Dolos for Aegina.

Erythraï has been given a 15 supra, as the *terminus a quo* for the construction of *lauremirene* of the Persian *στρατηριον*. If the Persians were really at Erythraï, the Greeks could not have arrived there without first crossing the Persian side that would have entailed a fight. Stein says there must have been a gap in Hist.'s narrative. The Indians must have forced the pass of Kauchthal, and driven the enemy eastward on to the fortified camp at Skoon, and north, into the plain. But is that conceivable? The forcing of the pass of Kleithraï-Erythraï, *sc.* *Dyook phulak*, would have been a colossal affair, imagine its having made not the faintest impression upon the traditions of the Persian war! The holding of the pass would not have been good strategy or Marathonian part, *Loeb* agrees with its general plan, as given in c. 13 supra. Moreover, as above shown, the fortified camp was not at Skoon and had it been so, the night presented to the Greeks, when they took up their quarters at Erythraï, would not have been that described in this chapter. Finally, Erythraï was not included in the Persian race, *cp.* notes to c. 15 above.

The position of Erythrai has been determined by G. B. Grunig against Lake, cp. *The Great Persian War* (1801) pp. 428 ff. It is on the higher ground, above Krakmaz, in the gorge through which issued the direct road from Miletus to Taurus; cp. *en eni orizonti vol kudasipanti*. The exact site of the town matters little, as the name is here doubtless used for the *xúpa*, cp. c. 17 above.

10. *ἡ ὁλόκληρη ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ Ἀσσυρίου* the whole army would, on arriving at Erythraï, and taking up its position at the Erythraïtes, use the former encampment below; but of course the generals at least knew what to expect before they reached it. The building of a huge fortified camp, and the accumulation of the Phrygian stores in front of the Erythraïan, Hyzian and Isaurian *ὄπισθεν*, were doubtless reported at Eleusis before the Greek army advanced up the pass. *ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ Ἀσσυρίου* would be an appropriate expression whether the camp was all in front of the river, or all behind the river, or partly on one side and partly on the other. The third alternative is to be preferred, but not to the extent of putting the river far away to the east, on the S. side of the river, at Skolon. The object of Xenophon was to bring the Greeks down on to the lower ground, and even to draw them across the river; but at the first instance at least he would probably remain at least two *ἡμέρας* at the point on the Erythraïan side of the bridge.

[illegible]

σουτο ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπάρξεως τοῦ Κιθαϊρῶνος. Μαρδόνιος δέ, ὡς αὐτὸ 20 κατεβαίνουν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐς τὸ πεδῖον, πέμπει ἐς αὐτοὺς πᾶσαν τὴν ἵππον, τῆς ἱππάρχεις Μασίαςτις εὐδοκίμων παρα Πέρσῃ.

12 ὑπάρχεις ἐκείναι :

20. 2 ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Marc. :

3 ἱππάρχεις R

12. Κιθαϊρῶνος. The mighty mountain chain which divides Attica from Boeotia, Thessaly being but an eastward extension, while a southern ridge ('Oreia'), terminating in the Képara, divided Attica from Megaris; cp. 7. 141 supra and Strabo 380 (the view from the Akrokoronthe), 393 (the 'Oreia'), 406 (the western end, above the Kermaian gulf, and the continuity of Kithairon, the Megaria and the Attic mountains), 408-9 (the relation of Kithairon to the Asopos and the Parosopis), 411 (Haliaia). But after all the continuity of Kithairon is well-sufficiently attested by this very book.

Hdt. takes the Greek forces over Kithairon in this chapter rather easily. No doubt the main body will have marched by the Eleutheraí road; but some may have found their way over by the pass from Megara, cp. c. 14 supra, or even by the Algeothesia route; cp. *ibid.* The Hellenes are now in 'the first position,' or busily engaged in getting it so: ἄντιτάσσονται ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπάρξεως τοῦ Κιθαϊρῶνος; but in what order they order it thereinto, or what manoeuvres the various contingents take up their stations, what their line of battle, or of encampment, opposite the Persians, Hdt. does not describe, or indicate; but presently the Megarians are exposed to the front of the cavalry attack: they were therefore perhaps athwart the main road. In the absence of further positive indications we must either (1) carry back the line of battle, described below for 'the second position' and make it hold good for the first also; or else (2) put the Megarians at bay at the head of the marching column, with the Athenians immediately behind them, so naturally coming to their support, so late the Megarensians bring up the rear of the *agmen*. (cp. Appendix VII.) § 7.

20. 1 αἱ δὲ κατεβαίνουν οἱ Ἕλ. ἐς τὸ πεδῖον. Mardonios wished to induce the Greeks to come down from the higher ground about or above Krithrai, near Hyman, on to the lower ground nearer the Asopos. Later on they did so, with disastrous results to themselves in the first instance.

2 εἰσαν τὴν ἵππον τῆς ἱππάρχεις Μ., 'all the cavalry commanded by Masetios' is not of necessity all the cavalry in Iasos, for necessarily mounted with *ἵπποι ἡ δυνάμις* of c. 17 supra. But it is arguable that Masetios was in fact supreme Hipparch in the *corps d'armée* of Mardonios, and commanded a myriad of mounted men. In the army of Xerxes there had been three 'hipparchai' (one for each *corps d'armée*) cp. 7. 88, of whom Masetios was certainly not one. Had the cavalry now on service in Greece under Mardonios been cut down to one third, and a new hipparch appointed? Or is he one hipparch of two, or three, in the whole force of Mardonios? Cp. c. 69 *infra*.

3 Μασίαςτις . . . τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν Μασίαςτις καλεῖται. What Hellenes are these? Steinhilber, Greek authors, writes, cp. 1. 7. 216, 2. 16. The sentence, unless attested as a gloss, is gone, evidence that Hdt. had some written authorities before him for the entry he is writing. But these authorities are hardly joint, anonymous, still less *Chorograph*, as Stein suggests, but probably prose writers, such as Diodoros of Sikota, and possibly others, cp. Introduction, § 10.

A *Masetios* or a *Sipontes* appears? In an *Agamem* of the Alexander and Zosterites. He may be the same man on promotion, but Hdt. is evidently unconscious of any such identity. This was a close case for a patronymic but none is forthcoming. Why did Greek authors call him Masetios if his name was Masetios? Was it to distinguish him from the son of Sipontes? Or was it to guard against that very confusion of Masetios with Masetios, the first brother of Xerxes and one of the six chief Straton? See cp. c. 107 *infra*, into which Tzetzes actually fell; cp. Wesseling ad l. Or were the Greek authors perhaps right? Oddly enough, Masetios was an Ikonian *clerikos* (cp. Masetios 4. 128), and this Masetios was *phylarchos* as they might say in Hdt., and elsewhere, for *phylarchos*, *phylarchos* even *ἐν θείῃ ἀίσει μετὰ τοὺς ἀρχαίους* c. 26 *infra*.

τὸν "Ελληνας Μακίστιον καλέουσι, ἔππον ἔχων Νησαίων
 5 χρυσοχάλινον καὶ ἄλλως κεκοσμημένον καλῶς. ἐνθαῦτα ἐκ
 προσήλασαν οἱ ἑπτόται πρὸς τοὺς "Ελληνας προσβάλλον
 κατὰ τέλεια, προσβάλλοντες δὲ κακὰ μεγάλα ἰργάζοντο καὶ
 21 γυναῖκας σφίεας ἀπεκάλειον. κατὰ συντυχίην δὲ Μεγαρίεις

4 Μακίστιον = νησιῶν Μακί. δ καὶ εὐπὶ τε κερεῖται. Γ τε αὐτὸ β.
 Holder, van H. 6 τοὺς αἰπ. C προσέβαλοι DP 7 πρὸς-
 βάλλοντες V: τρῶσβάλλοντες

4. ἔππον ἔχων Νησαίων: *πήληκ*
 having under him a Nessian horse;
 cp. 7. 11.

5. Ὀλλως, even apart from the gold
 bridle; in fact, 'in all respects.'

6. προσήλασαν . . . προσέβαλλον:
 two distinct participles are indicated.
 The whole cavalry under Makistos
πήληκα a *πήληκα*, nominal—advanced
 together, and then having halted
 delivered a succession of charges *κατὰ*
τέλεια, *ἐκτελεῖται* by *ἐκτελεῖται*, *πήληκα*
οὐκ αἰσῶ, nominal, cp. c. 22 *ἄφρη*.
 These attacks inflicted considerable
 damage upon the Greek ranks. An
ἐκτελεῖται is quite *ἐκτελεῖται* as a
 preliminary to *ἐκτελεῖται* or infantry on
ἐκτελεῖται; cp. c. 19 *ἄφρη*, and 1. 80
ἐκτελεῖται 1. 14 5 ff. *ἐκτελεῖται* 1. 12 5 ff.
ἐκτελεῖται 1. 8 1 22 ff. *ἐκτελεῖται*
 395 *ἄφρη*, 6. 4. 10 ff. *ἐκτελεῖται* 37 *ἄφρη*.
ἐκτελεῖται 1. 14 5 ff. *ἐκτελεῖται*,
 334 *ἄφρη*. But at Plataea in 479 B.C.
 the Greeks had no cavalry, and therefore
 the fighting was not a true *ἐκτελεῖται*.

8. γυναῖκας σφίεας ἀπεκάλειον they
 added insult to injury by calling them
 'women,' 'cowards' (for not coming down
 into the plain): this was the poisoned
 arrow in a Persian's quiver! cp. c. 102
ἄφρη. Had these Greeks learnt to speak
 Greek? or just picked up the word
 wanted? Or did they speak their own
 language? *ἀπεκάλειον* 3. 58, 'to reproach',
 here 'to reproach'; cp. Plato *Gorg.*
 513 c, Aristotle *Εἰθ.* N. 9, 8, 1 = 1105 b
 30, but without *ἀπεκάλειον*, ib. 2, 9, 7 =
 1109 b 18.

21. 1. κατὰ συντυχίην δὲ Μεγαρίεις.
 But, apparently treat the Megarians
 as occupying a post in line with the
 rest of the forces, which by this time,
 according to him, are perhaps drawn up,
 or drawing up, along the *ἐκτελεῖται* of
 Kithairon; but he is not explicit upon
 the point, and gives no account of
 the respective positions of the various

contingents. *ἀπεκάλειον* shows that
 well be an imperfect of the *ἐκτελεῖται*
 type ('were falling into line' or 'were falling
 in position'). Had this descriptive the
 line formation of the Greeks for the
 second position below, when there is
 even a dispute over a question of pre-
 cedence, which must have been settled
 for the first position, if in the first
 position the Greeks were in line *ἐκτελεῖται*.
 I therefore suspect that in the
 first position the Greeks were still in
 column, emerging down the pass headed
 by the Megarians and Athenians
 who were to hold Kithairon and the road
 way, which it commanded, while the
 remainder of the forces deployed from
 behind them only or nearly to the left,
 so as to take up positions *ἐκτελεῖται*
 to the Kithairon, the Spartans to the
 right (top 1. 14 *ἄφρη* the Athenians
 to the left towards Kithairon and Plataea.
 This development may or may not have
 been finally accomplished, because the
 Megarian attacks the head of the
 column as it emerges from the pass.
 (Perhaps, if the Athenians reached the
 column, they had already deployed it
 to the ground to the left.) He *ἐκτελεῖται*
 to have struck at the column *ἐκτελεῖται*
 not, perhaps, until convinced that the
 Greeks were not coming down into the
 plain. How it happened that 'the
 Megarians,' 3000 strong, were at the
 head of the column, if that was their
 position, who can say? Formerly the
 Lakedaemonian *ἐκτελεῖται*, 14 *ἄφρη* were
 not with them, though the strongly
 'attaching tradition forgets them; they
 may have headed the column from
 Megara to Plataea, and so onwards; or
 they may even have come a considerable
 by the direct route from Megara, and so
 arrived at the head of the forces, when
 the Athenians may have led the column
 from Kithairon by Phleghia. Of course
 there was no accident in the matter;
 all had been arranged.

ἐνυχον ταχθέντες τῇ τε ἐπιμαχώτατον ἦν τοῦ χωρίου παντός, καὶ πρόσδοδος μάλιστα ταύτῃ ἐκινετο τῇ ἵππῳ, προσβαλλούσης ὡν τῆς ἵππου οἱ Μεγαρέες πιεζόμενοι ἔπεμπον ἐπὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῦς τῶν Ἑλλήνων κήρικα, ἀπικομενος δὲ ὁ κήριξ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔλεγε τάδε. "Μεγαρέες λέγουσι· ἡμεῖς, ἄνδρες σίμμαχοι, οὐ δυνατοὶ εἶμεν τὴν Περσέων ἵππον δέκεσθαι μόνον, ἔχοντες στάσιν ταύτην ἐν τὴν ἐσθμῶν ἀρχήν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοδὲ λιπαρήν τε καὶ ἀρετῇ ἀντέχομεν καὶ περ πιεζόμενοι. νῦν τε εἰ μὴ τινας ἄλλους πέμψετε διαδόχους τοῦ τῆς τάξιος, ἵστε ἡμᾶς ἐκλείψοντας τὴν τάξιν." ὁ μὲν δὴ σφί ταῦτα ἀπήγγελλε, Πανσάνης δὲ ἀπεπειράτο τῶν Ἑλλήνων

21. 2 τῇ τε Bekker. ἡ τε B ἢ τὸ αCP. 3 καὶ ἡ B || πραγ-
βαλλούσης α προσβαλλούσης 6 τάδε <ᾧδε> Μεγαρέες Schenkl,
Heller: ἔλεγε- Τάδε vel ἔλεγε τάδε. Τάδε I van H. 8 στάσιν: α π
τάξιν corrob. aut ἐκ versu sq. dolend. censet van H. || ἡ τῆς ἐπ' ἡν B
9 ἀντιπαρασθῆναι Daber 10 πιεζόμενοι B διαδόχους πέμψετε B 11
τῆς τάξιος del. van H. 12 ἀπήγγελλε C: ἀπήγγελλε V, Marc.

2. τῇ τε ἐπιμαχώτατον τῇ ἵππῳ. This description would apply to the roadway running up the pass, of course, even so, the position, τὸ χωρίον, was not as much exposed as 'the second position,' c. 25 infra, and the cavalry could not attack on horse, but only on a narrow front, κατὰ τάξιν: ἐπιμαχος, cp. I 94 d, 133 (in both places of fortification), τὰς τοῦ ἀσπίδος, προσ-
δοξ, as in 7. 212, 223.

5. τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Where were they? and were they all together in one place? Are only Pausanias and Xenophon (c. 10 supra) covered by the term? Below, as the result of the message, Pausanias appears in sole authority. The message seems to imply a standpoint for the Strategoi, or Strategoi, at some distance, and hardly in sight of the situation, which could hardly have been the case if the Greek army had been already deployed ἐν τῇ ἐσθμῶν. The Megarian message was carried back up the pass; they call for support and relief. αὐτοὺς denotes the presence of any other contingent so the Athenians ignored the presence of the Spartans at Marathon c. 37 supra. ἔχοντες στάσιν. ἀρχήν suggests an advanced post, or post some time in occupation. στάσις, 'station' cp. c. 25 supra. ἀρχήν, viz., 'to begin with,' 'in the first instance', cp. 7. 220, 8. 128.

9. λιπαρήν τε καὶ ἀρετῇ cp. c. 70 supra, a sort of headwaters: for the verb λιπαρῶν, μετακτείνω, cp. cc. 45 111 supra, 8. 144 supra.

ἀντίχαν. resistere, etc., 8. 68.

10. διαδόχους τῆς τάξιος, to take our post, to succeed us in our position. ἐκλείψων c. τ, cp. 8. 24. In action, little λιποτάξιον was a capital crime, and more famous to survive, λιποταξία (cp.), might have serious consequences cp. 8. 27, Thuc. 1. 94. 1, 2. 74. 3.

12. Πανσάνης δὲ ἀντιπαρασθῆναι. This ἀντιπαρασθῆναι cp. 8. 8; τῶν Ἑλλήνων, in which they all prove wanting but the Athenians in a transparent Atticism. The first brush with the Barbarians is presented as a forlorn hope, calling for valiant volunteers; Thermopylae is forgotten, or only remembered to be repaid, instead of sending forward some of his own men out of his 10 000 hoplites and 4 000 light-armed, Pausanias asks for volunteers and Athenians, a bare 300, sent lightly forward into the breach: it is enough—300 Athenians save the situation at Arctium. 300 Spartans at Thermopylae could only dim! Probably the Athenians were next to the Megarians whatever in the column or in the line, and were ordered forwards as a matter of course, especially as they had a corps of archers. The Megarians

εἰ τινες ἐβελον ἄλλοι ἐβελονταὶ ἵσταναι τε ἐς τὸν χώρον
τοῦτον καὶ τάσσεσθαι δι᾿ ὁδοχοὶ Μεγαρεῦσι. οὐ βουλομένῳ
15 δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀθηναῖοι ὑπεδέξαντο καὶ Ἀθηναίων οἱ
τριηκόσιοι λογάδες, τῶν ἐλοχίγγει Ὀλυμπιόδωρος ὁ Λάμπωνος.
22 οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ τε ὑποδεξίμενοι καὶ οἱ πρὸ τῷ ἄλλων τῶν
παρεόντων Ἑλλήνων ἐς Ἐρυθρὰς ταχθέντες, τοὺς τοξότας
προσελόμενοι. μαχομένων δὲ σφένον ἐπὶ χρόνον τέλος τοιοῦδε
ἐγένετο τῆς μάχης. προσβαλλούσης τῆς ἵππου κατὰ τέλεια,
5 ὁ Μασιστιοὺς προέχων τῶν ἄλλων ἵππος βάλλεται τεξείματι

11 μεγαρεῶσι (C) 16 λάμπωνος R 22. 1 ἵσταναι : τε οὐκ B
3 προσελόμενοι B 4 ἐγένετο BR. ἐγένετο ἐπὶ AC: ἐγένετο ἐπὶ P.
Μαρε προσβαλλούσης AC: προσβαλλούσης

(with the 1000 Spartans perhaps, presumably remained at their post; even among the Athenians, it was probably not the 300 hoplites but the archers—'perhaps 2000 in number' (Rawlinson) who kept the Persian cavalry at bay; meanwhile the rest of the Greek column was moving forward, behind Frynani, with the Persian cavalry and Indians, depending to the left. When this manoeuvre was accomplished, the Athenians, Megarians (and Lakedaimonian Chalcid) might be on the extreme right of the Greek line and the Lakedaimonian main body on the extreme left, towards Plataea.

15. ὑπεδέξαντο: so. *ἤσαν τε εἰλ.* οἱ τριηκόσιοι λογάδες: this *ἀρχὴ δ' αἵματος* in the Athenian army is remarkable. At this time Athens had little or no cavalry—does this body correspond to the aristocratic nucleus of the later institution? Are they like οἱ αἰσχροκίονες at Sparta? (cp. p. 124). These men are probably hoplites; 30 from each tribe? 10, perhaps, from each *ἐκκλησία* under a *λογογένης* hardly an Attic term. cp. c. 58 infra.

16 Ὀλυμπιόδωρος ὁ Λάμπωνος: (1) a Samian Lampon must live in c. 500 *before* (2) a better known Ariston in c. 478 *infra*; (3) the Athenian here named may be conjecturally regarded as the grandfather of Lampon the historian (Plutarch. *Verat.* 6), who was concerned in the foundation of Thurioi (honour 12. 10. 3), figures as author of a rider in the celebrated Kleoninian Decree (C. I. A. iv. 273 Dittenberger No. 13, Michel No. 7), and was something of a butt for the Old Comedy (Aristoph. *Eccl.* 121 *ἀσπιδὶ δὲ θυμῷ ἐπὶ καὶ τοῖς τὸν χερὶ δὲν ἀσπιδά*

ει his father's name is not mentioned but Olympiodorus may have been his father (or an uncle). Of this Olympiodorus (a high-sounding but not an uncommon name nothing further is known. He, together with his uncle or brother of his some long before joining the colony at Thurioi, and there is nothing in this passage to lead us to postulate its composition. The story is an integral portion of the Attic legend of Plataea.

22. 1. *πρὸ* in double sense, loca and causal, 'in front of,' i.e. defence of *ἑσπερ*, and almost 'instead of' *ἀπὸ*, cp. 7. 152; quite as Attic as *ἐκ τῆς*, cp. c. 27 *infra*.

τὸν προέχοντα a remarkable and looks rather like a game. There is not much point here in a reference to fighting Greeks; and for those on the right side, wherever they were, the Athenians were fighting. If genuine the *ἡγεῖται* might convey an unconscious hint that the whole army was not yet 'prepared,' i.e. in position; bearing out the hypothesis above formulated.

2. *ἐς Ἐρυθρὰς* not necessarily, or only the actual town, cp. c. 16 *supra*. τοὺς τοξότας προσελόμενοι: these 'Archers' are an important element in the Athenian forces; cp. c. 58 *infra*. Rawlinson gives their number at 'perhaps 3000.' But cp. c. 12 L. 2 *infra*. It was no doubt they and not the 300 Heavy that proved a match for the Persian cavalry cp. *ποταμοῦ* just below.

5. *προέχων*: perhaps literally 'in advance of', cp. *προέχοντες τῶν Μεγαρέων* 4. 123. *πρὸς αἵματι ἄσπιδος περικείμεν*, Wesseling. But the hero of Masisstion was no doubt conspicuous not merely as leading, but as of superior excellence

ὑπόμενον οὐδὲ σφί ἐξηγέμετο τὸν νεκρὸν ἀνελέσθαι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἐκείνῃ ἄλλους προσαπώλεσαν τῷ ἵππῳ. ἀποστήσαντες ὡν ὅσον τε δύο στάδια ἐβουλεύοντο ὅ τι χρεὺν εἴη ποιεῖν, ἐδόκει δὲ σφί ἀναρχίῃ εὐούσῃ ἀπελαύνειν παρὰ Μαρδόνιου. ἀπικο- 24 μέντης δὲ τῆς ἵππου ἐς το στρατόπεδον πένθος ἐποίησαντο Μασιστίου πᾶσα τε ἡ στρατὴ καὶ Μαρδόνιος μέγιστον, σφίτας τε αὐτοὺς κείροντες καὶ τοὺς ἵππους καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια οἰμωγῇ τε χρεώμενοι ἀπλέτῃ· ἔπασαν γὰρ τὴν Βασιλὴν κατεῖχε ἥχῳ 5

ἡ ὑπόμενον - * κραταπόλεσαν B τῶν ἵππων del van H.
Heller ἵπποισιντες ἀνέκο, C=bet, van H. 9 εὐο. ἐκαὶ Krueger ||
χρεὺν CP., van H. 24. 2 οἰμώμενοι B 5 χρεώμενοι F, van H.

ἡ ἐξηγέμετο: cp. 3.5

8. ἀποστήσαντες they halted (the horses, at a distance, cp. 5. 6) ἀποσταί 'be retired'—positions which might tempt the inference that even the use of ἵππων seems synonymous with being used intransitively. Haskinsy explains this use of ἀποστήσαι as quite 'unusual': Haskinsy, *Anal. Latinit.*, p. 1949, as showing a case of *brachylogia*. There a substantive is to be understood 'out of a cognate substantive or adjective, or adverb, or out of the general context': *quia cum Zusammenhange der Worte*; cp. also *App. Crit.* and 1. 14 *παρὰ*.

9. ὅσον τε δύο στάδια, 'about four hundred yards' say, quarter of a mile; this hint might leave them still a couple of miles from the *de du point* on the *Amazons*.

ἐβουλεύοντο: the council, of course. Each *phalanx* must have had a leader, to say nothing of *demarchs*, etc. But as far as Hdt. is concerned the consultation might be conducted by the entire number, rank and file.

ἐδόκει δὲ σφί: might surely be *εἶδε*, but cp. c. 1. 1 *ἔσπετο*.

10. ἀναρχίῃ εὐούσῃ: their *dux* was gone: they had no commander, for which reason they decided to ride back *κελεύμενοι* to headquarters (read *Μαρδόνιον*). These statements will have been based rather on the observations and inferences made on the Greek side than on authorities Greek or other in the Persian camp (Theophrastus, for example, c. 18 *supra*).

24. 2. πένθος ἐποίησαντο Μασιστίου . . . μέγιστον, 'made a very great mourning for Masiastius'; cp. 2. 1 *πένθος αὐτῷ το αὐτοῦ πένθος ἐποίησαν καὶ οὐκ ἄλλοις σπένοντο αὐτῷ τῷ ἥχῳ πένθος*

παύεσθαι. 'Their grief would be increased by their failure to recover the body. It was shown partly by the shouting and heart-crying of men and beast, and partly by weeping, the sound of which was heard throughout the length and breadth of the land.'

Was there anything especially 'barbarous' in this custom of mourning *πένθος ὑπερτέρον* c. 25? Just in this matter the *Eschylus* bewailed the death of a king 8. 59 cp. *οἰμωγῇ διαχρῶνται*; *ἀνέκτο* αὐτῷ; thought that, indeed. But *regards* as Asiatic and barbarous; cp. also 4. 29 *supra*, 3. 66. Herodotus as a sign of grief Hdt., 2. 36, reports as a custom to which Egypt added as the only exception. Haskinsy quotes Herod., *ibid.* 428 to prove that cutting the *traces* of the horses was a Thracian practice; Larcher shows that it was done by Greeks, and it is recorded in the case of the death of Peloponnes (Plutarch *Phoc.* 35), but perhaps too higher culture tended to discountenance it. Anachlysis in the *Eschylus* (428) seems to mark it as 'barbarous,' like Hdt. and Alexander Magnus was evidently much censured for the extravagance of his grief and mourning (*πένθος*) for Hephæstion; cp. *Alexand.*, *ibid.* 7. 14. 2. But letting the fact prove absolutely may have much the same significance, though it takes longer to operate: cp. Suetonius *Julius* 67.

5. κατεῖχε ἥχῳ. Haskinsy original at all understands this to mean *noise* that wailing was heard wherever troops were posted. That is hardly adequate to the passage. *Boia* came with the sound of lamentation, and mourning and weeping. 1. 4. 3. in present tense, 'the Boia ring with the noise' (cp. 1).

ὡς ἀνδρὸς ἀπολαμμένου μετὰ γε Μαρδόνιον λογιματότου παρὶ
τε Πέρσῃσι καὶ βασιλεί.

- 25 Οἱ μὲν νυν βαρβαροὶ τρόπῳ τῷ σφετέρῳ ἀποθανόντα
ἰτίμων Μασίστιον· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ὡς τὴν ἵππον ἐδέξαντο
προσβάλλουσαν καὶ δεξάμενοι ὥσαντο, ἐθάρρησάν τε πολλὰ
μᾶλλον καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἐς ἄμαξαν ἐσθέντες τοῦ νεκροῦ παρὰ

6 γε em B 7 βασιλεῖ AB 25 1 ἰτίμων ἀποθανόντα B
3 προσβαλοῦσαι SV: προσβέλουσαν R || ἐθάρρησαν P: τε om. rusci.
post μᾶλλον rus. B. Holder, van II., ali 4 ἄμαξαν R

6, *ὡς ἀνδρὸς . . . βασιλέ.* That Masiates, son of Stromithres, took precedence of every one save Marlonius (Artabazus, for example in the king's eyes might support the error of Tzetzes, op. c. 20 *supra* but it is not conceivable that Hist. should not have known it had Masiates been an Achaemenid, or really related to the king. His value to the king is perhaps but an inference from his position in the army and the mourning made for him. It also heightens the Athenian achievement, op. c. 61 *infra*.

25, 2 of δὲ Ἕλληνες. This sentence appears to give credence to 'the Herodotus' for regarding the cavalry, i.e. to interpret τὸ πλῆθος, *a* *majoritas* in c. 23 *supra* as meaning the whole army. Even if that were the intention, Hist. too fact would still be disputable: the idea that the whole force available upon the Greek side were deployed and brought into action before the cavalry attack is round the body of Masiates was formulated in favour of the Greeks is on the face of it improbable; nor is it easy to understand how such forces could have operated in the given position and locality. But (i.) *quod facti per aliam* facti per *as*; (ii.) the advantage amounted the Persian side as a whole, viz. the Greeks had opposed the Persian cavalry, even, only the Attians at the Megarum, and possibly the Lakadaemonian *τροχόδρομοι* were actually engaged in what was an affair of *Κροσσίου*, or, at most, of the head of the column, debouching through the pass.

4, *πρῶτα μὲν . . . παρὰ τὰς τάξεις ἐκόντες.* This proceeding seems to imply (1) that there was a road along which the wagon was drawn by horses (oxen, or mules); (2) that the Persian army was posted in two columns, array of some kind. Only one of two roads can

well be in question: (a) the road from Kruthrai, past Hyman to Plataea; (b) the road up the Pass to Eleutherai, etc. If the Greek army was already in extended formation in these running east and west, as is apparently assumed by Hatach, *Athena* II ad *not.*, and universally assumed for 'the last position' by modern authorities, the Megarians and Athenians would apparently occupy the extreme right wing, and the rest of the army would be to the left of them towards Hyman and Plataea. If, on the other hand, the army was on the left wing, the rest of the forces having debouched to the right of them. Two considerations appear to sit to favour the former supposition: (i.) Has the Athenians already been in occupation of the left wing, the question is hardly dwelt upon in the next chapter and hardly have arisen at that point. (ii.) Strategically and tactically the debouchure of the army towards the west is the natural one. If Kruthrai was at the foot, or near the foot of the pass, the Greek van would retire on that position, and hold it, while the rest of the army moved from behind out of the pass. There is hardly room for such a development towards the east, more where the pass is flanked by the great mass of rock named by Dr. Grundy 'The High Bastion'; moreover, such a movement would have thrown the Greek front away to the east of the Persian encampment, down stream, exposing them to be outflanked on their left by the Persian cavalry. Again the development of the Greek last position westwards accords with the subsequent movement reported in this chapter and also places the rear of the column when developed, in front of the two other roads, or passes, connecting Kithraion to Eleutherai and to

τὰς τάξεις ἐκρίμνον· ὁ δὲ νεκρὸς ἦν θύης ἄξιος μεγάλους εἵνεκα
καὶ κάλλιος, τῶν δὲ εἵνεκα καὶ ταῦτα ἐποίουν· ἐκλείποντες
τὰς τάξεις ἐφύοντο βησόμενοι Μασίαιον. μετὰ δὲ ἔδοξε σφι

ὁ ταξὶς C | ἐκρίμνεντο B || ἦν = || μεγάλους τε csm. Stein, adm.
van H. B τῶν δὲ Krueger, Stein², Holder, van H. . τῶν δὲ codd.
Stein¹. τῶν δὲ = || ταῦτα ἐποίουν· del. Krueger, van H. (ἐποίουν PRS
| ἐκλείποντες B, van H τὰς τάξεις BC || ἐφύοντο B, Stein¹, van H
καὶ ἐφύοντο :

Μεγάλη. Finally, as, upon the above supposition, the Lakedaimonians in the first position seem to stand on the extreme left, and the Athenians on the right, not only is there some cause for the controversy in the next chapter, when the army moves down hill to 'the second position,' but also a clue is perhaps found to the real or recorded exchange of positions between the Athenians and the Lakedaimonians in the second position (or 46, 47 *infra*), though for that exchange or supposed exchange other fair explanations may also be forthcoming. It is possible, then, that the body of Masiæos was conveyed upon a wagon along the road running from Erythrai towards Platæa, i.e. about most y behind the Greek lines, as I have developed in 'the first position.' It is also, however, possible that the wagon was taken simply up the road through the pass to the rear, the sight of it mightily encouraging the rear ranks of the column, which had not yet fully emerged on to the *σάπη*. What the ultimate destination of the wagon, or what because of the corpse, Hdt. unfortunately does not inform us, presumably he did not know. The *σάπη* found its way to Athens; cp c 22 *supra*.

β. ὁ δὲ νεκρὸς ἦν θύης ἄξιος Hdt. writes as though he had seen it, but of course he had not. Had and certainly as the corpse was, Masiæos does not seem to have been 'noticed' like *εὐκλειπὸς* at Akrædia, 7 117 or Hdt. p. at Kesson at Segesta, 5. 47 Cp. s. 20 *supra*. Hdt. also tends to speak what because of his noble Noianan character: was he led to his father's grave, and perhaps sacrificed there? Or did he confer with the squadron, after his father's fall? Or die of his wound on the field?

δ. ταῦτα ἐποίουν. The difficulty may

be surmounted (a) by deleting ταῦτα *εἵνεκα* with Krueger; (b) by bracketing ἐκλείποντες . . Μασσιῶνα *εἵνεκα*, c. l. y understanding, with *ταῦτα* = *ταῦτα*. Cp. *ὁδὸν* = *ὁδὸν* c. 22 *supra*.

γ. ἐδοξε σφι ἐπικρατεῖναι ἐς Πλα ταῖς This is a formal demand of the conduct of war cp. c 51 *supra*, or of the conduct of a chief. That it was taken at this moment may not be strictly correct. Hdt. does not say for how long the Greeks occupied the first position, whether for days or only for hours. The process by which the advantage was effected may have been as follows—The *Δεγαρῖαι* or perhaps *οὐ* *ἐπὶ* *Μεγαρίταις* c. s. 4. 60) had seized and occupied Erythrai, until relieved by the Athenians, who in their turn have been supported by more and more of the forces, until a *σάπη* drawn as gradually arrived on the scene. The Athenians and Megarians may have moved out of Erythrai, westwards towards Hyæia first, and then beyond Erythrai being occupied in succession by the various contingents without further fighting, and the position being constantly occupied westwards, until finally the Athenians and Megarians have pushed along the *σάπη* far enough to the west to allow of the Lakedaimonians in the rear occupying Erythrai on the extreme right of the position. If this was the process, then the notion of precedence between the Athenians and Tegeatæ was virtually settled beforehand. But it seems more probable that, as above suggested, the head of the column, composed of the *Δεγαρῖαι* (and the Spartan *χίμαι*!) supported by the Athenians continued to hold Erythrai, while the rest of the army deployed behind Erythrai to the west, among the high ground, in front of Hyæia and towards Platæa. This movement would be facilitated by the

ἐπικαταβῆναι ἐς Πλαταιάς· ὁ γὰρ χώρος ἐφαίνετο πολλῶν ἐὼν ἐπιτηδευτέρων σφί ἐστρατοπεδεύεσθαι ὁ Πλαταικὸς τοῦ Ἐρυθραίου τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ εὐδρότερος. ἐς τοῦτον δὴ τὸν χώρον καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν κρήνην τὴν Γαργαφὴν τὴν ἐν τῷ χώρῳ ταύτῃ ἰοῦσαν ἔδοξε σφί χρεὼν εἶναι ἀπικέσθαι καὶ διαταχθέντας στρατοπεδεύεσθαι. ἀναλαβόντες δὲ τὰ ὄπλα ἤσαν διὰ τῆς ὑπερήρης τοῦ Κιθαιρώου παρὰ Ῥοισίης ἐς τὴν Πλαταιίδα γῆν.

9 ἐπιτηδύτερος CP., van H. || πλαταιὰς α 10 εὐδρότερος - ἰού-
Κρυαῖα 12 χρεὼν Pz, van H. 14 ὑπερήρης V: ὑπερήρης περι:
|| δασιδίς B

existence of the roads from Erythrai to Plataia, and from Dryoskephalai to Plataia.

δ ἐπικαταβῆναι gives two characteristics of the movement. (a) it was downhill, from higher to lower ground; (b) it was a forward, or offensive movement; cp. 8. 34. ἐς Πλαταιὰς gives a third: (c) it was into 'strategic territory' (cp. c. 16 περὶ). This might involve not merely a northerly, but a north-westerly direction: that it was not due west, or on to Plataia itself, or its river, is abundantly clear both from the immensity of the topography, and from the movement narrative (cp. c. 12 περὶ).

ὁ γὰρ χώρος κτλ. The reasons given for the move are admittedly incomplete (ἀεὶ ἄλλα καὶ); the only one emphasized is the water supply, no doubt a reason of enormous importance, especially with a view to ἐκφυγὰς (ἐστρατοπεδεύεσθαι) less important, however, with a view to pure fighting (ἐμμελίσσασθαι c. 7 περὶ) which must have been under consideration. If the Greeks did not want to provoke a battle they would have remained in their first position, or moved at once to the 'Island' (c. 51 περὶ). The fact that the battle was not finally fought exacted a further concession. Any one could appreciate the reason given which was nearest to the most true (ἐφαίνετο ἰού., τὴν Γαργαφὴν, see above).

12 διαταχθέντας στρατοπεδεύεσθαι before the new position was occupied before the battle there was formed, and presumably either in the first position itself, or in the process of moving from the first position to the second: a διαταγή was to be effected, i.e. the existing

arrangement and order of the ranks was to be modified, or at any rate the army was to be put in battle array. It had not therefore previously been in battle-array, but in marching order, or at least not in the order of battle appropriate to the commanders. Cp. 8. 73 παραρρηγὲς διαταχθέντες, of the movement of the Persian fleet into line of battle. *Diocor.* 6. 137, ὡς δὲ σφί διατάξαι ἡ 12 σφί στήσαι, cp. also 1. 40 ὡς δὲ αὐτοὺς διατάξαι with the context. But perhaps Hist. is getting a little out of his depth here; the Greeks can hardly have intended to march for any length of time on the advanced position 'near the Asopos'.

13 ἀναλαβόντες δὲ τὰ ὄπλα. c. 13 c. 53, 67, κτλ. The heavy arms (ἀσπίς, etc.) were picked up in the field, or in camp, and taken up 'again' before moving. The army had probably bivouacked at least once up to the position at Erythrai, though it did not actually say so.

ἤσαν διὰ τῆς ὑπερήρης τοῦ Κιθαιρώου nothing in these words proves that a downhill march; that idea must be borrowed from the *εἰς Πλαταιὰς* above, and from the real topography or cartography; otherwise the words might describe the movement of a column direct on Plataia, or of a series of outposts extending themselves as a wedge in that direction.

14 παρὰ Ῥοισίης. *Strabo* 494 ἐκείνη δὲ τὰς Ῥοισίης Τριπὴν λεγέσθαι φασί, τὴν Παρσωνείαν ὁσαν ὑπὸ τῷ Κιθαιρώου κρήνῃ ἐκφυγὰς ἐν τῇ μεσσηνίᾳ. It was 'a mile to the right of the road from Eleutherae to Plataia' (*Strabo* 9. 2. 1). There was a road running from Thebes to Eleutherae via Illyria, or rather via Erythrai? (*Strabo* 6. 1. 6, by which the Thebans circumvented the Plataians in 373 B.C.). The position of Illyria was

όμενοι δὲ ἐτάσσοιτο κατὰ ἔθνεα πλησίον τῆς τε κρήνης 15

ly west of Krystra and east of Ia; ca. c. 15 *supra ad f.* but not Hyman was higher up hill, or over ground than Krystra, is not licent. Tradition in G. B. Grandy, *ibid.* p. 461 identifies the site with the existing village of Krystra: he only himself places it outside the of the existing village, and figures he hid to the south. I think it also that just as Krystra, covered the Dryaskephala Pass, and the road from Thebes to Leontariae Athens, so Hyman commanded approach from Pontas which struck the main road behind the ridge, by mid pass, while Krystra itself might have to command the third road and across the ridge of Krystra, that the direct to Hyman. Thus there a view the ridge at intervals of the same roughly, but Pontas lay what further in advance (and to the of a hill than Hyman and Krystra gave it and I respectively.

δε τῶν Πλαταιῶν γῆν. The territory of Plataea extended northwards down to the Asopus (p. c. 15), how far it extended eastwards towards Plataea Straits 401 and 402 Straits 401 were both in the same, and their territories (whether ruled or not) reached down to the same. It may be conjectured the whole water-system of the c. 51 river belonged to Plataea.

lower down and to the north. In A 4 among the tributaries of the river, descending from Krystra, have formed a boundary between Krystra and the Vozara. This place I regard as, on every theory of the Platons as also the former boundaries, it would have the river c. 52 infra and the 'Long c' in the Hyman. The boundary for the territory of Hyman and that of Krystra might perhaps be found in some other stream A 6 which Dr. Dy supposed to be the river with the c. 53 infra. This identification I and the position suggested above, in Krystra Athens pass, for the site plain very well, and would lead to inclusion of the Asopus (c. 57) in the territory of Hyman.

ἐπικόμενοι δὲ ἐτάσσοιτο αὐτὰ. This assertion generates two difficulties. 1) Were not the Greeks already

ἐπικόμενοι ἀπ' ἔθνεα? Most certainly, the various τάξεις, the various contingents in the first position, Megarians, Athenians, etc., were ethnic. 2) Did the Greeks all arrive at the new position and then proceed to the διατάξι? Such an operation is practically incredible. The order in which the ethnic τάξεις should stand, or march, in the new (i.e. second) or more strictly third position must have been determined, in the main, before the position was occupied. The Greeks could neither have arrived there in a confused mass with all the various ἔθνεα intermingled, nor could they have proceeded to the new position, not a forward movement in the face of the enemy, nor, could the various ethnic contingents, each in their own part, have advanced and taken up a station at random round the plain of Krystra. Whatever the order in which the Greeks had bivouacked in the first position, by Krystra or in the second position west thereof, the order of battle, and the order of the stations in the Asopus position must have been decided before the forces moved forward to occupy it. But if, as was suggested, the Athenians in the final development of the first position, occupied the extreme right, at Krystra, while the Megarians were on the left, next the Spartans, there might be a question whether, when the Spartans moved forward to the right, the Megarians should follow them, or occupy their forward into position so as to form the extreme left of the Greek line in 'the second or third position.'

τῆς κρήνης τῆς κρήνης τῆς κρήνης: the position and identity of the κρήνη have been disputed.

It was identified by Strabo (op. cit. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

(1) Leake (A.G. I. 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

τῆς Γαργαφίης καὶ τοῦ τεμένους τοῦ Ἀνδροκράτους τοῦ ἥρωος,
διὰ ὁχλῶν τε αἰὲς ὑψηλῶν καὶ ἐπέδου χώρου.

17 δὲ ΠΒε || χωρίον CP, Gaisford, alii

just north of and below the (ruined) Church of St. John on the 'Asopos Ridge', the lower water in fact of stream A. 1 in G. B. Grundy's Maps. This identification is *prima facie* valid.

(a.) Grote showed by Rawlinson and Stein, regarded Gargaphia as non-existent at the present day, or, what comes to the same thing, unidentifiable. Grote unfortunately never visited the scenes with which his great work is concerned. No one who has actually seen the battle-field of Plataea, or considered its problems *in loco*, will easily acquiesce in this non *possunt*.

(v.) Dr. G. B. Grundy identifies the spring of Gargaphia with an actual spring some three-quarters of a mile, or less, east slightly by north of Apotripi, and certainly in the same hollow ground, or trough, as Apotripi, surrounding the Asopos Ridge. This spring is one of the head waters of the stream A. 4 forming the east boundary of the Asopos Range, and possibly, somewhere marked, the frontier between the Plataea and the Boeotians. Not much is gained by this as the Gargaphia one-half to three-quarters of a mile eastward; as a matter of fact both springs in question will have been within the Greek lines: but Dr. Grundy's suggestion tends to put the spring on the extreme right of the Greek army, where it might appear on advantage, especially to those who take Gargaphia and the Androkrateion as making two camps: see next note.

But, himself makes Gargaphia 19 stades from the Island, c. 51 *infra*, and 20 stades from the Heron, c. 52 *infra*. These measurements are obviously mere round numbers and of very little value except as marking (a.) *prima* more than ever impossible. The distance to the 'Island' (as identified by Dr. Grundy) would not exceed one st., the distance to the Heron (whatever its exact site) is in either case an over estimate. If the Island had been where Leake and Vischer put it, the distance would have suited Apotripi better than the site above.

v. Götting, *Glossen* Abh. p. 133, identified Gargaphia with a spring near Plataea: the same object one would take to this proposal as to (1.). The name Gargaphia = *Platanidi*, 'figler well' γάρφα = αἰγίφοι, Hesych. γάρφα, 'μασώματα' a well, *ib.* We may suppose the well, head shaded with a grove of poplars, or plane trees.

16. τοῦ τεμένους τοῦ Ἀνδροκράτους ἥρωος or the right of the direct road from Plataea to Thebes, as Putarch, *Anticicel*, 11 αὐτοῦ δ' ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦ Ἀνδροκράτους ἥρωος ἐγγὺς δὲ τῷ ποταμῷ καὶ οὐκ ἐν δόρυον παραχωρησέν, Thucyd. with Hdt. are the only authorities on the exact site and they leave much to be desired. αὐτοῦ is Putarch's (does not mean *ipse* Rawlinson) *τοῦ τοῦ* but simply *ἐν τῷ* Heron's. As far as Thucydides goes, the Heron is *any* where, within reach, on the right of the road from Plataea to Thebes. There is no evidence that Thucydides himself ever visited Plataea, and the 5 or 6 stades mentioned in the context need not be used to prejudge the position of the Heron's home. Little is known of Androkrateion, but he was *probably* the greatest of the local Heroes of Plataea, of the ἀρχαῖοις Πλαταιῶν, never in number, mentioned in the 'crisis' ap. Putarch, *Anticicel* 11; cf. Hecataei, *Fragmenta* (1891) p. 64. A conjecture who may be posited for his Heron. If *any* a site is found or dug, and situated with the second i.e. third position of the Greeks before Plataea in 490 B.C., it cannot be confined to an asterisk as in Thucydides. I have therefore no hesitation in accepting the Church of St. John (first proposed by W. J. Woodhouse, *JHS* xviii. 1898) 33 ff. as marking the Androkrateion as sure as the Church of St. Demetrios on the very bounding ridge to the east marks one of the sanctuaries of Eleusian Demeter (as proposed by Dr. Grundy, *op. cit.* 57 *infra*).

There is nothing to show that Hdt. in this passage conceived Gargaphia as marking the extreme right of the Greek position, and the Androkrateion as marking the extreme left, a point on which Rawlinson rightly dissent to Grote. The Church of St. John occupies the water of two streams (360 and 260 ft respectively above the Asopos bridge)

Ευθαῦτα ἐν τῇ διατάξει ἰγένετο λόγων πολλῶν ὁθισμός 26
 ἡτίων τε καὶ Ἀθηναίων· ἔδικαίουν γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἑκάτεροι
 τὸ ἕτερον κίρας, καὶ καινὰ καὶ παλαιὰ παραφέροντες

§. 1 διατάξει Ps. διατάξει || πολλὰς B. Holder, van H 2
 οὐκ α. van H. || αὐτίκως :

are both alike compressed in the
 on Ridge' The *limaks*, now
 g built, will have occupied both
 summit, directly in advance of
 ὡς ἄντιον, or wall heads (i. e.) and
 above which dispute the name
 phia, and both squares will have
 used by the troops: Dr. Grundy's
 plan by the right wing Ἀπαιτῆσι
 i centre, where the Athenians and
 ing may have had to draw from
 below A. 1 (not usually dependent
 strips from water). This position
 the description διὰ δὲ τῶν τοῦ ἀντι-
 ὡς ἄντιον ἡρώων. It was an *anthesis*
 though not a *redoubt*. Dr. Grundy
 the rocks is the south, just above
 rough between streams A. 1 and
 and with the walls in front of them.

1 ὁθισμός ἐν τῇ διατάξει. If
 means that the dispute between
 Spartans and Athenians took place
 i Acropolis position, and before the
 are disposed in position, he means
 is manifestly absurd. What then
 he supposes the order to have been
 previous position? Hdt. has not
 ned himself to realize the comic
 of his own story, but the story,
 or fantastic, doubtless has some
 d in actual occurrences. Some-
 w ether, at some place or other, it
 increased and divided what the
 of battle should be on the Greek.

In Attica the Athenians might
 vably have named the post of
 on the right wing, though such
 n had hardly been consistent with
 hegemony of the Spartans, but it
 n that the Athenians with the
 line actually formed the head of
 marching column (*agmen*) from
 to Erythrai. In a Spartan army
 ing commanded from the centre.
 The, 5 72-4 (but Kleombrotos
 only commanded the right wing
 Altra, Mutarelli, *loc. cit.* 23). It is
 erable that the question of the
 order of battle was not fully re-
 t before the Greeks marched
 ad, or, again, that the turn taken
 s 'Erythraichy, and the develop-
 of the first Greek position, brought

about an order and a situation which
 had not been distinctly foreseen. The
 Greek ethnic contingents must have
 extended along the *εὐωπή* in some
 definite order, whether the Athenians
 were then on the extreme left or on the
 extreme right. In the latter case the
ταμναὶ described below in c. 40 may
 have taken place, or have been antici-
 pated, and so brought the Athenians on
 to the left wing, the Lakedaemonians on
 to the right; or this result may have
 been obtained by an advance *en echelon*
 down the *εὐωπή* and on to the Acropolis
 Ridge. If (as appears to me less probable)
 the Athenians had vanquished Erythra,
 and moved to the left, along the *εὐωπή*,
 making room for the remainder of the
 marching column to form up in line,
 the Lakedaemonians being on the extreme
 right; then, this order had probably
 been already decided on, and it was too
 late for the Tegeatai to enter a claim,
 but the story of the dispute may come
 to have been associated with the transi-
 tion from the *agmen* to the *αὐα*, and
 that transition itself to be confounded
 with the advance on to the Acropolis.
 Hdt., for whom the problem of the
 conversion of the marching column, or
 columns, into the fighting line simply
 does not exist, has placed the account as
 an appendix to a description of the
 (march) position, in which his description
 of the forces in fighting array, in actual
 line of battle, was collected, or made
 effective.

λόγων πολλῶν ὁθισμός: cp 5 78.

2 Τεγεατῶν τε καὶ Ἀθηναίων· 500
 Tegeatai had been in the army of
 Leonidas, 7. 202, there are 1000 present
 on this occasion. (The city has been
 mentioned 7. 170, but in a passage of
 later composition.)

ἔδικαίουν cp. 2. 126.

αὐτοὶ ἑκάτεροι Bacht cpn. 3. 82
 αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἑκάστην πλ., 5. 13 αὐτὰ ἑκάστη
 (v. l. ταῦτα). For the plural cp. 7. 1. 7.

3. ἔχεν τὸ ἕτερον κίρας a strong
 ἔχεν 'Kawhneon's translation is right,
 'one of the w. nra.' following Belzweig-
 hausen, who refused Valckenauer's inter-
 pretation of the term as a supplement

ἔργα. τούτο μὲν οἱ Τεγεῆται ἔλαγον τάδε. "ἡμεῖς αἰεὶ κοπι
5 ἀΐεσμεθα ταύτης τῆς τάξεως ἐκ τῶν συμμάχων πάντων, ὅσαι
ἤδη ἐξοδοὶ κοινὰί ἐγένοντο Πελοποννησίοισι καὶ τὸ παλαιόν
καὶ τὸ νέον, ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου ἐπεὶ τὸ Ἡρακλεΐδαι ἐπειρώτο

4 αἰεὶ B, Haldor δ τάξιος . . ἐγένοντο am. R ὁστάσιος α B
ἐξοδοὶ ἤδη α || πάλαι B, van H. 7 ἐπεὶ Paris 1636 ε || ἐπειρώτο
van H

for *ἐκείναις* *κοπιῶν*, cf. *infra*. *δακρυο-*
βουλομένη *ἀνδρῶν* *ἀρχαῖον* *παλῆμον*. The
Lakedaimonians were, of course, sure to
take the right.

παραφέροντες: *parē* literally, of
more than usual argument, 3. 150 *μάστιγες*
καὶ ἀνέτρα παραφέρων *ἐν τῷ μύθῳ*.

4. *τούτοις μὲν* has here no *verbo* & follow
ing, but the antithesis is supplied in
form as noted before at the beginning
of the next chapter.

5 *ἐξοδοὶ κοινὰί*, i.e. 'expeditions of
the confederacy'; cf. 2. 11 *ἐκστὰς*; *th.*,
which in the antecedent has been placed
within the relative clause, and then
attracted into the same case as *δοῦναι*.

καὶ . . καὶ: the strongest or *cl* *ation*
comes at the end in this c., II. 3, 25.

7 *τὸ νέον*, more usual without the
article, cf. 2. 2 *ἐνέοντα* 3 36.

Ἡρακλεΐδαι ἐπειρώτο. κατόντην.
The sons of Heracles a son tried to effect
their return from exile. *ἐπειρώτο*
with participle, as 7. 156, 7 *ἐπειρώ-*
III., by the mouth of the Tegyriae, here
make reference to the all important
legend of the Epiphany, or Epiphany,
and Return of the Heracleids, 9 *ἐπὶ τοῖς*
ἐν *Ἡρακλεΐδαι* the subject in the
11th century, as this passage among
others proves, for the Dorian conquest.
One important chapter in the story of
'the Restoration' Hdt. elsewhere 6 51)
decides to narrate on the ground that
it has already been put on record by
other writers. That reason has not
operated with him here to preclude his
telling the story of the duel between
Hylas and Heracles, and the failure of
the first attempt of the 'sons' to
return. (Cf. Introduction, § 7, 4.)

The antecedents of the story of the
Duel are supplied in part by the speech of
the Athenians in c. 2, in part by Thucyd.
1 9, 2 (cf. Apollod. *Mythol.* 2. 4).
The story was that the 'Heracleids' or
'Peneids,' as they were in the last re-
cent (cf. 6. 53), had been driven by the
the 'Pelopids' (the Egyptians by the

Asiatic), Eurystheus, himself a Peneid,
having first expelled the Heracleids and
then perished in Attica, warring against
them, leaving Attica (the Pelopids) in
possession at Mycenae.

To this 'Gila' succeeds the Icel of
Hylas and the 'Arkasian' king recorded
in this part by Hdt. Thereafter for
three generations, a century, the Hera-
kleids again on the attempt to 'return',
until, as leaders of the Dorians and led
by the once-rejected Athenian Oracles, they
came from Naupaktos, and effect the
conquests of the three great districts,
Argolis, Laconia, Messenia.

The migration of Heracles to Eurys-
theus appears in Homer (*I* 15, 622 ff.),
where the hero is dispatched to the Icel
to fetch the Hound (*I* 8, 365 ff., *Od.* 11
615-627). Heracles also figures as the
enemy of the Neceids (*I* 11 622 ff.).
Is this a Dorian Heracles? The Icel
of course we know nothing of. Heracles
as such. How old the 'Heracleid'
legend is one can hardly say. Eurystheus,
Fr. 2, in which it appears (though
not explicitly as a 'Return' even if
genuine, is not older than the middle of
the seventh century B.C. The migration
of Eurystheus into Attica against
Hylas and the Heracleids was narrated
by Herodotus, cf. *Longinus* 2. 2 *sch.*
Vahlen p. 41, and *Phrynica* (Antiq.
Lib. *Metam.* c. 36, *Mythogr.* 100 and
Wistmann p. 236). Cf. *Diodor.* 4 38.
Such older writers as there are quoted
by Thucydides' remarkable phrase, of
τα παλαιὰ ἱστοροῦνται μὲν ἐν τῷ
πρῶτῳ ἀρχαῖοις ἱστορῶν (c. 2. 10) Hdt.
wrote this passage there was no doubt
a rich prose literature on Heracles and
the Heracleids, to say nothing of the
poetic development attested by Hesiod,
Pindar, and the dramatists, and in
regard to Hdt. it is especially to be
remembered that his uncle Panyasis had
composed an epic on Heracles in 600
B.C., *Strabo* 10. 1. *Heracles*, cf.
Introduction, § 10.

πόννησον. προεκήθη τε δὴ ἐκ πάντων τῶν συμμάχων ἐβελονθη
 Ἐχέμος ὁ Ἡρόπου τοῦ Κηφέος στρατηγός τε ἐὼν καὶ βασιλεὺς
 ἡμέτερος, καὶ ἐμουσιμαίχησέ τε καὶ ἀπέκτεινε ἄλλων. ἐκ
 τούτου τοῦ ἔργου εὐρύμεθα ἐν Πελοποννησίοις γε τοῖσι τότε
 25 καὶ ἄλλα γέρεα μεγάλα, τὰ διατελόμενα ἔχοντες, καὶ τοῦ
 κέρους τοῦ ἐτέρου αἰεὶ ἡγεμονεύειν κοινῆς ἐξόδου γινομένης.
 ἡμῖν μὲν νυν ὧ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐκ ἀντιέμεθα, ἀλλὰ δίδόντες
 αἵρεσιν ὁκοτέρου βούλεσθε κέρους ἄρχειν παρίμεν· τοῦ δὲ
 ἐτέρου φάμεν ἡμέας ἰκνέεσθαι ἡγεμονεύειν κατὰ περ ἐν τῷ
 30 πρόσθε χρόνῳ. χωρὶς τε τούτου τοῦ ἀπηγγεμένου ἔργου
 ἀξιονικώτεροι εἰμὲν Ἀθηναίων ταύτην τὴν τάξιν ἔχειν. πολλοὶ
 μὲν γὰρ καὶ εὖ ἔχοντες πρὸς ἡμέας ἡμῖν, ἄνδρες Σπαρτιῆται.

21 δὴ οὐκ. S || τῶν οὐκ. SP. Holder, van H. 22 Ἡρόπου C
 Ἡροπίου Marc. || φηγίος B Phrygi Val a Κηφίος conl. Paulmier et Ste n.
 recepi cum van H.: Φηγίος 23 τε. σε R 24 ἐν τοῖσι : ;
 γε Ste n. τε ABC om. reliqui 26 αὖθις B, Holder 29 - α -
 ἡμέας Koen, van H || ἰκνέεσθαι van H · ἰκνέσθαι. C · om. S 30
 πρόσθεν α 31 ἀξιονικώτεροι ἡμῶν Marc. 32 γὰρ τε καὶ :

three sons. Tarn, nos. Eusebius, Aristot.
 demus, ep. 7. 204, 8. 131, 137, also 8.
 52. The condition 'leta the cat out of
 the bag,' i.e. anticipate the return.
 Diodor. 4. 58 gives fifty years as the limit.

21 προεκήθη τε. Ἡρόπου - this
 arrangement, a collection of volunteeers, is
 perhaps necessary to explain why Hellen
 was not faced by the Peloponnesians
 ἡγέμων but we are left to discover for
 ourselves that this title could not be
 applied to Hekheios. The 'Peloponnesians'
 anonymously, but it observed, in full
 awitka century before the restoration.

22. Ἐχέμος ὁ Ἡρόπου τοῦ Κηφέος
 Hekheios was known to Herodotus, cf. 10.
 88 & de rebus videtur Ἐχέμος Τρύων
 Diodorus 4. 58 tells nothing to his
 Pausanias, 1. 41. 2, 8. 6. 1, shows some
 variation in the traditions, as the former
 passage dating the event 'to the reign of
 Orestes,' in the latter connecting the
 date, and making Hekheios son of
 Astorion (son of Kephion, son of Alkon)
 and successor of Hylaukion as king of
 Arkadia, husband moreover of Timandra,
 daughter of Tyndarion. Pausanias (b.
 53. 10) saw at Tegea Ἀλέων εἰκὼν καὶ
 ἐχέμον μνηστὴν αὐτὸν ἀπεργασμένην ἐκ
 στήλης τῆς Κλέμου πρὸς τὸν ἄλλον μάχη.
 Cf. Pausanias Theb. 32 ep. c. 73 infra.
 Cf. App. Crt.

26. ἄλλα γέρεα. Blakeley infers that

the Tegeatians had a privileged position
 in the Spartan symmakhia, 'the old a
 wing' when the forces were raised
 Peloponnesians, and even in time of peace
 special privileges in Sparta, to which,
 rather than to any personal influence,
 he ascribes the weight of Cleon's α. β
 κατήν.

28. ἄρχειν (varied with ἡγεμονεύειν
 above and below) must be doublet for
 the same or αὐτὸς supplied ἰκνέεσθαι
 with α. 6. 57 without α. 2. 38. With
 the same ep. also 6. 54 ἄλλος τοῦ
 ἰκνέεσθαι.

30. ἀπηγγεμένου μνηστὴν, ep. 1. 207.

31. ἀξιονικώτεροι: ep. 2. 147 α. β.
 infra.

οὐ πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἀγνοοῦν ἀγνοοῦν
 δαταί. 1. 60 supplies the comment α. γ. α.
 This statement, at least to some extent.

32. ἐκ ἔχοντες from the speaker's
 point of view. In placing them as
 the Argives are on comparatively equal
 ground; in depreciating the Athenians
 the speaker 'moves himself away.' The
 word of α. 6. 12 this speech is quite primi
 tive, or foreign. These Arkadians
 (1) remind the Lakedaimonians that the
 Spartan Hegemony is a comparatively
 modern institution, (2) plant the seed
 for having kept the 'Herakleids' (i.e.
 Dorians) a century out of the Pelopon
 nesos, (3) remind the Spartans of their

φασὶ ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἐν Ἰσθμῷ, τοῦτο μὲν τοῦτοισι, πρῶτον ἐξελαινομένοις ὑπὸ πάντων Ἑλλήνων ἐς τοὺς ἀπὶ
 10 καίατο φεύγοντες δουλοσύνην πρὸς Μυκηναίων, μόνους ὑπο-
 δεξάμενοι τὴν Εὐρυσθέος ὕβριν κατείλομεν, σὺν ἐκείνοισι μάχῃ
 νικήσαντες τοὺς τότε ἔχοντας Πελοπόννησον, τοῦτο δὲ Ἀργεῖους
 τοὺς μετὰ Πολυνείκεος ἐπὶ Θήβας ἐλάσαντας, τελευτήσαντας
 τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ ἀτάφους κειμένους, στρατευσάμενοι ἐπὶ τοὺς
 15 Καδμείους ἀνελέσθαι τε τοὺς νεκροὺς φάμεν καὶ θάψαι τῇ.

8 ἐν - τῷ - Ἰσθμῷ | Kallenberg | τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ. B. Heller 9
 πίντων τῶν C² 10 - ἡμῶς - μόνους? Ste n^o 11 εὐρυσθέους P
 εὐρυσθέους B² || κείνοισι a 15 φάμεν τοὺς νεκροὺς S || τῆς οἰκ. γ

10. Μυκηναῖον: Mykenaii, bary-
 lord of Mykenai (cp. Thuc. 1. 9. 2), τὸν
 Εὐρυσθέην ὄβριον κατείλομεν: cp. notes to
 previous chapter. Aegisthus, to Diakleion
 i.e. Theseus, Hyllos and Iolaos were in
 command and Eurystheus fell by the
 hand of Hyllos; all his sons also perished
 in the battle. (This would leave Atreus
 in undisturbed possession of Mykenai.)
 Iolaos is the son of Iphiklos, twin brother
 to Herakles, cp. Pindar *Pae.* 11. 60
 etc. In *Frith. 2* 205 it is Iolaos who
 deals Eurystheus the death blow.

12 τοὺς τότε ἔχοντας ἢ τοὺς τῶν
 withers of Spartan Diakleion answering
 for ex. hypothesis they were later corrected,
 τοῦτο δὲ 'in the second place,'
 corresponding with τοῦτο μὲν supra; cp.
 7. 8 5 supra.

Ἀργεῖους τοὺς μετὰ Πολυνείκεος
 ἐπὶ Θήβας. This expedition (Rassus) of
 Polyneikes and the Argives against
 Thebes is the story of the *Septem contra
 Thebas* which Aeschylus had popularized
 in 452 B.C. at Athens and Sophokles
 assumes in the action of the *Antigone*,
 produced in 440 A.C. (1), in which, how-
 ever, the heroine anticipates, so far as her
 brother is concerned, the pious act here
 ascribed to the Athenians. Amphiaraios
 was under ground in Kotis, cp. 4. 14.
 Tydaios too was only buried in Thebes
 according to the *fract.* 14. 114 which
 places the event in the generation before
 the Trojan war, 4. 120 ff. Pausan. (*Gr.*
 6. 16) credits, indeed, funeral rites to all
 the Seven in Thebes. The doctrine that
 it was the Athenians who performed the
 last rites for the Argive heroes, and that
 too by force of arms, supplies the argu-
 ment to the *Suppliants* of Euripides.

An improved version represented the
 same end as effected without violence,
 Pindar, *Theseus* 29 συνεπαίει δὲ καὶ

Ἀλκίστην τὴν αὐτοῦτον ὡς καὶ τῇ
 Καδμείᾳ πιστόντων, οὐκ ὡς Ἐμπίδης
 ἐποίησεν ἐν τραγωδίᾳ μάχῃ τῶν ὑπὸ βασι-
 λεύῃσιν, ἀλλὰ βίβας καὶ οὐκ ἐκείνων
 ὅτιν γὰρ οἱ πλείονες λεγούσι. Φιλικήν
 δὲ κα. σποδοὺς περὶ σκεπὴν ἀνέκεινται
 γινώσκειν πρῶτος εἰσφέρει. The earl and
 tile were buried at Eleuthera, the bodies
 at Eleuthera, *ibid.* At Eleuthera and at
 present in the Eleusinion represented
 Theseus as effecting the arrangement
 peacefully, *ibid.*, but Pausan. 1. 29. 2
 appears to prove Athen as the town here
 followed by H², while the peaceful
 solution was a Theban hypothesis, more
 justified by the fact that the burial at
 Eleusina, where the tombs were on view.
 These Eleusinian tombs are here referred
 to, and must be part of the fifth century
 argument; they must have been graves
 of the Mykenaians' type and age, such
 as have been discovered at Eleusina,
 cp. *Epheueria Archaeologica*, 1894, pp.
 20 ff. It would have been too much to
 expect the Athenian orator to admit that
 in the Mykenian age Athens to any
 extent of Eleuthera) was quite inde-
 pendent of Athens. The Athenian legend
 in regard to the Argive heroes may it
 supposed be regarded as part of the
 Eleusian legend, which was cultivated
 especially in Athens from the time of
 Peisistratos onwards. The conflict be-
 tween this passage and the *Antigone*,
 compared with the notorious agreement
 between *Ant.* 905 ff. and *Hdt.* 3. 116
 might support the theory of the post-
 composition of *Ant.* 7-9, even if the
 exact date of the production of the
Antigone is not fully ascertained, cp.
 Introduction, §§ 7, 8.

14. τὸν αἰῶνα - βίβας: cp. 7. 14 supra.
 15 Καδμείους: is the pre-Eleuthera
 inhabitants of Thebes; cp. Thuc. 1. 12. 2.

ἡμετέρης ἐν Ἐλευσίῃ. ἔστι δὲ ἡμῶν ἔργον εὖ ἔχον καὶ ἐν Ἀμαζονίδας τὰς ἀπὸ Θερμῶδοντος ποταμοῦ ἐσβαλοῦσας ποτὶ ἐν γῆν τὴν Ἀττικὴν, καὶ ἐν τοῖσι Τρωικοῖσι πόνουσι οἰδαμένων λειπόμεθα. ἀλλ' οὐ γάρ τι προέχει τούτων ἐπιμεμενῆσθαι.

17 ἀμαζώνας α || τὰς: τὰς ἀποθήκας τὰς 2 || θερμῶδοντος B 18
ἡρωικοῦτι B 19 λειπόμεθα α' λειπόμεθα B || προέχει τούτων 2

elsewhere by Hdt. (e.g. 5. 57) identified with 'Phoenissians,' and supposed to have been driven out by the Argive *Erigonos* (cp. 5. 61).

16. ἔστι δὲ ἡμῶν ἔργον εὖ ἔχον: the third heroic achievement: (the Athenians as their victory over the Amazons when they invaded Attica from the Thermodon. εὖ ἔχον, cp. c. 26 supra). The connection of Attica with the Amazon myth, or legend, is post-Homeric, or post-Homeris (cf. 3. 181 ff., 5. 186), but is fully established in the fifth century, and like the legend of the Seven incorporated with the Acts of Theseus. Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 516 ff., treats the case as notorious (458 B.C.), and connects the name of the Argonauts with the Amazonian cult in Attica:

εἰργας δ' Ἀργεῶν τινὲς Ἀμαζόνων ἔργον
εἰργας δ' ἐν Ἰλίων Θερμῶν κατὰ φέρον
στρατολόγους, καὶ πόλιν εὐδοκίαν
τίνε' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀνταποκρίνεται τῆς,
Ἀργεῶν εἰργας, ἔστιν ἵερ' ἐπώνυμος
στῆρα εἰργας τ' Ἀργεῶν.

Plutarch had celebrated the wedding of Theseus and the Amazonian Queen (cp. Plutarch, *Theseus* c. 78; Pausan. 1. 2. 1). The archaeological evidence (ceramic) tends, however, to show that the connection with Theseus is not really ancient. Herakles, not Theseus, appears on black figured vases with the Amazons, and his place is taken by Theseus on the red figured (cp. Graef and Pauly, *Antiqua*, i. 173, 177). The growing importance and expansion of the Theseus legend dates from about the middle of the sixth century. Plutarch, *These* 27, shows that the Attidographers Herakleus, Kleodemus, and others were heavy on the subject, as probably the Iatrogenes Mythographers, before them, had been, and the case of Theseus *Θερμῶν*, Aristot. *Met.* 1045a, Plut. op. c. 29) was perhaps on earlier work (cp. Bergk *Gr. Lat.* ii (1883-72): the Amazonis, or Amazonia, attributed to Homer by Suidas and v. *Quintus*. Bergk &c. perhaps too sceptically, regards as a literary hypo-

thesis (might not the Amazonia be a section of the *Thermodon*). The battle of the Amazons was represented in the great frieze by Mikon in the *Pinakothek* (cp. Aristoph. *Lyssistr.* 878, Pausan. 1. 16. 2), and Phidias placed the same subject in relief upon the shield of the Virgin (K. Gardner, *Ann. Arch.* 349), and again on the metopes on the west front of her temple (ibid. 382).

There is nothing surprising in Hdt., or even an Athenian orator of 479 B.C., taking the story of the Amazonian war for granted. Hdt.'s other story of the Amazons (4. 110-117) involves a war of the Greeks on the Thermodon and may be connected with the cycle of Herakles legends at least in its first instance (cp. Pausan. 2. 1. 1): at any rate in this place no hint occurs that the Amazons in Attica were other than the Argonauts. The form *Ἀμαζόνιδας* here compared with *Ἀμαζόνες* there emphasises the independence both of the source and of the composition of the two passages, but leaves the question of priority open. (In the forms 1-4 the war with the Amazons does not rank with the *στῆρα* combats of war between Europe and Asia.)

17 ἀπὸ Θερμῶδοντος ποταμοῦ: the river here named in the Thermodon by Themaktes on the Pontus, 4. 86, cp. 2. 104, albeit there was a stream of the same name in Boiotia, near Talaris; c. 42 infra. The Amazon Thermodon or its neighbourhood is in all ancient authorities from Aeschylus to Ammianus (22. 8. 17) closely associated with the Amazons, though some authorities (e.g. Aeschylus, *Iphig.* 743, cp. 422 regarded them originally as immigrants thither, while others (e.g. Ammianus) regarded the Thermodon as their birth place.

18. ἐν τοῖσι Τρωικοῖσι πόνουσι. The outcome of this reference to Troy is, indeed, significant. As a matter of fact the remarkable thing is what a poor figure Athena cuts in the Trojan war, cp. 7. 161.

19. προέχει *nihil proficit*, Schweig.

καὶ γὰρ ἂν χρηστοὶ τότε ἔοντες αὐτοὶ νῦν ἂν εἴεν φλαιρέ-
 τεροι, καὶ τότε ἔοντες φλαῦροι νῦν ἂν εἴεν ἀμείνους. παλαιῶν
 μὲν νυν ἔργων ὀλίγος ἔστω· ἡμῖν δὲ εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο ἵστί
 ἀποδεδεγμένον, ὥσπερ ἐστὶ πολλά τε καὶ εὖ ἔχοντα εἰ τεοῖσι
 καὶ ἄλλοις Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν Μαραθῶνι ἔργου
 25 ἀξιοὶ εἰμὲν τοῦτο τὸ γέρας ἔχειν καὶ ἄλλα πρὸς τοῦτο,
 οἷτινες μόνον Ἑλλήνων δὴ μονομαχήσαντες τῷ Πέρσῃ καὶ
 ἔργῳ τοσοῦτῳ ἐπιχειρήσαντες περιγενομένα καὶ ἐνίκησαν
 ἔθνηα ἕξ τε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα. ἄρ' οὐ δίκαιοι εἰμὲν ἔχειν

20 ἂν οἷν. : | χρηστοὶ τε ἔοντες τότε S | αὐτοὶ (1' αὐτοὶ P: : αὐτοὶ S
 || φλαυρότερον H 21 ἂν εἴεν repetitum daima, van H. 22 ὅστι
 cf. comment. 23 ἀποδεδεγμένον : || ὥσπερ ἐστὶ ABP 25 ad
 προμαχῆσαντες† cf. Simonid. Fr. 90 27 <τε> καὶ van H 28 τε
 del van H. | τεσσαράκοντα B

himself; *hand praesens*, *hic n.* Cf. *en*
 4, 22 *εἰρη, εἰρ.*

20 καὶ γὰρ ἂν . . ἀμείνους The
 emphatic anticipates any criticism based
 on the obscurity of the Athenian record
 in the Trojan war (converted into a
 maxim by the historian) since it becomes
 a reason for embracing all cities and
 societies whether great or small in his
 review, cp. 1, 5.

22 εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶ ἀποδεδεγμένον :
 ἐστὶ is *grammatical* γ *hypothetic* and
 should be *ἢν* or *εἴη* (Horn). With ἐστὶ
 just below it is source of the *corruptio* γ
radical, *αποδεδεγμένα* (brachylogy).

24 τοῦ ἐν Μαραθῶνι ἔργου. If the
 speech were authentic, we should have to
 admit that ten years had been enough
 to start the Marathonian legend on a
 colossal scale like the infant Heracles
 it struggles makes in its cradle. The
 form is here in three notable points
 fully developed. 1) The omission of
 the Plataians from the muster-roll of
 Marathon, the 'aloneism' of the Athen-
 ians in their hour of need: not a very
 graceful, or probably, touch on the battle-
 field of Plataea, even if the Spartans
 could bear to be reminded that they
 had been conspicuous by their absence at
 Marathon: *μονομαχήσαντες* τῷ Πέρσῃ is
 meant to emphasize the *μόνος*, not to
 represent the battle as a duel between
 Athens and the Persian; for 'the
 Persian' is but one of forty six nations,
 τῷ Μῆδῃ might have been expressed
 here. But cp. App. Crit. 2) The
 Athenian initiative and *εὐκαιρία*
 (ἔργῳ τοσοῦτῳ ἐπιχειρήσαντες): the
 note which grows into the fiction, *ἡρώου*

μετὰ γὰρ Ἑλλήνων πάντων τῶν περὶ Ἰλίου
 δρόμῳ τε πολέμοις ἐγρήσαντο, πρώτοι δὲ
 αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐσθλῆτά τε Μηδικῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ
 τοῦ ἐνδραὶ τῶν ἐσθλῶν, B. 112
 (3) "We defeated six and forty nations."
 'The Athenian orator on the trial of
 Plataea in 476 B.C. is already in possession
 of the army-list of Xerxes 7, 60-69,
 which enumerates just forty six *ἔθνη* καὶ
ἄσπερον στρατεύματα. The first a *testi-*
tive that presents itself is an obscurity
 between the authenticity of the speech
 and that of the list, as a list of what it
 professes to be, either the speech is not
 genuine, or the list was not so long before
 480 B.C. But the list may be made
 older than 480 B.C. without guaranteeing
 the authenticity of the speech. Are we
 in the presence of an Athens in develop-
 ment and great exaggeration attended to
 elevate Marathon above Plataea, and the
 defeat of the army of Darius under
 Datis and Artabazus at Marathon
 above the defeat of the army of Xerxes
 under Mardonius and Artabazus at
 Plataea? How came Hic. by such a
 stroke as this? He certainly did not
 mean it as a satire upon Athenian
 bragging. Had he previously written
 the story of Marathon, he might have
 been saved from such an *incongruity*:
 this point supports the hypothesis of
 the prior composition of *Tha.* 7-9,
 cp. Introduction, §§ 2, 8. This view of
 Marathon throws Salamis and *complicity*
 into the shade: that too was a part of
 the anti-Thermistoclean tendency which
 had long been at work when Hic. first
 composed his history of the war.

28. ἀρα asks the question with some

ταύτην τὴν τάξιν ἀπὸ τούτου μύθου τοῦ ἔργου; ἄλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἐν τῷ τοιγάρδε τάξις εἵνεκα στασιάζειν πρέπει, ἄρτιοι γοῖν εἶναι πεῖθεσθαι ὑμῖν ὧ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἵνα δοκέει ἐπιτηδεύοντες ἡμέας εἶναι ἐστάναι καὶ κατ' οὐσίνας· πάντῃ γὰρ τεταγμένοι πειρησόμεθα εἶναι χρηστοί. ἐξηγέσθε δὲ ὡς πισσομένου.

Οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἀμείβοντο. Λακεδαιμόνιον δὲ ἀνέβησε ἅπαν το στρατόπεδον Ἀθηναίους ἀξιοικότερους εἶναι ἔχειν τὸ κέρας ἢ περ Ἀρκαδας. οὕτω δὲ ἔσχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ὑπερεβάλλοντο τοὺς Τεγεάτας.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐτάσσοντο ὧδε οἱ ἐπιφαιτῶντές τε καὶ οἱ 28

29 μόνον B6 30 ἄρτι εἰσμεν S 31 δοκέει S || ἐπιτηδεύοντες
CP, van H. 32 πάντοι R 37 ὑπερεβάλλοντο S Marc, a 28. 1
ταῦτα om P: del van H || ἐπιφαιτῶντές Stein¹, van H

surprise and indignation (cp. 7 17 supra). 'Is it not right we should like to know, for us to have this privileged position on the strength of law and justice even if it stood alone?' But why is no allusion whatever made to the splendid services of Olynthopolis and the 300 (cc. 21, 22 supra)? Is the sequence of events correctly reproduced by Hdt.? Did this dispute amount to that? Did the Athenians make such a speech as is here put into their mouths? In any case Hdt. can hardly be acquitted of unconsciousness.

20. ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ κτλ. Who would not be glad to believe that the Athenian spoken can utter these words, or words to just this effect, instinct with the spirit of loyalty, discipline, practical wisdom, sweet reasonableness, the *εὐφροσύνη τοῦ λόγου*? Spoken, or unspoken, they represent the better temper which governed the policy and action of Athens during the whole crisis; cp. 7 145, 8 3, 79, 141, c. 7 supra, but 7 161 is conceived in a low large vein, like the earlier passages of this very speech or the whole ratio in c. 11 supra. The aim is in better keeping with the practical spirit. The moral of the previous hour might have been to admit not 'the other way' but the worse duty of quitting the sea to the Athenians. If they had once actually all by themselves defeated the six and forty nations of Asia, why should they not do it again? Why had they worried the Hellenes to come to

their aid? Why even threatened to make terms with the enemy?

30. στασιάζειν: cp. 8. 79.

δοκέει: cp. c. 48 infra.

31. ἵνα: cf. cp. 8. 115.

33. ἐξηγέσθε δὲ ὡς πισσομένου. The imperative is a little ambiguous: (1) give your interpretation, explanation, decision, verdict; or (2) give your orders, as leaders, cp. ex. 11 supra, 68 infra.

35. Λακεδαιμόνιον ἀνέβησε κτλ. The Lakedaemone *ἀνέβησε* (acc. *βῆ*) cat. ad ψφον Hec. 1 87 2. Isoklemy thinks the Spartans were not sorry to end the Tegeatai, but this view (as taken the story too much as *post hoc ergo propter hoc*) is hardly consistent with the marked preference shown to the Tegeatai a little later, c. 28 infra. Such iron sentences are frequent in Hdt. and arise from the *ἁνακτισμός* with which he uses various sources not in complete harmony with one another. The ingenious harmonist might need prove his ingenuity on the present case. Here *ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίου* refers the other way to the Athenians; there a *Σπαρτιάτης* motivated on this occasion like the Tegeatai to themselves a general conclusion. Such harmony is more than mere. Hdt. is unconscious of the coincidence. The Spartans no more admitted the Perikles and Helios to vote in the field than between Polykles and Kleon.

37. ὑπερεβάλλοντο cp. 7 143, 8. 160.

38. 1. ποτὶ τί ταῦτα ἐτάσσοντο. For

ἀρχὴν ἔλθοντες Ἕλληνας. τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν κέρας εἶχον Λακε

δ ἀρχὴν ἐθέλοντες B: ἀρχαὶν ἐθέλοντες Marc. c

reasons above given it is not credible that the Greek forces were *δρακοί* (δ. 93, cp. Thuc. 8. 105. 2—of ships) in the first position. They had reached Erythra, undoubtedly in some order, but necessarily in a marching order (*σχημα*). Before descending to the position marked by the Amorekhaton and Gargaphia ('narrow junction') the column had presumably extended itself into line by a deployment westwards (cp. c. 25. 4 *supra*), and so developed the 'first position' fully along the *βασίς* from Kyalami (near Nysa) into the Pontus (cp. c. 15 *supra*). In this first position there must have been an order, with a centre (or double centre) and two wings; but whether the Lakedaemonians were as yet on the right or on the left is a disputable problem (cp. c. 21. 1 *supra*).

The words which here follow, in making a distinction between αὐτοφειδόμενοι and αὐ ἀρχὴν ἐθέλοντες on the Greek side, suggest that in the second position, or just before reaching the second position, the Greeks received considerable reinforcements. It may have been the advent of these reinforcements, in successive contingents (*αὐτοφειδόμενοι*), that in part emboldened the Greeks to advance to the second position. These reinforcements, or some of them, may have reached the Greek *Λαγὴν* by the direct road to from Megara, and may have comprised a large part of the Greek centre. The only divisions of which express mention has been made so far are (1) the Megarians, (2) the Athenians, (3) the Lakedaemonians, (4) the Tegeatai. These are the only ones who fight clearly in the first position, at Erythra. There are, however, other *μάχι* available for the explanation of the advance of the Greeks from the *βασίς* to the Asopos ridge: had the Persian cavalry, on the Dryoskeplon road, nothing to say to it? (cp. c. 39 *infra*, and Appendix VIII. § 5 (7)).

2. τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν κέρας: the right wing consists of 11,500 Hoplites (nominal, viz. 10,000 Lakedaemonians (2,000 Spartiates, 800 Persepolites) plus 1600 Tegeatai. To this Hdt. would have us add 40,000 helot *ψιλοί* (35,000 in attendance on the Spartiates, 7 helots

to each citizen, with 6000 more, one for each 'Lakedaemonian'). Stein treats this proportion as the normal *εὖρος*, and opines that one of the seven was special body-servant (*θεράπων*) of the Spartan hoplite, and that the others members of a regiment under the king's command. But (1) where is there any other evidence of such a proportion in the normal *οὐκ*? (2) When were Spartan soldiers so well supplied with *ψιλοί*? (3) What record is there of the services of these *ψιλοί* in the actual fighting? (4) The request of Pausanias for the Athenians to *τοξόται*, c. 80 *infra*, no doubt from a tainted source, still emphasizes the defect of the Spartan contingent in light troops, and excludes it, if you like. (5) The phraseology here does not suggest a casual or organized corps of 20,000, i.e. 2,000 helot *ψιλοί*, but a distributive number of 35,000 *ψιλοί θεράποντες* (6. Politically, the idea of an organization of a helot corps of 35,000 *ψιλοί* at Sparta is well nigh inconceivable: such a corps would have effected a revolution! Even Pausanias, in his subsequent tampering with the helots, has not got such a base as that to work on, or we should have heard of it, cp. Thuc. 1. 132. 4. (7) The normal allowance of *θεράποντες* appears rather to have been one per hoplite, cp. 7. 223 and 136; the emphasis which is here laid on the number 7 suggests that it is abnormal. (8) If the numerical figures in the text are to stand, other employment must be found for the huge number of helots, and may be found, as an *Army Service* engaged in forwarding supplies, cp. c. 39 *infra*. These reasons are sufficient to disprove the fact and figure here; but they leave Hdt. responsible for an egregious blunder. The only rescue for him would be to challenge the text: are the figures corrupt? The *testimonia* carry them back to Plutarch *Aratou* 13 (but neither *Isodora* nor *Trojan* recorded them). This assertion that there were seven helots for every Spartan is made not less than five times in this book (cc. 10, 28, 30 (tw), 61 (twice)); this very iteration causes suspicion of the fact, if not of the text. Few critics will be so hardy as to expose a five-fold systematic and consistent *corruptela*!

δαιμονίαν μύριοι· τούτων δὲ τοὺς πεντακισχίλιους ἴστας Σπαρτιῆτας ἐφύλασσαν φίλοι τῶν εἰλωτῶν πεντακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι, περὶ ἄνδρα ἕκαστον ἑπτὰ τεταγμένοι. προσεχίας δὲ σφίσι εἰλοντο ἰσάναι οἱ Σπαρτιῆται τοὺς Τεγεάτας καὶ τιμῇς εἵνεκα καὶ ἀρετῇς· τούτων δ' ἦσαν ὀπλίται χίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι. μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἴσταντο Κορινθίων πεντακισχίλιοι, παρὰ δὲ σφίσι εὗροντο παρὰ Πausanias ἰσάναι Ποτει-
δαίητῶν τῶν ἐκ Παλλήνης τοὺς περιόντας τριηκοσίους. τούτων
δὲ ἐχόμενοι ἴσταντο Ἀρκάδες Ὀρχομένιοι ἑξακόσιοι, τούτων

3 τούτων α 4 εἰλωτῶν β: 5 δὲ σφισι C: δὲ σφισι) ceteri
7 τούτων κ || δὲ β || ἴσταν α 9 δὲ σφισι αC: δὲ σφιν 10, 11, 12
τούτων (ici) α

Οἰκιστῶν, either καὶ τρισμύριοι . . . τεταγ-
μενοι pug. it go, or ἰσάται, in view of c.
10 τούτων, πεντακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισ, ἐπὶ
being referred to δίο, i.e. φίλοι τῶν
εἰλωτῶν μέγιστοι περὶ ἄνδρα θάνατον ἔχον
τεταγμένοι. There may have been 10,000
or 15,000 Helots on the field at Platana,
there will hardly have been 35,000 or
40,000. The use of ἐφύλασσαν here is
emphatic; cp. 6. 24 ο φιλῶνται, ὅτι γὰρ
οὐκ ἐπὶ σκωπτικῶν ἵσται, δίδωσι οἱ μαχητοῦν.

5 προσεχίας δὲ σφίσι εἰλοντο. This
statement that the Spartiates came to the
Tegeates to stand next them in line of
battle καὶ τιμῇ εἵνεκα καὶ ἀρετῇ, to do
them honour, and because they were
brave men made notorious in the sight
of the last chapter. The two passages,
though in immediate juxtaposition, are
evidently from wholly different sources.
Δὲ σφισι refers expressly to Σπαρτιῆται,
of whom there were but 5000, ἴσται
appears to say that the 1500 Tegeates
were posted next the Spartiates, i.e.
between them and the 5000 Perioikoi,
but σφισι may perhaps be generalized
so as to cover the whole force from
Laconia.

8 μετὰ δὲ τούτους. Hdt. in review-
ing the line ranged from right to left.
The contingents from the Korinthians
to the Megarians next enumerated, and
comprising 15,000 Hoplites, form the
centre of the army (= of μάχης, c. 52
ἐπὶ); and this centre is again divided
incidentally, into the right centre, α
ἀπὸ Κορινθίων, c. 59 ἐπὶ, comprising
11,300 Hoplites, and the left centre, α
ἀπὸ Μεγαρέων τε καὶ Πλαταιῶν αὐτῶν,
comprising 2900 Hoplites, according to
the number of. (To them succeeds the
left wing, consisting of the Athenians
with the Plataians, 8000 men in all.)

Κορινθίων πεντακισχίλιοι: 5000
Hoplites is an unusually large number
for Korinth. In 481 B.C. Korinth had
3000 Hoplites ready to sail to Aegina.
Thuc. 1. 27. 2, but only embarked
2000, Th. 29. 1. In 415 B.C. they con-
tributed only 3000 to the great muster
at Phoenia, Thuc. 5. 57. 2. In the
battle of Korinth, 304 B.C., 3000 Hoplites
from Korinth took part, Xen. Hist. 4
2. 17.

9 εὗροντο is used in an unusual
sense, cp. c. 29 αἰσταντο.

ἰσάναι is the anticipated perfect
infm., cp. 1. 17, Supp. ἀπὸ δὲ, pre-
ceded by τοὺς σ. τεγεαταῖς. Pausanias
has apparently, at least within certain
limits, the right to determine the order
of battle, and assign the various con-
tingents their stations. This might
square very well with the selection by
'the Spartiates' of the Tegeates as their
next neighbours, less well with the
story of the Aethio-Argivean dispute.

Ποτειδαίητῶν. The Korinthians
obtained the place from Pausanias to
have the 300 Πελοποννησίων, who were on
the spot, to stand or lounge next them.
This is another variant 300 how they
came to be at Platana is not clear.
Potidaea was, of course, a colony of
Korinth (Thuc. 1. 56. 2), almost Hdt.
nowhere bothers to say so. The town
has had its own reckoning with the
Persians, cp. 2. 128 ff. and how this
gallant 300 got to Platana is far from
clear: presumably by sea. The addi-
tion of the words τῶν ἐκ Παλλήνης cp.
7. 123 makes it clear what Potidaea is
meant.

11. ἐχόμενοι γὰρ γεωγραφικῶς, rather
than military or tactical; cp. 7. 103, 8
Ἀρκάδες Ὀρχομένιοι ἑξακόσιοι.

δὲ Σικυνώται τρισχίλιοι. ταύτων δὲ εἶχοντο ἑπταδαυρίων
ὀκτακόσιοι. παρὰ δὲ ταύτους Τροίηζιόν ἐτάσσοντο χίλιοι.
Τροίηζιόν δὲ ἐχόμενοι Λαερτιάδων διηκόσιοι. ταύτων δὲ

12 δ R, εἶχοντο del. van H.
om. R 14 Λαερτιάδων :

13 δε om P ταύτους : παρὰ δὲ
14, 16 ταύτων del.

The men of Orchomenos are the only other Arkadians, besides the Tegeatai, present on the field; the Mantinians not having arrived in time; cp. c. 77 *infra*. In the previous year Araddei ~~αὐτοὶ~~ had been at the Isthmia under Kleombrotos, 9. 72, as I bowdler Tegeatai, Mantinians, Orchomenians, there had been 1400 Hoplitest¹ *ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ* Araddei in the army of Leonidas, 7. 202. Araddei is here introduced to distinguish Arkadian Orchomenians from Ionian, cp. c. 18 *supra*. *δοσι* Thucyl. & 61. 3 *ἔρχομενός τος Ἀραδδαίον*. (In the Cynagiris Boiotian *ὁ τῶν Μαντινέων* II. 2. 514, Arkadians simply *πολεμιστὸς* to 600.) Six hundred seems a small contingent from the third city of Arkadia; perhaps the tardy exit of the Mantinians kept some of the Orchomenians and other Arkadians at home. It is not clear what the constitution of Orchomenos was at this time. Pausan. *Mor.* 313 *cetera* *Τιρόφιον Πλοκοπονείαιδ' ὅς* is a way which might seem to imply that the *βασίλειος* based upon the Peloponnesian war, but the term *βασίλειος* is not quite conclusive (cp. 7. 49); the constitution was certainly aristocratic or oligarchic, in 418 *ms.* (cp. Thuc. 5. 61) 4. The name appears as Orchomenos *ἔρχομενος* on the coinage of the fourth century. Orchomenos asserts, or suggests, itself in later times; cp. Head *H.N.* 377 f., note 18 *supra*. The only contingent here for which a commander's name is preserved, besides the Spartans is the Athenian.

12 Σικυνώται τρισχίλιοι. Sikyon had a polled list of 1200 for the navy list of Salamis, 8. 43 and had apparently been introduced in the army of Leonidas 7. 202, and even in that of Kleombrotos (8. 72) but Sparganiata were serving under Leotychidas, c. 102, 106 *infra*. Sikyon's contingent are not as a rule numerically specified (cp. Thuc. 6. 27. 4), but in 304 *ms.* it sent 1500 Hoplites to the support of Sparta Xenoph. *Hell.* & 2. 16. The better form of the name is probably Σικυνώε (cp. Head, *H.N.* 246 ff.)

ἑπταδαυρίων ὀκτακόσιοι. Epilauros had been represented at Thermopylae (7. 202) but had sent a contingent to the army of Kleombrotos (8. 72) as well as to the fleet under Eurybiades (8. 43), and was probably represented in the fleet of Leotychidas the men raised as Dorians, cp. 8. 42.

13 Τροίηζιόν χίλιοι. Troezen had sent men to the army under Kleombrotos (8. 72) and a small contingent to the fleet in 480 *ms.* 8. 43, in 479 *ms.* they were allowed to have distinguished themselves at Mykae, 8. 65 *infra*. They, too, now counted as Dorians 8. 43, and in 419 *ms.* were presumably like Korinth, Sikyon, Epidauros, under Megakleio government; but cp. 8. 11 *supra*. The form of the name is Trofaias on the Pausanias monument, cp. *comment.* Head p. 43. Troezen appears later, e.g. *Intenberger* 372.)

14 Λαερτιάδων διηκόσιοι. In d. 148 Leption appears as but one city, a township of an *ἐκκλῆσιον* in the west Peloponnese a 'Mityan' or at any rate an Ionian extraction, cp. 8. 73 *Ἀρκαίος δὲ Παρρησίας πόλιν*. The *Leptina* is the territory of the leading township, but possibly the 200 Hoplites meant the levy for the war of attack. It was, of course, a topic of contention between Sparta and Elaea; cp. Thuc. 5. 31. 2 etc. The occurrence recorded by Her. in d. 148 can I presumably not taken away as was not known to him, when he first drafted Bk. 9 but Ed. Meyer *G. u. Literatur* iv. 1901 p. 453 can hardly be right in referring that passage to the same occasion as Thuc. i.e. and dating both well into the 'Attic or Archidamian war', Thuc. regards merely an Elaeian and into Lepreia, which is thereupon occupied by a Lakadamonian garrison' cp. my note *ad loc.* If there is such that reference would be the latest, or all at the latest, in Her. s work, and would confirm the argument for the priority of Bk. 7-9; in any case, however, it is *prima facie* of later composition than this passage, cp. Introduction § 7, 4.

Μυκηναίων και Τυρυνθίων τετρακόσιοι, τούτων δὲ ἐχόμενοι 15
Φυλίσσιοι χίλιοι, παρὰ δὲ τούτους [ἔστησαν] Ἑρμιονεῖς τριη-
κόσιοι. Ἑρμιονέων δὲ ἐχόμενοι ἴσταντο Ἐρετριέων τε καὶ

16 ἐχόμενοι del. van H. 16 ἔστησαν B, Stann¹² (del. Stann¹³).
ἔστησαν A ἔστησαν (V) ἔστασαν P ἔστασαν RS) 17
τε om. B

15 Μυκηναίων καὶ Τυρυνθίων τετρα-
κόσιοι. These ancient, a poor remnant
of the 'Paros' and 'Pelopid' ages,
might have 'medized' with a better price
than the Dorian Argives. Their hostility
to Argos would seal them to the side
of Sparta and of Helos, of whom they
might fairly consider themselves the
oldest representative. 'Tyrus' here
appears for the first time in the war.

'Mykenai' had sent 80 men to Thermopylae, 7. 293, and, indeed, those and
these alike are 'exiles'. It is hard
to see how with Argos neutral, or
uninvolved, Tyrus and Mykenai could
have afforded to send their fighting men
to Patana, but cf. p. 12 *supra*. The
men of Mykenai were able to come or
was unknown to Hdt. when he first
drafted this passage; cf. p. 6. 83.

An older edition in J. P. Mahaffy's
Survey of the Tenth Century, 1891, p. 31,
to which H. J. G. Droysen's *Antiquities*, 1901,
p. 291, directed my attention, treats
these Mykenians and Tyrinthians as
'of course exiles' in view of Mahaffy's
theory that the destruction (final) of
Mykenai and Tyrus by Argos 'happened
in the sixth or early seventh century
B.C.' But the notice occurs upon the
Platanos and Olympian monuments,
and it is not likely that those lists
included 'exilees men.' This observa-
tion cuts out my own suggestion up-
above that these men were exiles from
the still existing Mykenai and Tyrus.
Mahaffy's precaution for the destruc-
tion of the two cities appears to be
partly mixed up with the view that
Perseus and Kleopatra possessed neither
the art of writing nor the art of coin-
ing, pass the complementary view that
Mykenians and Tyrinthians of the
sixth and fifth centuries would have
possessed both. Perhaps they did, even
though no specimens have come down
to us. As to the Perseids and Pelopids,
we now know that they could write,
and it is hardly safe to assume that
they had no coinage or currency. On
the whole I should adhere to the dates

given in notes ed. L. C. for the destruction
of Tyrus and Mykenai. Meyer, *O. J.*
Alt. III. (1901) p. 516, well remarks that
a 'Tyrinthian is victor at Olympia
del. 78=408 B.C. (Olymp. List in
Oxyrhynchus Papyri, II, p. 82). *Kur-
nachter muss die Dersorgung finden*.

16 Φυλίσσιοι χίλιοι. The Philad
from Phlius forms the first section of
the left centre, which embraces nine
distinct contingents, as against eight
in the right centre, but numbers only
7,500 men as against 11,300. The right
wing and right centre etc., if the figures
be at all trustworthy, very much
stronger than the left centre and left
wing 22,800 as compared with 15,900.
Men of Phlius (200) had served under
Leonidas 7. 202 and again at the
Isthmos in 480 B.C. (8. 73). Phlius
was accounted a Dorian city (Pausan.
2. 13. 17), and in the fifth century was
anti Argive and a loyal adherent of
Sparta's (epi Thuc. 4. 77. 1, 103. 3 &
17. 2 etc.), hence, perhaps, in part the
enthusiasm of Xenophon for the men
of Phlius, though they were conspicuous
by their absence in the battle of Korinth
in 394 B.C. (Xen. 4. 2. 16), but that
is to be explained by later dissensions
at the time. The city is described as
one of more than 500 men in 388 B.C.,
ib. 2. 3. 16.

Ἑρμιονεῖς τριηκόσιοι. Men of
Hermion (epi 8. 73 who were 'Tyrin-
thians' (del.) had served under Kleomenes
ib. 72 and furnished a small contingent
to the fleet at Salamis, 8. 44. These
perhaps 30 do not distinguish them-
selves. With this contingent the Pelo-
ponnesian portion of the forces comes
to an end, but the divisions in the
army do not follow strictly geographical
order, and the two last Peloponnesian
items met with the left centre and left
wing which is otherwise all drawn from
non-Peloponnesian states.

17 Ἐρετριέων καὶ Στυφίων ἑκατόσιοι.
Bretia had sent seven and Styra two
ships to the fleet at Salamis, 8. 45. The
Bretians were 'Ionians' ib. 1, and as

Σπειρων ἰθακῶσιοι, τούτων δὲ Χαλκιδῆες τετρακόσιοι, τούτων δὲ Ἀμπρακητίων πεντακόσιοι, μετὰ δὲ τούτοις Λαικαδίων 20 καὶ Ἀνακτορίων ὀκτακόσιοι [ἕστησαν], τούτων δὲ ἐχόμενοι Παλῆες οἱ ἐκ Κεφαλλήνης διηκόσιοι. μετὰ δὲ τούτους Αἰγινη-

18 τούτων (his) 5 || τούτων . . τετρακόσιοι cap. B 19 ἀμπρα-
κωτίων B, Holder 20 ἕστησαν α: ἕστησαν Cd: ἕστασαν (V):
ἕστασαν P: ἕστασαν R(Sp: del. Stein² || τούτων 2 || δὲ ἐχόμενοι 2: δὲ
ἐχόμενοι ἕταστο Macc.

such are one of the two Ionian contingents in the army (excluding the Athenians); Spēra was 'Ithyraean' (ib.)—so this third division in the left centre may have been expected to stand well beside the second. The names here are perhaps given in the order of their importance; the Ithyraeans may have stood next to each other Ithyrae and Hermoniaean, and so too the Ionians from Eretria and Chalkis.

14 Χαλκιδῆες τετρακόσιοι: the men of Chalkis had supplied, or rather manned, twenty ships in 480 B.C. (8. 1, 46). At the rate allowed by Hdt. for *hērōnautai* that might run to 600 men; but some may have been serving under Leotychidas, or they may have suffered in the war. These men (Chalkians must be natives, not Athenian mercenaries, who, if serving in the army would serve to with the citizens on the left wing, either as a detached corps, or fighting each man in the ranks of his own tribe *phylai*), cf. provision in the Salamis case [*καὶ οὐδὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπὶ τῇ καὶ στρατιωσθῆναι*, Herod. *Marshall*² No. 4 (It is rather difficult to believe that *hērōnautai* were taken to not together as a contingent in 480 would be distributed among the people's regiments on the battle field. If the 'Chalkians' here were Athenian mercenaries they would amount to 1/3 of the nominal total of the Athenian force.)

19 Ἀμπρακητίων πεντακόσιοι. The contingent is a considerable one, as coming *ἐκ δὲ γὰρ οὗτοισι*, cp. 8. 47, and with the rest might be put down in part to the credit of Koroibis of which Amprakhia, Iamnia, Anaktoria were colonies, cp. 8. 45. It is the more remarkable that these two contingents (v. 18 in the left centre) are not favoured like the Potamidae above, but placed among the auxiliaries.

Δαικαδίων καὶ Ἀνακτορίων ὀκτακόσιοι: probably the contingent from each state was not equal, but that from

Laukas the larger, or they would have been separately enumerated. The combination may represent a *synthē*, or division, under one commander. For Laukas cp. 8. 45, 47 and a *synthē*. Anaktoria not a modern place (mentioned by Hdt. (except α. 31 in *synthē*), was a joint foundation from Korkyra and Koroibis at the mouth of the Ampraktian Gulf (cp. Thuc. 1. 55. 1), and a considerable base of operation in the first period of the Peloponnesian war (of which there is no hint here).

21. Ἰλαίος ἐκ Κεφαλλήνης διηκόσιοι. Kephallenia is not elsewhere mentioned by Hdt. Thucydides 2. 30. 3 makes it a *polis* then *ἐκείνη*. *ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Κεφαλλήνης κατὰ Ἀνακτορίας καὶ Δαικάδας τετρακόσιοι δὲ*, Hdt. 1. Koroibis, Salamis, Hermonia. Paus. was obviously the most important member of the *synthē* (cp. Thuc. 1. 57. 2), but were the 200 men here mentioned all from the one township? Kephallenia was annexed by Athens in 451 B.C. (ibid. *sup.*), a fact which Hdt. was in no way bound to notice, but of which anyway he shows no consciousness.

It is often suggested that Hdt. read ΠΑΛΕΕΣ instead of ΠΑΛΙΟΙ on the inscription at Olympia, described by Pausanias 5. 28. 1, as the name of the Koroibis is given by Pausanias and that of the Palaei is not given. This is simply an invention of the old suggestion of P. O. Boeckstein (Boeckstein, *op. cit.* *class. Philol.* 1918; cp. Gutz., iv. 256 n. and Karaman *ibid.* 396, each spelling the name differently, and both wrongly) that Pausanias read ΠΑΛΙΟΙ for ΠΑΛΕΕΣ. The old suggestion is much the better of the two. In Hdt.'s time the inscription was new and clear; in the time of Pausanias it was 600 years old. The name of the Koroibis was to be expected, especially at Olympia, rather than that of the small Kephallanian township. Grote adds that the Eretrians

τέων πεντακόσιοι [ἐτάχθησαν]. παρὰ δὲ τούτους ἐτάσσοντο
Μεγαρίων τρισχίλιοι. εἶχοντο δὲ τούτων Πλαταιεὶς ἑξακόσιοι.
τελευταῖοι δὲ καὶ πρῶτοι Ἀθηναῖοι ἐτάσσοντο, κίρας ἔχοντες
τὸ εὐώνυμον, ὑκτακισχίλιοι· ἐστρατήγει δ' αὐτῶν Ἀριστέλης 25

22 πεντηκόσιοι αἶ' || ἐτάχθησαν eccl. δίκιν" || ἐτάσσοντο eccl. van IL
23 τυπείων : 25 δὲ 6 || αὐτέων :

might have altered the name, and that Patareth de m. Hdt. = Mer. 378 seems to have read the same inscription as Pausanias.

It remains, however, still to be proved that Hdt. had read the inscription at Olympia before writing down this list. Doxiparides an official document of some kind underlies this list here, but it need not have been the precise inscription at Olympia, nor again need Hdt. have copied that document himself. The list of Hdt. differs from the list of Pausanias not merely by the point above specified, but in others: Pausanias omits Eretrians and Iostakians, and inserts five names from the Nesote region. Again Hdt. gives the numbers of the contingents, which were certainly not on the inscription. There is not too slight a reason to suppose that Hdt. compiled his army list for Hist. at Olympia; it is even less likely than that he compiled his navy list for Salamin at Delphi (cp. 8. 45). The army list was probably part of the original draft of the work, not an addition, c. further, Introduction, § 10.

Ἀργεῖων πεντακόσιοι: the contingent is not large for Argos, a state which had held its own, and something more, in the recent war with Athens (cp. 7. 145), but the Argives were no doubt serving on the fleet, and in any case the island would not have put a large force on the main land.

23. Μεγαρίων τρισχίλιοι: the 3000 Megarians a contingent as known as large as the Argives had already given a good account of themselves at Salamis, and besides this goodly contingent, ἐν ταύτῃ θούριᾳ οὐκ ἔστιν ἕρως τοῦ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ ἡμεῶν· there were, if we may trust the *auto epistolai*, Megarians at Myasae (cp. Hicks' *Manual*, No. 17, where the services of the Megarians against the navy are erroneously restricted to their disaster, c. 690 *ca.*). Like the Argives (8. 46) the Megarians were Dorians, cp. 5. 76.

Πλαταιεὶς ἑξακόσιοι. The Plataeans would certainly have put every

man they could into the field. The traditional number of the Plataeans at Marathon is 1000 (cp. Hist. IV. V. 1. 204, 205). Fifty years later 479 a.c. they are mentioned to 400, Thuc. 2. 78. 3. Hdt. might have seen to ease them with the Megarians as belonging to the left centre, but the title of that section in c. 69 *infra* and the probabilities of the case make point to the Plataeans continuing being reckoned, with the Athenians on the left wing. Was there none on the right? Cp. c. 72 *infra*.

24. τελευταῖοι δὲ καὶ πρῶτοι Ἀθηναῖοι, and 'in reckoning from the right wing and along the line to the left, last first as the army moved westwards, or forwards; or head of the column, which had moved to Erythrae, and then on, on to the *σάκος*, before becoming into the second position. The assertion of the *σάκος* of two Athenians comes from an Atticizing source and would hardly have been emphasized at the Spartan headquarters, the double designation τελευταῖοι . . . πρῶτοι prepares the way for the *σάκος* in c. 18 below, by which the last become first and the first last.' 2000 Hoplites, besides some light armed troops, is a large contingent, especially considering the contemporary service of the fleet, in which the Athenians were doubtless more largely represented than any other single state (cp. 8. 121) but the figure is not incredibly large for Athens, even in 479 a.c. requiring about 800 men to each payee regiment, or *tribe*. Cp. the estimate for 431 a.c. in Thuc. 2. 13. No doubt all ten tribes were represented in the field; and there may have been 2000 Athenian Hoplites at Myasae, or nearly as (200 x 50 = 10000) as well.

25. Ἀριστέλης ὁ Ἀναγνώχου. cp. 8. 70. The occurrence of this name here, with the patronymic, suggests that the nomination of the sole Strategos was an integral part of the document, or the source, from which Hdt. drew his list, and also that the source was an Atticizing one. Aristoteles is the

- 29 ὁ Λυσισμάχων. οὔτοι, πλὴν τῶν ἐπὶ περὶ ἑκαστον τεταγμένων Σπαρτιήτησι, ἦσαν ὀπλίται, σύμπαντες εἰσὶντες ἀριθμὸν τρεῖς τε μυριάδες καὶ ὀκτὼ χιλιάδες καὶ ἑκατοντάδες ἑκτά. ὀπλίται μὲν οἱ πάντες συλλεγόντες ἐπὶ τὸν βάρβαρον ἦσαν τοσούτοι, 5 ψιλῶν δὲ πλῆθος ἦν τόδε, τῆς μὲν Σπορτιητικῆς τάξις πεντακισχίλῳ καὶ τρισμύριοι ἄνδρες, ὡς ἔοντων ἐπὶ περὶ ἑκαστον ἄνδρα, καὶ τούτων πᾶς τις παρήρητο ὡς εἰς πύλῃμον· οἱ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἑλλήνων ψилоί, ὡς εἰς περὶ ἑκαστον ἔων ἄνδρα, πεντακόσιοι καὶ τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ 30 τρισμύριοι ἦσαν. ψιλῶν μὲν δὴ τῶν ἀπάντων <τῶν> μαχίμων ἦν τὸ πλῆθος ἕξ τε μυριάδες καὶ ἐννέα χιλιάδες καὶ ἑκατον-

29. 2 ὅτοι = | συνάπαιτες B, Holder, van H. | τρεῖς B 3 τε εἰς 1
|| χιλιάδες van H. 4 ἔσαν = 5 ὡς, , ἐννέα del. Kallierterx
7 τοιςτέων = 10 ἔων = 30. 1 τῶν suppl. Stein 2 καὶ
ἐννέα χιλιάδες om. B || χιλιάδες van H

only general named the captain of leaders of all the contingents would have been included in a document framed at headquarters. If the names were introduced as in the narrative by Hdt. it might have been expected above, in c. 21, with a reference of Olumiodoros must have been mentioned through the Strategos, or in c. 27, where the Strategos was presumably the spokesman, or else referred for c. 14 supra, where the Strategos appears in action. If Aristides alone is named it is presumably because he was Strategos ἡγεμῶν if not ἀποκρίτωρ, and had a constitutional and permanent lead: the whole college of Strategoi was not present; cp. 2. 13, and Appian VII. § 4.

29. 1 πλὴν τῶν ἐπὶ: this notion of the 36,000 Helots, who appear almost immediately below, is necessitated by their having been introduced in c. 28 above, where they have been expressly designated as ψилоί. The object of this chapter is to estimate the sum total of Spartans and ψилоί. The sum total for the Helots is correct, i.e. corresponds to the total, which amount to 35,700.

2 ψιλῶν δὲ Hdt. has made a mistake as, partially in his estimate of the light arm, which he over-estimated by 800 on his own showing. This apparent error may have arisen from his having got before, not from the addition of his own, but as data, in themselves correct. The 800 of his may in short represent an item omitted in his estimate

of details. The narrative in the context suggests such an omission, for as was the highly trained Athenian force of c. 22, 800, above and below, are included in the general total of ψилоί as ἐκ περὶ ἑκαστου ἑων ἄνδρα, they are omitted. The addition of an allowance of 800 for these Archers makes Hdt.'s totals correct, i.e. agree with the above (A. G. Wood Notes on Herodotus, 1904).

7 τούτων was τις παρήρητο (cp. 1) ὡς εἰς πύλῃμον. Yet of this huge mass of eight a fairly not a single soldier shot is recorded, and in the hour of need the Spartans seem to borrow the Athenian Archers!

8 τῶν λοιπῶν = 33,700 (i.e. 34,700 - 5000 Spartan), 33,700 + 800 = 34,500 which is the total given by Hdt. for the ψилоί other than the 35,000, seven per cent each Spartan. This includes 5000 Helots for the 5000 Lakadaimonian Hoplites. The allowance of one ψίλος per Hoplite is no doubt the normal Greek average. What is remarkable here is that Hdt. treats all these Spartans as μάχιμοι, and even more emphatically the 35,000 Helots as all equipped for war.

30. 2 ἕξ τε . . . ἐννέα 69,500 is an excess of 800 over the figure in Hdt.'s calculation, as just shown, and the 800 may be the figure for the Athenian soldiers, cp. last c. Omitting his total for the ψилоί the addition of 33,700 Spartans gives a grand total of 103,200 men, or, as Hdt. phrases it, Eleven myriads four one thousand eight hundred men. The

τάδης πέντε, τοῦ δὲ σύμπαιτος τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ τοῦ συνελθόντος
 εἰς Πλαταιὰς σὺν τε ὀπλίταισι καὶ ψιλοῖσι τοῖσι μαχήμασι
 ἔνδεκα μυριάδες ἦσαν. μῆς χιλιάδος, πρὸς δὲ ὀκτακοσίαις
 ἀνδρῶν καταδέουσαι. σὺν δὲ Θεσπιέων τοῖσι παρεούσι ἐξε-
 πληροῦντο αἱ ἔνδεκα μυριάδες· παρήσαν γὰρ καὶ Θεσπιέων
 ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ οἱ περιόντες, ἀριθμὸν εἰς ὀκτακοσίους καὶ
 χιλίους· ὅπλα δὲ οὐδ' οὗτοι εἶχον. οὗτοι μὲν νυν ταχέως
 ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσωπῷ ἐστρατοπεδεύοντα.

Οἱ δὲ ἄμφι Μαρδόνιον βάρβαροι ὥς ἀπεκήδευσαν
 Μασίστιον, παρήσαν, πυθόμενοι τοὺς Ἕλληνας εἶναι ἐν
 Πλαταιῇσι, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν τὸν ταύτῃ ρέοντα.

3 συμπαῖτος στρατοὶ 1 Σκην τοῖς αἰετ. Ἑλληνικοῦ om. B, Holder,
 van H. 4 ὀπλίταις B 5 οὐκ: αὐτ. van H 6 ἀνδρῶν
 om. B 8 δε om. RS 9 οὐδ': οὐκ C 10 ἐστρατοπεδεύοντα S
 31. 1 δ' CPs || ἄμφι περὶ C 2 πλαταιῇσι B || τὸν ταύτῃ ρέοντα
 suspect, habet Kallenborg

full 110,000 was just made up by 1800
 Thespians, all that survived of that city,
 but they were not lost again.

There would be little or no sense in
 Hitt. adding the 1800 Thespians to the
 sum total of μαχόμενοι unless they had
 suffered at least as much (raising the total
 of lost troops to 21,000) as against
 28,700 Persians). Paraphrases might, how-
 ever, have been found for them, for in the
 men slain and wounded in the course of
 the fighting in Boiotia; but perhaps no
 Greek state would find paraphrases for
 another.

Thespians had lost 700 men at Ther-
 mopy as 7. 222; the city had been
 subsequently destroyed, the population
 having fled into the Peloponnese, B. 60.
 Are we to understand that except for
 those exiles Thespians might have put
 2000 Persians into the field at Plataea?

On the subsequent restoration of
 Thespians, cp. B. 75.

10. ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσωπῷ· the position is of
 importance. The general position, as
 described in A. 25 περιεπλήρεις τῆς τε
 ἀφ' ἧς Γαργαφῆς καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ
 Ἀσωποῦ, is here described as 'on the
 Asopus.' The river could at least be
 seen from the Asopus (which would not
 be the case from the first position), in
 other words, the Asopus was on the
 ridge north of Gargaphia, sloping down
 to the river, but of course the Greeks
 could not water from the Asopus proper.
 O. B. Grundy, *O. P. H.* pp. 470 f., argues

that by 'Asopus' in this passage is to be
 understood not the main stream (north
 of the junction) but one of its tributaries,
 A', 'the brook which has its rise in the
 springs of Arctium.' The point is near
 but does not necessarily make any
 substantial difference in our conception
 of the Greek position. That position is
 marked by the Androkrateion, Gargaphia,
 and the Asopus, i.e. it was south of the
 main stream, and east of A'; but there
 is no need to infer that by the Asopus
 here Hitt. definitely means A'. He
 more probably means the main stream in
 front, the river is near enough to follow
 the position they had been in. τῷ
 ποταμῷ, they are now *ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσωπῷ*
 Cp. next c.

31. 1 ἄμφι cp. c. 69 ἡμεῖς: or for a
 more exact parallel B. 26 οἱ ἄμφι Σέρρων,
 Χερσον and the main.

ἀπεκήδευσαν, 'were done with
 mounting, cp. L. 40 ἀποκαταστά, 2. 73
 ἀποκαταστά, cp. Thuc. 2. 81. 1 ἀπελγὴ
 σάκας δε τα τοῖα.

2 ἐν Πλαταιῇσι = ἐν τῷ χωρῷ τῷ
 Πλαταιῶν cp. c. 25 ἡμεῖς in Plataea,
 as the city itself had been destroyed, cp.
 B. 60, they could not be.

3 τὸν Ἀσωπὸν τὸν ταύτῃ ρέοντα
 this expression is a remarkable one,
 coming as it does after the Asopus has
 just been mentioned without qualification
 (c. 30), and after the Persian encampment
 has been described as *ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσωπῷ*
ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ c. 14 ἡμεῖς in τῷ

ἀπικόμηναι δὲ ἀντετάσσοντο οἶδε ὑπὸ Μαρδονίου. κατὰ μὲν
; Λακεδαιμονίους ἴστησε Πέρσας. καὶ δὴ πολλὸν γὰρ περιῆσαν

ἐτάσσοντο B || οἶδε P
περιῆσαν B, Gaisford

ἐτάσσοντο *τατάσσειν* a periphrasis for *τάττασι*! But why then *τατάσσειν*? And why ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσπῷ simpliciter, i. e. 391? Is it that the various passages are from various sources, and that Hist. does not very strictly co-ordinate them? That may be so, yet hardly explains the introduction of τῷ Ἀσπῷ ποταμῷ. The locative adverb is its of τ relative to τῷ Πλατῶνι, and seems to imply that the Persians moved from the Ἀσπῷ, where it was not τῷ Πλ. to the Ἀσπῷ where it was. But, even so, a difficulty is left, viz. the Laager is described in c. 10 *στῆσαι* as reaching τῷ Ἀσπῷ ὅπου γῆ. That is, however, the Laager, here here speaking of the line of battle. We must suppose that Mardonius moves out of his camp into battle line formed up along the high course of the Ἀσπῷ. It is clear in the sequel that the Persians are on the left bank of the river. Is Mardonius aiming to circumvent the Greek position by turning its left flank, or simply offering battle if they will cross the river?

G. H. Grundy *in P. W.* p. 429 *op. Topography* p. 10, suggests that the plateau here in question denotes the main stream of the Ἀσπῷ, or even 'the Thapsian Ἀσπῷ' as distinguished from the Platæan Ἀσπῷ, though he clearly sees that τῷ Ἀσπῷ refers to τῷ Πλατῶνι. If anything but the main stream were here meant, it would be, not the branch from Lenstra, but the branch from 'Plataea, i. e. Δ'. But the contrast is not between two branches of the river, but between the main stream, in the neighbourhood of the Persian camp, and the same main stream a little higher up in the neighbourhood of the Greek position.

Stron, who leaves the Persians and the Persians camp on the right bank of the river all this time, thinks there must be a lacuna in the narrative. No doubt there are many gaps in the narrative, and many omissions, but Hist. has only taken the Persians across the Ἀσπῷ long ago (c. 10 *supra*) and Mardonius has not had to cross the river in order to take up the position here described.

We may perhaps paraphrase the phrase τῷ Ἀσπῷ τῷ Ἀσπῷ ποταμῷ, 'the Ἀσπῷ in this part of its course.'

in which it flows through the land of Plataea - emphasis is perhaps laid on the ποταμῷ to show that there was water in the river-bed.

4. ἀντετάσσοντο οἶδε ὑπὸ Μαρδονίου. This account of Mardonius' battle array may be in part at least drawn from a source (or sources) on the Persian side; for example, Hist. is found from Ctesias (c. 16 *supra*), but it is hardly based on authoritative and documentary sources, or it would be richer and more precise in regard to numbers, names of commanders, and so forth. *Quæ* in fact, the army list in Bk. 7. Mardonius then is arranged in five ethnic divisions, Persians, Medes, Hækattians, Indians, Sakians (the Median tribes not included). If each of these divisions represents a myriad, he had 50,000 men under his command (with perhaps an additional myriad of cavalry); if two myriads, 100,000; or with the army corps of Artabazus approximately (50,000) fewer it is hardly necessary to go. The infantry and cavalry are not set against from each other in the description here given. The cavalry might have been all in front of the infantry as at the battle of the Granicus in 334 B.C. or on the wings; it may scarcely have been in the rear, much less mixed up with the infantry. As the Persian forces all freely crossed the river, the cavalry was probably on the wings; and further, the Persian cavalry was now on the left and the Persian Thucydides on the right. Hist. mentions the divisions of the Persian army with reference to the ethnic divisions on the Greek side, merely enumerated, but with the remarkable result of suggesting a somewhat different ordering of the two wings and the centre, especially of the centre and the left wing, the whole Greek army now facing, like the Persian, into six corps, four in the centre two on the wings, and the contingent seems of these corps - except in the case of the right wing - being varied as against the previous army list. This slight inconsistency again points to a difference in the sources for the two army lists at Plataea.

5. ἵππων the 'Persians' properly

πλήθει οἱ Πέρσαι, ἐπὶ τε τάξιν πλεῖναι ἐκεκρυμμένο καὶ ἐπείχον τοὺν Τεγεάται. ἔταξε δὲ οὕτω· ὃ τι μὲν ἦν αὐτῶν δυνατώτατον πᾶν ἀπολίξας ἔστησε ἄρτίον Λακεδαιμονίων, τὸ δὲ ἰσθενέστερον παρέταξε κατὰ τοὺς Τεγεάτας, ταῦτα δ' ἰσχυροτέρων τε καὶ διδασκόντων Θηβαίων. Περσέων δὲ ἔχοντες ἔταξε Μήδους· οὗτοι δὲ ἐπείχον Κερνιβίου τε καὶ Παιτιάδης τε καὶ Ὀρχομενίου τε καὶ Σικυωνίου. Μήδων δὲ ἔχοντες ἔταξε Βακτρίους· οὗτοι δὲ ἐπείχον Ἐπιδαυρίους τε

ἢ οἱ οἱ. Pz || ἐπεί B | τάξιν C 7 καὶ τοῖς A, Holder, van H. || οὕτω, R οὕτω de Pauw, Stein², Holder, van H οὕτω D δ' : δι B

so called are stationed over against the Lakedaimonians, who reckoning only Hoplites, counted as *hoplithen* 40,000 myriads. There are besides 40,000 *phalanx*, whose exact station on the battle-field is not clearly defined. Greatly to underestimate these 80,000 the Persians must have exercised a gift of the worse sense of Marathon. That in itself is not impossible. If only Hoplites are considered, a myriad Persians or at most two, would serve. If the cavalry is on the extreme left Persian position might easily mislead a myriad Lakedaimonians drawn up not so than right deep, and possibly deeper, but still, starting of course, with a belief in the numerical superiority on the side of Marstonians, not only means the Persians' overtop the Tegeatans but gives them an extra-loop formation.

ἢ ἐπὶ τε τάξιν πλεῖναι ἐκεκρυμμένο the passage is that is a strict temporal sense, at least from the point of view of the objective course of events. *pleinai* means not more than the Lakedaimonians but more than he would otherwise have done, or than was usual. At Marathon, where the Athenians, according to Hdt., faced up for battle after the Persians, in order to draw out a line as long as the Persian Lakedaimonians had to diminish the centre of the line. In the present case Marstonians represented as drawing up a battle-line after the Greeks, but he has no apparent desire to outflank them, as having time to spare he occupies his ranks. Truly enough the order was the same on the Greek side, the wings were the stronger, and probably much deeper than the centre, the tactics of Marathon were repeated as the legend of Marathon was composed in the light of Plataea.

7 ἐπείχον τοὺς Τεγεάτας Schweg-

hauer (with whom Sailer agrees) takes this phrase to mean they had the Tegeatans "stationed over against them" *epikathartichon*, and inserts a *καὶ*, and so reads just above. It is appears to be correct in rendering the phrase "extended so as to cover the Tegeatans" who, no doubt, as a matter of fact are stationed opposite (κατέχοντες); in other words, the part left over to overtop, after the Lakedaimonians are fully covered, covers the Tegeatans. Cf. Xenophon *Hell.* 4.2.31. The Lakedaimonians and Tegeatan Hoplites taken together, form the right (east) wing of the Greek army, 11,500 strong. The passage looks as though the Tegeatans were not standing next the Spartans but next the Persians, op. c. 28 argues, but the words which follow here are not material but a homage to the reputation of Lakedaimonians, Spartans, and the Theban tradition of negotiation, is perhaps only inferential.

11. Μήδους the Medians, or two divisions were opposed to an *epikathartichon* with Kerkiraia, Potamoiia, Trophaii, and Sicyonia, that is with the first four divisions, eight centres of the Greek line, numbering 8,000 Hoplites.

12. Βακτριῶν. The Baktrian division including perhaps, other divisions, and numbering one, or possibly two "divisions" has opposite to it, and extends over the right in the centre of the Greeks, and somewhat more, the Epidaurians, Potamoiia, Trophaii, and Mykeno-Lyrtichon contingents taken together comprising but 2,400 Hoplites, and with the Trophaii and Potamoiia afterwards appears as the end of the right centre. 30 of each Kerkiraia: the addition of the Potamoiia here, 1,000 strong, makes the opponents of the Baktrian myriads to 3,400, but encroaches

καὶ Τροϊζηνίους καὶ Λεπρεήτας τε καὶ Τυρινθίους καὶ
 15 Μυκηναίους τε καὶ Φλειασίους. μετὰ δὲ Βακτρίους ἔστησι
 Ἰνδοὺς· οὗτοι δὲ ἐπέσχον Ἑρμιονέας τε καὶ Ἐρστρίδας καὶ
 Σπυρίδας τε καὶ Χαλκιδέας. Ἰνδῶν δὲ ἐχομένους Σάκας ἔταξε
 αἱ ἐπέσχον Ἀμπρακινήτας τε καὶ Ἀνακταρίους καὶ Λευκαδίους
 καὶ Παλίας καὶ Αἰγινήτας. Σακίων δὲ ἐχομένους ἔταξε ἀντία
 20 Ἀθηναίων τε καὶ Πλαταιέων καὶ Μεγαρέων Βοιωτῶν τε καὶ

14 Λεπρεήτας α. Λεπρεήτας Marc. Λεπρεήτας : γε απ. α ,
 τυρινθίους B¹ 15 φλειασίους B, Stein¹, Holder 18 ἀμπρακινήτας B,
 Holder 19 παλίας B. παλλίας Marc.
 ἀντίων ■

on the first section of the left centre of c. 69.

18 Ἰνδοί· the contingent of the furthest west was opposed to the Greek contingents from Hermione, Proctea, Styra, Chalkis, a group numbering but 1300 Hoplites. If the 'Indian' levy was reckoned at a myriad, it would hardly outnumber the force named as it is opposed to it here.

17 Σάκας the Sakai or 'Scythae of Asia' (cp. 7. 81) are drawn up over against five Greek ethnic divisions, Αμπρακίνοισι, Ανακταρίαισι, Λευκαδίαισι, Παλίοις, Αἰγινεταῖσι, numbering all told but 2000 Hoplites. The division on the Persian side represents perhaps a 'myriad' not necessarily all composed of Sakai, properly so called? These five Greek sections carry us to the extreme left of the centre, as conceived in c. 28 above and more certainly in c. 69 below of ἀπὸ Μεγαρέων τε καὶ Φλειαδίων· except that in the last here given the Phliasienses have been attached to the right centre, and the Megarenses are now divorced from the centre altogether, and apparently reckoned to the left wing. Such discrepancies to imply that Hdt. has used various 'sources', without comparing or co-ordinating them, and has no one clear and consistent conception of the battle array.

19 ἀντία Ἀθηναίων τε καὶ Πλαταιέων Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπὸν. The variation from *ἀπὸν* to *ἀντία* is noticeable and emphatic; the neuter (s) and (t) of the adj. is used adverbially, or as a preposition, cp. 7. 239; also with the Latin 7. 228. This use is not Attic. The plural form is here perhaps preferred, as the corps opposed to the Athenians was composed of a

number of Greek contingents. The order of the names on the Greek side too is here varied; proceeding consistently from Marathon left to right they would run Megarenses, Plataeans, Athenians. Again, the *ἀντία* is further varied by introducing the names on the Greek side before the names, or names, on the Persian. Among other names, the exact order in which the various sections of Greeks on the Persian side stood opposed to the left wing of the Greeks, including the Megarenses, remains problematical.

20 Βοιωτῶν τε καὶ Πλαταιέων the extreme right of Marathon's line, his right wing in fact, is composed of marching to the left, as with Boeotians, Lokians, Megarians, Thessalians and Phokians, 1200 strong, the only figure given for an individual contingent. But below estimates the total of this entire division at 5,000 as absurd exaggeration, suggested a 1000 perhaps by the assumption that each of the six divisions, like the division of Artabanes, which is not here brought into line, contained approximately 50,000 men. That would involve an average twelve thousand each for Boeotians, Lokians, Malians, Thessalians. The Boeotians might have brought 3000, 6500 Hoplites up. Thus to 572 Xenophon *Hell.* 4. 2. 10, the Thessalians will have been chiefly mounted men, the Lokians and Megarians may have raised 1500-2000 Hoplites between them all, and the Greek Hoplites on the Persian right wing will not have numbered more than one myriad, and they are here opposed to the Athenians, Phliasienses and Megarenses, who number together 11,600 men. But there are the Thessalians and

Λοκροῖς καὶ Μηλιαῖς τε καὶ Θεσσαλοῖς καὶ Φωκίαις τοὺς
 χιλιούς· οὐ γὰρ ὄν ἅπαντες οἱ Φωκῆες ἐμῆδισαν, ἀλλὰ τινὲς
 αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ Ἑλλήνων ἦδον περὶ τὸν Παρνησσὸν κατελιγ-
 μένοι, καὶ ἐνθῦτον ὁρμώμενοι ἔφερόν τε καὶ ἤγον τὴν τε
 Μαρδονίου στρατὴν καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἰόντας Ἑλλήνων. 35
 ἔταξε δὲ καὶ Μακεδόνας τε καὶ τοὺς περὶ Θεσσαλίην οἰκη-
 μένους κατὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. ταῦτα μὲν τῶν ἐθνέων τὰ 32
 μέγιστα ὠνόμασαι τῶν ὑπὸ Μαρδονίου ταχθέντων, τὰ περ
 ἐπιφανέστατά τε ἦν καὶ λόγου πλείστου· ἐνῆσαν δὲ καὶ

21 τε om. B¹², Holder 22 πάντες B || οἱ om. R : οἱ Φωκῆες om. BV
 23 αὐτῶν : || παρνησσὸν Macc : || κατελιγμένοι CP : κατελιγμένοι 24
 ἐμῆδισαν P, Stein¹, van H. : ὁρμώμενοι C 26 λαοοδημοῖς (Macc.
 || Θεσσαλίων . . ἐθνέων om. R || οἰκισμένους 32. 2 ὠνόμασαι :
 3 τε om. CS || ἦσαν RSV corr : ἦσαν Vpr.

Boeotian cavalry to be reckoned with, on which see § 22 ad f. infra; as well as the Macedonians, just below.

21. Φωκίων τοὺς χιλοῖς the article is superfluous, this is that *τ* which had already before arrived in camp, c. 17 supra, and had covered itself with dishonour at Thermopylae, §. 21/1. It may fairly be concluded that this regiment had 'marched' there and then. Not so all the nation, a remnant remaining in the land, gained credit for more valor than.

23. τὰ Ἑλλήνων ἦδον, so τῶν Ἑλλήνων, suggested the Greek side, were for its greatness. Cf. §. 39 τοῦ Πολυκράτους τὰ ἀρχαῖα, cf. §. 133 τὸν μᾶλλον εὐχετό (so, δ Μελισσοῦ). Cf. also §. 30 supra.

περὶ τὸν Παρνησσὸν κατελιγμένοι. Cf. §. 27 κατελιγμένοι is the Παρνησσὸν, i.e. of Thessaly (on another and previous occasion). Parnassus was certainly the centre of the Phocians, whether from Thessaly, Fortuna, or otherwise. Cf. §. 29. Hdt. may have varied the spelling: cf. the singular 'Πάσσα' in §. 50 supra.

24. ἐνθῦτον ὁρμώμενοι: cf. §. 133, 'ὅσον τὸν, as their headquarters.'

ἔφερόν τε καὶ ἤγον 'kept on beating off' or 'beat off' (primarily against) portable encampments, ἔφερον living beasts, etc. The assistance rendered by the local Phocians does not appear to have amounted to very much. A really large force of confident troops on Parnassus, in the rear of the Persian host on its

Boeotia, might have been of considerable strategic importance: but perhaps less than justice is done in the services of the Phocians.

26. Μακεδόνας, the Macedonian contingent was probably in the main cavalry, which was the chief strength of Macedonian armies, from the old Alexander to the other, though the great development in this respect is put down by Thucydides (2. 100. 2) to Archelaus (413 B.C.). It is doubtful whether any 'hoplite' organization existed in the Macedonian army before Philip II., cf. *hacast* or *hacast* Wessing, ii. 147. There may also have been some Macedonian *phalanx*. On the previous scene of the Macedonians cf. §. 24, 140 c. 1 supra.

τοὺς περὶ Θεσσαλίην οἰκισμένους. At Θεσσαλίην have already been mentioned, this phrase is to be understood of 'dwellers in the parts about Thessaly,' other than Thessalians proper, e.g. 'Aetolians.' Cf. the list of meeting places in §. 172, and more especially the list of contingents §. 140 mentioning Pephlae, Euboea, Dorica, Magnesia, Aetolia.

32. 1 τὰ μέγιστα ὠνόμασαι that is, the divisions named above Parnassus, Media, Boeotians, and the *Sevans*, were not exclusively composed of men drawn collectively from the nations named, but each division, when containing men of various nations, has been named from the greatest and most conspicuous nationality comprised in it.

ἄλλων ἐθνέων ἄνδρες ἀνιμεμεγμένοι, Φρυγῶν τε καὶ Μυσῶν
καὶ Θρηκίων τε καὶ Παιόνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἐν δὲ καὶ
Λιβυῶν τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίων οἱ τε Ἑρμοτύβεις καὶ οἱ
Καλασίριες καλεόμενοι μαχαιοφόροι, οἱ περ εἰς Αἰγυπτίαν
μοῖνοι μάχιμοι. τοῦτους δὲ ἐστὶ ἐν Φαλήρῃ ἔων ἀπὸ τῶν

4 τε ο.π. van H. 1. Μυσῶν hic pos. B, Hüllet, van H. 1. ἀν. celi, celsus
Θρηκίων locum mutaverat: id. conservat Stein 5 Θρηκίων ACY.
Θρηκίων B: Θρηκῶν B 6 ἔων ἐν Φαλήρῃ 5

4 Φρυγῶν τε καὶ Μυσῶν: Phrygians and Mysians may be taken to represent the Asiatic forces. On the Phrygians ep. 7. 73; on the Mysians ep. 7. 74. Stein⁵ conjectures that the order of the text in K (δ) is *schwerhörig*; cp. App. Crit.

5 Θρηκίων τε καὶ Παιόνων Thracians and Pannonians may be taken to represent European forces drawn from the countries east of the Aegean. On the Thracians ep. 7. 110; Pannonians, 7. 113, 124; and on both 7. 185. (Were these mainly in the division of Artabazus?)

6 Λιβυῶν τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίων: the Ethiopians and Egyptians represent the Libyan forces as a whole. Ethiopians have been described in the army list of Xerxes 7. 89. Egyptians are, however, a new feature in the land forces, their levy and armature have been described, 7. 84 in the navy list. Their presence at Plataea calls for explanation, which Hdt. proceeds to offer, not without involving himself in some remarkable discrepancies.

οἱ περ εἰς μάχην. This note on the *Ἑρμοτύβεις* and the *Καλασίριες* is a gloss or a later insertion by the author's hand, for 1. it can only refer to the Egyptians, yet here it must also be referred to the Ethiopians! (ii) The grammar of the whole passage is faulty: without it, the genitives *ἀνδρ. τε* and *ἀνδρ.* being strictly co-ordinate with *τῶν ἄλλων* etc. and following *ἄνδρες*. (iii) As a note on *Αἰγυπτίων* the sentence would have come in much better at 7. 84. (iv) The absence of a reference to 2. 164 ff. is remarkable. This note appears to be a reminiscence of that description on the Egyptian *κατασκευαί* (preps) in general and the various *κατασκευαί*, or *κατασκευαί*, in particular. Whether gloss, or addition by the author's hand, this observation points to the later composition of the Egyptian *λογος*, and the prior composition of the

story of the Persian war, by our author, but it is four sentences above given marks the sentence rather as a gloss than as a later's addition. (cp. Introduction, §§ 7-9)

7 μαχαιοφόροι: ep. 7. 82) where their arms are much more fully described, the description ending *μαχαιροὶ δὲ ἀνὰ τὰς εἰχλῆς*.

8 τοῦτους δὲ ἐστὶ ἐν Φαλήρῃ ἔων ἐπλ. The Egyptian fleet of 200 ships might have numbered 6000 Egyptians (ep. 7. 140) who fought, but then, were they Egyptians? (cp. 7. 20) The statement that Marathon, who sat in Salamis, embarked these Egyptians for his own purpose deserves attention. What numbers of the heavy division did the fleet from Salamis (8. 107) which became of the dispatch of the fleet in Thucydides 8. 113? It might be argued from the presence of Egyptians in the forces of Mardonius that the fleet, or some portion of it, the Egyptian squadron at least, accompanied the king on his retirement. The assertion that Mardonius collected the Egyptian fleet at Phaleron is obviously the translation into narrative of the reason which immediately follows *οἱ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀνακτορῇ*, in the light of the subsequent departure of the fleet straight from Salamis 8. 107. It is true that, according to Hdt., Xerxes before the departure of the fleet ordered Mardonius to *κατασκευαί* *μεν τῆς στρατῆς διατάξαι τοὺς πλοῖα, καὶ τοὺς τοῖς ἐπὶ τῇ ἀνακτορῇ*, but nothing in there said of taking any men from the fleet and Mardonius himself, only a few hours before, has been *κατασκευαί* against the coasts of the Egyptians, etc. (8. 90), in a way hardly consistent with his marching them in his next day.

The fair inference however is not that there were Egyptians all along in the land forces, but that Hdt. in various contexts preserves various stories and

νῶν ἀπεβ. βαστο ἔοντας ἐπιβάτας· οὐ γὰρ ἐτάχθησαν ἐς τὸν πεζὺν τὸν ἑμα Ξέρξῃ ἀπικόμενον ἐς Ἀθήνας Αἰγύπτιοι. 10 τῶν μὲν δὴ βαρβάρων ἦσαν τρεῖςκατα μυριάδες, ὥς καὶ πρότερον διδύλωται· τῶν δὲ Ἑλλήνων τῶν Μαρδονίου συμμαχῶν οἷδε μὲν οὐδεὶς ἀριθμὸν· οὐ γὰρ ὧν ἡριθμήθησαν·

9 νῶν B: 10 ἐς τὴν Μαρ.: 11 ἴσαν: 12 πρότερον
μοι: 13 ἡριθμήσαν B

statements from various sources often contradictory or more or less contrary to each other, without staying to criticize, to harmonize, to reduce all to self consistency.

11. τρεῖςκατα μυριάδες: 300,000 is the figure which Hdt. consistently maintains for the fighting men of Mardonius. This figure, however in 8. 113 appears to include the allies. Here the allies appear not to be included. It also includes the 60,000 (infantry and cavalry of the division of Artabazus, 8. 128. This division is given as only 40,000 below (a. 66), and though the difference may be accounted for by the supposed loss of 20,000 before Potidaea, and in Thrace (cp. 8. 128 130), yet Hdt. fails to subtract these two myriads from the estimate of Mardonius' forces in this place.

The army of Mardonius consists of six divisions, above described, together with a sixth of 'Greek allies,' which Hdt. computes at 50,000 men, making 350,000 in all. Probably the division of Artabazus may be considered here to be absent, and the five divisions of Persians may be taken as each containing as *apparent* of 50,000, or 250,000 in all; that is each division consists of five myriads (nominal), each under a *tyrarch* (men), each myriad again is subdivided into 10 *chilads*, nominal, each led by a *chilarch*. The division perhaps consists of 4 myriads of foot, and 1 myriad of cavalry. If Artabazus had twenty of 600 men in his division he may have had an extra myriad perhaps cavalry, for the king's escort, or the figure may have been reached by reckoning his division as 50,000 *total*, and adding a myriad *more*—in fact, counting the myriad of cavalry twice over; the 40,000 men in c. 66 *myriads* represents his nominal strength of *pezo*.

But the army of Mardonius, in six divisions of 40,000 each, viz. 40,000 *total* + 10,000 *more* is quite other than

the original army of Xerxes, the organization of which has been quite clearly not quite commensurate, indicated in Bk. 7, where the numbers have been vastly exaggerated.

Earlier, then, Mardonius retained the whole army *τὸν ἑμα Ξέρξῃ ἀπικόμενον*, and was in command of a nominal, 300,000, a very improbable alternative; or he had in fact only command of a section, or a *skel* of, of the grand army, perhaps the very division, 50,000 strong, of which he had been at home in command, while Artabazus commanded a second division of equal strength, the army of 479 B.C. numbering in all 100,000—exclusive of the European allies, or possibly Mardonius commanded two divisions, each with the division under Artabazus might raise the total Asiatic forces in Europe to 150,000, or thereabouts. See further Appendix A II p. 5, and VIII p. 2.

12. καὶ πρότερον διδύλωται. the reference is clearly to Bk. 8 cc. 100, 113. But the verb is much too strong; *εἰρηναῖος* as elsewhere would meet the case; *εἰρηναῖος* should have preceded the *αἰετός*. The words may be a gloss, especially without *μὲν*. Cp. App. Crit.

13. τῶν Μαρδονίου συμμαχῶν. among the 'allies' of Mardonius must be included the Macedonians, whom Hdt. perhaps would not deny as 'Greeks,' as well as the Boeotians, Lokrians, Malians, Phokians, Thessians, and dwellers in the parts about Thessaly, cp. c. 81 *supra*. If these peoples were allies of 'Mardonius' especially, that would be a source of strength to him against Artabazus. But the phrase, perhaps, merely substitutes Mardonius as commander in chief, for the king, or the king's subjects might be allies of Mardonius; cp. A 24.

14. οὐ μὲν οὐδέτις ἀριθμὸν. this would indeed be a satisfactory unless Hdt. had literary and documentary evidence to go on. He evidently believes himself to be in control of relatively com-

ὡς δὲ ἐπικράσαι, ἐς πέντε μεριάδας συλλαβήναι εἰκάζω. οὗτοι
 15 οἱ παραταχθέντες πεζὺὶ ἦσαν, ἡ δὲ ἵππος χωρὶν ἐτάτατο.

33 Ὡς δὲ ἄρα πάντες οἱ ἐτετάχατο κατὰ ἔθνη καὶ κατὰ
 τέληα, ἐνθαῦτα τῇ δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ ἐθύνοντο καὶ ἀμφότεροι.

14 ἐπικράσαι ἐστὶ αC ἀπικράσαι ἐστὶ P: ἀπικράσαι B, Holder 15
 ἴσαν: 33. 1 πάντες οἱ B, Holder: ἐτάτατο (πάντες οἱ) Göttingen | κατὰ τε ἔθνη B, Holder, van H.: καὶ τὰ ἔθνη B

plete sources on the war; none of his authorities supplied an exact figure for the number of the Greek army of Marathon, and he is therefore left to conjecture on his own account. Some of his authorities may also have indulged expressly in conjecture, but he professes his own.

ὅς γὰρ ἂν ἐπαριθμήσαν: this statement, given as the reason, is probably itself an inference from the fact that there was no positive tradition on the subject. ὅς γὰρ ἂν ep. c. 31 *supra*. It is a own conjecture of 50,000 is perhaps sensitive to the figure already given at least implicitly, for each of the other two divisions of the army of Marathon. Hdt. makes no attempt to distribute the total among the stems. The object of Plutarch is the only detailed figure given. It is not likely that the Boeotians, Lokrians, Malians, Thessalians, and others in the parts about Thessaly, with the Makedonians, put 40,000 men into the field of battle. Hdt. speaks of fighting men. He only allows at most 1,600 Hoplites in the Greek left wing, compared to this the numbers in the Persian line, ep. 31 *supra*. A 'myriad' for the Greek allies of Marathon would be a fair estimate.

15 ἡ δὲ ἵππος χωρὶς ἐτάτατο: the plural perfect can hardly be proved this meaning that the cavalry had previously been drawn up and assigned a different position; it is very far from certain. Cavalry certainly formed part of the battle-array. The words may, however, fairly be taken to mean that the cavalry had a distinct position, the infantry being in continuous formation. But all the cavalry was not in one place. Most probably the Greek cavalry was on the extreme right and the Persian cavalry on the extreme left of the position. This conjecture is borne out by the subsequent narrative, notably the exploit of the Persian cavalry in c. 35, and that of the Peloponnesians in c. 38 *infra*. ἡ δὲ ἵππος χωρὶς certainly

anticipates a phrase which becomes current in connection with the legend of Marathon ep. Hdt. IV-VI n. 231.

It is not quite clear in this passage whether Hdt. means to exclude the cavalry from the numerical computations just given. *ἵππος* *χωρὶς* he excludes it only from the *σύνταξις*. Moreover, cavalry must surely be included in the computation of the 50,000 men. Again in § 113 the Persian cavalry appears to be expressly included in the 50,000. At which considered, it may be concluded that the cavalry is not here to be reckoned separately, different as it remains on that plan to account for the figures 60,000 assigned to the army of Xerxes under Artabanus § 126 (and to Thucydides c. 60 *infra* or rather Maseux, vide notes on l.).

33. 1 ἐτετάχατο: their formation in battle-array had been accomplished a fresh deployment, or stage *δοξα*, the pluripresent is temporal.

κατὰ ἔθνη καὶ κατὰ τέληα both terms refer alike to the infantry and to the cavalry; ep. 7. 8.

α. τῇ δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ, i.e. the day after the one on which the Greeks had assembled and taken up the position near the Androkraton and Gargaphia, and on which Marathon had moved out, and somewhat westwards, to face them. With these words the *σύνταξις*, or *τάξις*, of the army may be said to begin, but unfortunately important reliance cannot be placed on the data (cp. Appendix VIII § 2). Both sides (καὶ ἀμφότεροι, *vide* note) must not have expected it of the battle, but sacrifices offered, with a view to ascertaining whether they should deliver the attack, on each side the signs were unfavorable to the offensive, ep. c. 38 *infra*. Ancient armies approached each other very slowly before a shot could be loosed, or a blow dealt. It must often have been necessary to devise some plan for restraining the impetuosity of the men in close proximity to the foe from breaking line

Δελφοῖσι περὶ γόνου ἀνέιλε ἡ Πυθίη ἀγῶνας τοῖς μεγίστους
ἀναιρήσεσθαι πέντε. ὁ μὲν δὲ ἀμαρτῶν τοῦ χρηστηρίου
προσεῖχε γυμνασίοισι ὡς ἀναιρησόμενος γυμνικούς ἀγῶνας.
10 ὁσέων δὲ πεντάεθλοι παρὰ ἐν πάλαισμα ἔδραμε νικᾶν
Ὀλυμπιάδα, Ἰερωνύμῳ τῇ Ἀνδρίῳ ἐλθὼν ἐς ἔριν. Λακεδαι-
μόνιοι δὲ μαθόντες οὐκ ἐς γυμνικούς ἀλλ' ἐς ἀρήλους ἀγῶνα.

7 γόνου: ἀγῶνας εἶνε ἀγῶνων? Krueger 9 ταῖσι γυμνασίοις: 2
10 πένταθλον B 11 ἀνδρείῳ C | μαθόντες δὲ Λακιοδαμόνιοι: 2
12 ἀρκίονε Μαρτ. 2

ἄντρα, etc.; and εἶνα (ε) of the god, as in 1. 65.

ἐν Δελφοῖσι: the notice suggests a possible source and, if the story was picked up by Hdt. in Delphi, the designation might well belong to the second draft of the work and be an insertion after his visit to Greece. The last date involved in the story is the year of the battle of Tanagra, 457 B.C. see below.

7 περὶ γόνου: cp. 5. 92 ἀνέιλε ὡς ἐν Δελφοῖσι περὶ γόνου. Notwithstanding doubted the reading here. The answer looks like a bad pun (γόνου, ἀντρα). Τεταμένιος καὶ Λακιοδαμόνιος, Pausan. 3. 11. 5.

ἀνέιλε, ἀναίρειν εἶνε (εἰσροπνῆναι, cp. 1. 12 τὸ χρηστήριον εἶνε), 2. 52 τὸ μαντήριον ὃ οἱ οἱ μάντιες

8, ἀναιρησόμενος: cp. c. 64 ἡνδρα ἄντρα ἀναιρῶν καλλίστην, and with ἀγῶνα καὶ πάλαισμον, 6. 71, 100, cp. 5. 102 ἀγῶνα.

10 ὁσέων δὲ πεντάεθλον cp. 6. 92 ἀνὰ πεντάεθλον ἐπαισθῆναι. The five-fold contest consisted of 'Jump, Race, Throw, Javelin, Wrestling' according to the epigram ascribed to Simonides, 153 (Bergk iii. 4. 5. 5).

Ἰσθμία καὶ Πυθὶ Διοφῶν δ' ἦλκτος ἐρεῖα, ἄλμα ποδὸν ἐρεῖα δαυτο πάλῃ,

perhaps in the order of the said pentathlon. Pausan. 5. 8. 3 dates its introduction at Olympia to Ol. 18.

παρὰ ἐν πάλαισμα ἔδραμε: an old combination, 'he only missed running as Olympic victor in the Pentathlon by one bout, or fail, in the wrestling'. One may take ἔδραμε as metaphor ('sprinting', cp. 7. 57), παρὰ, 'exclusive'; cp. Thuc. 7. 2 ὁ παρὰ τὰς τὰς (by a little) μὲν αὖ Σπάρκεσσιν ἔλθον ἐνδύον (of being so wounded and taken). Τετα-

μένιος has presumably scored victories in two out of the five events, but was thrown twice in the final event by one of the other competitors. It surely was never necessary for victory in the Pentathlon to win all five events: three out of the five must have scored a win. Thus it would not always be necessary to hold a fifth, cp. Plutarch, Symp. 9. 2. 2 τὰς τρεῖς ὡς οἱ νεσθῆλοι, περὶ καὶ καὶ. Cp. also Aristot. Symp. 161 τριακτῆροι οὐκ εἶναι τὰς καὶ note of J. ap. Weckm., Orestes (1884), sup. Pollux. 3. 30 ἐν πεντάθλῳ τὸ εἶναι ἀναιρῶναι λέγουσι. Cp. further the text note.

11. Ἰερωνύμῳ τῇ Ἀνδρίῳ: the name Hieronymos was in use at Athens (cp. Aristoph. Ach. 103, Eccl. 201, Lys. (Xenoph. Anab. 3. 1. 34, Sympotic (Diod. 24. 14. 1. 2), and elsewhere. The Andrian too had perhaps claims to a local character. Pausanias (6. 14. 13) saw a statue of him at Olympia, where his victory over Telesmenos was memorable; and also (3. 11. 6) mentions that he was defeated by the Likan in running and leaping, though successful in the wrestling, he won the disk and the javelin, in which also he must have been victorious, cp. the previous note.

The Pentathlon must have been conducted in 'heats', and the heats in wrestling from the nature of the event, and ὅσον μονομαχίας but we need not conclude that Hieronymos was the only other competitor on this occasion.

The Olympiad of Telesmenos and Hieronymos is not specified; these names have been so recent as the 7th c. B.C., but as Plutarch is the first of the ancient writers it may have 7th c. B.C. see.

Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ: the name is apparently come from the city, inspired perhaps by Delphi friends of the Greek himself.

φέρον τὸ Τισσαμενοῦ μνητῖον. μισθῷ ἐπειρώτο πείσαντες
 Τισσαμενὸν ποιέσθαι ἅμα Ἡρακλείδῳ τοῖσι βασιλεῦσι
 ἡγεμόνα τῶν πολέμων. ὃ δὲ ὅρεον παρὶ πολλοῦ ποιημένους 15
 Σπαρτιήτας φίλον αὐτὸν προσθίσαι, μάθων τοῦτο ἀντίμα,
 σημαίνων σφί ὥς, ἣν μιν πολήτην σφίτερον ποιήσονται· τῶν
 πάντων μεταδιδόντες, ποιήσει ταῦτα, ἐπ' ἄλλῃ μισθῷ δ' οὐ.
 Σπαρτιῆται δὲ πρῶτα μὲν ἀκούσαντες δαινὰ ἐπειεῦντο καὶ
 μετῴσαν τῆς χρησμοσύνης τὸ παράπαν, τέλος δὲ δέϊμος 20
 μεγάλου ἐπικρεμαμένου τοῦ Περσικοῦ τούτου στρατεύματος
 καταΐνουν μετιόντες. ὃ δὲ γυνεὺς τετραμμένους σφίας οὐδ'

αἰσῶ ἐτι ἔφη ἀρκέσθαι ταύτοις μόνουσιν, ἀλλὰ δεῖν ἐτι τὸν ἀδελφεὺν ἐαυτοῦ Ἥγλην γίμνασαι Σπαρτίῃν ἐπὶ τοῖσι
 34 αὐτοῖσι λόγοις τοῖσι καὶ αὐτός [γίνεται] ταῦτα δὲ λέγων οὗτος ἐμμέτο Μελάμποδα, ὡς εἰκάσαι Βασιλῆην τε καὶ

23 ἔφη ἐτι τὸν ἔτι καὶ
 23α Krenker, van H γυνήτας

24 αὐτοῦ F καὶ τὴν καὶ ἐαυτοῦ δελεῖται.
 24 γυνήτας δὲ van H, 23α 5'

παραμνῖνους σφάλας, 'that change of main', *τεμνέτω* v. 34 *ἐφ' ἧς*, ep. J. 14 *τε παραμνῖνους γὰρ δὴ καὶ μεταγινώσκουσι* σφλ.

23 αὐτῶ . . . οὗτοι μόνουσιν looks pleonastic, ep. *εὐαὐτοῦ* 3 119

ἀρκέσθαι, pass. 'to be satisfied with' is obvious; ep. *Aristot. Rhet. N* 2 7, 8=1107 *ὅς ἀρκέσθαι αὐτῷ τῷ πᾶσι*.

τὸν ἀδελφεὺν ἐαυτοῦ Ἥγλην Stein seems to think that the man a childlessness led him to secure for his brother (and family) a position in Sparta. But the Spartan reputation *ἀπὸ γένου* may have been as favorable in his case as in that of Heron 5 92. Pausanias reports an ancestor of his in Sparta *πρὸς αὐτῶν*, they may, of course, have been his brothers or his own by adoption. The form *Ἥγλην* is Ionian (and Attic) for *Ἄγλην* or *Ἄγλην* a name perhaps identical with *Ἄγλην*. It cannot even in this family be connected with *Ἄγλην*, the *α* in which is short.) The name recurs in the post-war Teisamenos, Agelaokhos, Agamēstas 2 11 5.

24 Σπαρτίῃν, 'a full citizen', ep. *πολιτὴν σφιγνέρον* and *λεωφρέρον* alive.

34 2. οὗτος ἐμμέτο Μελάμποδα 'Teisamenos was copyist Melampus.

The story of Melampus here is a corrected version of the previous, but may be of the same date in the composition of Herodotus's work as the story of Teisamenos; see, however, below, and Introduction, § 9. 'Teisamenos did but follow the example of Melampus' (111) is given on plagiarism, so a citizen of Athens copied his predecessor of Athens, 6. 67, 'with a difference.' ὡς εἰκάσαι βασιλῆην τε καὶ πολέτην αὐτομνῖνους (ep. *Att. 111*) 'if we may compare them together who were denoted by respectively *king* and *citizen*.' Melampus was even more exiguous than Teisamenos. Melampus had still reputed descendant in Greece, a descendant of his was with Leonidas at Thermopylai, ep. 7. 221. His death perhaps created the

vacancy filled by the Pythian. 1111 gives the name of the father of Melampus as Amykion, 2 42 i.e. 'Amakion', and if the patronymic always preceded the earliest notice, that passage would be of earlier composition than this, and the discussion on Melampus (scholarship of later composition (third hand) is the suggestion on Teisamenos second hand in which it is embedded. Amykion apparently belongs (in Homer to the south Thessalian cycle, his mother is Tyro, his father Kheiron, his brothers are Alkon and Phokos, the Phokionian Pelasgos and Neokleides in alternate tradition, Od. 11, 253 ff. A part of Eos was named 'Amakion', Steph. B. sub c. 'perhaps the territory of Thessalian Pythia.' Identified as Pauly *Wörterb. 2 111*). Amykion himself has been taken to a Thessalian origin as 'a personification of Eos' (see *Wörterb. 111*). Melampus is the master magician who won the daughters of Pelias for his brother (111 11 111), a story more fully set forth 111 15 226 ff. where Pythia is given as his proper lover, whence he passes to Argos, *καὶ αὐτῶν πολλὰς ἀγαγόντων* 'Agamēstas, without the person being further explained, which, however, hardly proves that 'Homer did not know' the explanation.

111 11 63 gives the story a rationalized form. Agamēstas 2 2 2 more clearly supports the part played by the woman, is the first instance the daughters of Pelias, *καὶ αὐτῶν 11 11 11* is the duration of the dynasty. Five kings succeeded him in four generations, and six succeeded Melampus in six generations, down to Amykion, ep. 7 21 *supra*, i.e. the dynasty of Melampus outlasted that of his, while the active family of the house of Amykion, son of Agamēstas, outlasted both the others, but was displaced by Orestes, son of Agamēstas.

The connexion with the Megarian origin ascribed to Melampus in 2 2 does not at first sight square with the

Τεισαμενόν, παντως συνεχάρουν οἱ συγχωρησάντων δὲ καὶ ταῦτα τῶν Σπαρτιητέων, οὕτω δὲ πέντε σφί μαντευόμενος ἀγῶνας τοὺς μεγίστους Τεισαμενος ὁ Ἥλσιος, γενόμενος ; Σπαρτιήτης, συγκαταίρει. μούνοι δὲ δὴ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐγένοντο οὗτοι Σπαρτιήτης πολίται. οἱ δὲ πέντε ἀγῶνες οἶδε ἐγένοντο, εἰς μὲν καὶ πρῶτος οὗτος ὁ ἐν Πλαταιῆσι, ἐπὶ δὲ ὁ ἐν Τεγέῃ πρὸς Τεγέτας τε καὶ Ἀργεῖους γενόμενος, μετὰ δὲ ὁ ἐν Διπαιεῦσι πρὸς Ἀρκάδας πάντας πλὴν Μαν-

2 πάντα Schaefer, van H. : μάντιος, conl. Steen² 3 τῶν Σπαρτιητέων del. van H. 4 ἐπεὶ C 5 ἐν τῇ γῇ B || τε om. Bl. 6 ὁ δὲ . . . δὲ om. C

2 πάντως has overcome the common factors, cp. App. Crit.

συνεχάρουν, cp. 7. 161.

3. μαντευόμενος, 'acting in the capacity of μάντις.' Cp. βουλεύων, συμβαλὼν, etc.

4. ἀγῶνας τοὺς μεγίστους, repeated from (the oracle in) c. 33 *supra*.

Τεισαμενός δ' Ἥλσιος γὰρ Σπ. is stylistically observable; it marks the solemnity of the occasion with a quasi-heraldic flourish.

5. συγκαταίρει: cf. ἀναίρειν in fut. midl. *inf.*

μούνοι δὲ δὴ . . . πολίται. This remark destroys the sequence, and is probably a gloss. It would have come in better after συνεχάρουν of above. That it is inconsistent with the story of the Menelaus 146 would be no objection to it, for Hdt. might not have been acquainted with that story when he penned this remark. If authentic, however, the Minyai were afterwards disfranchised, nor is Hdt. so careful to avoid inconsistencies. The statement, however, rules out the case of Tyndarus (Plutarch, *Mor.* 230), the writer perhaps never having heard of him, or else considering him a Spartan *von Haus aus*. The exclusiveness of the Spartan franchise was the ruin of the Spartan state; the Lacedaemonian had as great an objection to *citizens* as any people on record.

7. ὁ ἐν Πλαταιῇσι that the battle 'in Plataea' (cp. c. 16, 25 *supra*) is the first of the five *agones* seems to show that Teisamenos had not long been a citizen of Sparta in 479 B.C. Cp. c. 33 *supra*.

ἐπὶ δὲ ὁ ἐν Τεγέῃ; the adverbial use of *ἐν* (local and temporal) is less

common than that of *μετὰ* (temporal); *τοῦτοι* may be understood Cp. 1. 2-9 8. 91, 113, etc.

No distinction is drawn in this place between the relative magnitude or importance of the five *agones* they are all *μέγιστοι* perhaps simply as *epicai* (cp. c. 33 *supra*). But it is, perhaps, a little a point of view even without explicit designation the magnitude and importance of the first, which is here first purely in time.

The battle of Tegea, against the Tegeatai and Argives, like the two which preceded it, was an episode in the *πολεμικαὶ αἰτίαι* which, according to Thuc. 1. 118. 2, precipitated the Spartans during the period of the growth of the power of Athens, but of which unfortunately very few details have been preserved for us. Cp. Strabo 372 *μετὰ τὴν τὴν Σαλαμῖν νικησάντων Ἀργείων καὶ τῶν Κλεισίων καὶ Τεγῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν τὰς Μυσητὰς ἀνέλαον καὶ τὴν ἀμυνὴν διέκοιραν*. This passage speaks of the Tegeatai in alliance with Argives, and of enemies opposed to Sparta, at the time of the destruction of Mycenae (cp. c. 29 *supra*), but that was after the outbreak of the Heros war (B. 1061, 1111, 1121 B.C.). The battle of Tegea probably fell some years earlier, perhaps while the exiled Leotyphides was in residence there (c. 12 *supra*) (and Themistocles already in Athens). It was evidently a victory, but not a decisive victory, for Sparta, as it was followed by a second great battle at Arkadia (B. 1061) (cp. c. 10) the Epigram of Simonides (Bergk. 1. 460 No. 102) to the Tegeatai who fell in the first, and dates the event 478 B.C.

8. ὁ ἐν Διπαιεῦσι: Epimenides (who is the cause of confusion) makes Dipaea a

νίων, ἐπὶ δὲ ὁ Μεσσηνίων ὁ πρὸς Ἰσθμῷ ὕστατος δὲ ὁ ἐν τῷ Τανάργῃ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους τε καὶ Ἀργεῖους γενόμενος [οὗτος δὲ ὕστατος] κατεργάσθη τὸν πέντε ἀγώνων.

Οὗτος δὲ τότε τοῖσι Ἕλλησι ὁ Τεισαμενός, ἀγόντων τῶν 36 Σπαρτηγέτων, ἐμαντεύετο ἐν τῇ Πλαταιίδι. τοῖσι μὲν συν

10. ὁ αὐτὸς Μεσσηνίων οὐκ α || τῷ Ἰσθμῷ B: Ἰσθμῷ Paulin et, Stein², Holder, van H. 11 οὗτος δὲ ὕστατος del Stern² οὗτος . . ἀγώνων necl. Krueger, van H 36. 1 δὲ S | ἀγών RV, || τῶν οὐκ S

town on the river Holovon (8. 11. 1) in the Arcadian district of Mantinea (8. 11. 7, cf. a 11. 12 supra), it was one of the townships afterwards absorbed in Megalopolis (A. 27. 3). No details of the battle have been preserved, but it was a contest between the Spartans and all the Arkadians (less the Mantinians) and resulted in a victory for Sparta. The Argives are thus time conspicuously by their absence; Busolt (III. 1. 121 ff.) conjectures that they were engaged in the war with Thebes, places the battle of Sphacteria in 471 B.C., and ascribes the origin of Arkadia to the intrigues of Pericles.

Curian, *Heloponnesos* 1. 315 incidentally dates the battle 469 B.C., cf. *Gr. Gr.*, II⁴ (1880) 164, 829 (without precise dates). The exact emplacement of Sphacteria is disputed, notwithstanding the fact that the name survives in the district called *Dafnia*.

Folyatis 1. 41 Xenoph. *H. H.* 7. 1. 25 ff., ad. loc. has no bearing on this passage.)

10. ὁ Μεσσηνίων ὁ πρὸς Ἰσθμῷ. Stern reverts to the reading of the MSS. on the ground that Pausanias must have read Ἰσθμῷ here, as he is temple is mentioned two passages with Thuc. 1. 10. 3. That is, supporting the text of Pausanias 9. 11. 8 to run *πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμῷ* (cf. *Gr. Gr.*, II⁴ (1880) 164, 829). But it is the vulgate, and is maintained by Hitzig, Bücheler as by Schenkl, who says *scilicet hoc verbum (cf. Ἰσθμῷ) recedens Pausanias e corrupto Herodoti libro* (p. 35) *eo transscriptum*. The ingenious emendation *ex τῷ σπαρτί* has been frequently advocated. Palmer (Palmerus) changed the Ἰσθμῷ here to Ἰσθμῷ. Those who adhere to the vulgate are hard headed to explain it. Stern says there was an old Messenian city named Ἰσθμῷ (Pausan. 4. 3. 10) and that there must have been a place in Messenia of the name Ἰσθμῷ. This is

better than Rawlinson and Bickesley who think that the Ἰσθμῷ of Korinth is intended (which would certainly be τῷ Ἰσθμῷ - a battle in western Argolis and Messenians at 'the Isthmus' is hardly conceivable). The host was broke out in 464 B.C. and lasted ten years, Thuc. 1. 101-103, 110-112, 121-122. Busolt's idea that Messenians bore the name Ἰσθμῷ and distinguished it liberally from the Korinthian Ἰσθμῷ appears to be inadmissible. To give this sense the text should run, *ἐν δὲ ὁ πρὸς Ἰσθμῷ Μεσσηνίων*. The text in text correct, ὁ Μεσσηνίων not being consistent with the formula for the four other agones.

δὲ τῷ Τανάργῃ. Thuc. 1. 107. 3 ff. For the text bearing on this battle cf. Hill, *Sources* pp. 103 ff. The date of the battle is 467 B.C. (468 B.C. in Busolt, III. 1. 311 ff.). The recent Nikomachos was in command of the Lakonian marines and allies - hence the presence of Teisamenos. The object of the expedition was the restoration of Spartan power in Central Greece, as a makeweight against Athens, but the expedition was not an unqualified success from the Spartan point of view. This battle as the last of the five agones, given as an important term for the date of that town's competition; cf. Introduction, § 9. Teisamenos was not present at the problematical battle of 'Sphacteria' (cf. Hill op. c. p. 296).

36 1. ἀγόντων τῶν Σπαρτηγέτων. The Spartans brought (led) him, not he them (notwithstanding their wish to make him their *ἡγεμῶνα τῶν πολεμῶν*, 35 supra); and as their object as perferred that office (*ἐμαντεύετο*, cf. *μαντεύομαι* a 35 supra) for the confederates *τοῖσι Ἕλλησι*.

2. ἐν τῇ Πλαταιίδι, more correct than ἐν Πλαταιῶν c. 36 supra, cf. c. 13, 25 supra.

"Ελλοι καλὰ ἐγένετο τὰ ἱρὰ ἀμυνομένοισι, διαβάσι δὲ τὸν
 37 Ἀσπὸν καὶ μάχης ἄρχουσι οὖ. Μαρδονίῳ δὲ προθυμομένῳ
 μάχης ἄρχειν οὐκ ἐπιτήδεα ἐγένετο τὰ ἱρὰ, ἀμυνομένοι δὲ καὶ
 τούτῳ καλί. καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς Ἑλληνικοῖσι ἱροῖσι ἐχράτο, μῆτιν
 ἔχων Ἠγησίστρατον ἀνδρὰ Ἠλεῖόν τε καὶ τῶν Τελλαδίων

3 ἱρὰ A
 3 οὗτω C || ἐχράτο P1. ἐχράτο AC

37. 1 προθυμῶν C1, τὰς II. προθυμῶν B
 4 τελλαδίων B

3. καλὰ ἐγένετο τὰ ἱρὰ the imperfect is prominent, and is followed by the construction above stated. The phrase is the best paraphrase of the term *καλῶς*, cp. c. 18 § *supra*.

ἀμυνομένοι, if a 1 so long as they acted on the defensive, and refrained from attacking the Asiatics, and delivering an attack. The participle here is equivalent to a consultative sentence. The Asiatics clearly was between the two armies, cp. c. 30 *supra*. The Helianic forces had advanced down from the ὄρεσσι, putting themselves in battle array, into 'the second position,' with the object of inducing the Persian forces to cross the Ἀσπὸν, a maneuver which they could hardly carry out without some losses. In their actual position the Greeks were probably not directly exposed to the enemy: it was with the barbarian host that they wished to engage. To cross the Ἀσπὸν would have exposed them to the Persian cavalry, and would probably have been ultimately fatal. Themistocles understood that well enough.

37. 1. προθυμομένῳ μάχης ἄρχειν. This assertion may rest on a genuine tradition, and the fact remains that Mardonius did finally begin the decisive battle. Good reasons for his desire are not far to seek: (i.) He was the aggressor, the invader, and the initiative naturally lay with him. (ii.) His own reputation was at stake, and there was opportunity for great distinction. (iii.) A victory in the field was desirable, (1) to impress his allies, (2) to secure his rear and communications, (3) perhaps to ease the situation in Asia and especially to fix a line (the Greek fleet, iv.) A Persian victory at Plataea would virtually cancel Salamis, disrupt the Greek alliance, and probably lead to the subjugation of the Hellenes. (v.) He had recommended in drawing the Peloponnesians beyond the Isthmus, and on to a to take of his own selection (cp. c. 18 *supra*). (vi.) Delay was in

their favour, and they were receiving reinforcements daily: thus a quick decision was desirable from his point of view. Mardonius, however, evidently supported his advisers, and wished to fight the battle on his own terms. He was at, but as unwilling as the Greeks themselves to cross the Ἀσπὸν, at the point which they had selected for passage — τὸν Ἀσπὸν τὸς ταύτης πρὸς τὸν ἑλ. — and having drawn them beyond the Isthmus, and over Kithaeron, and even down to the river bank, he may well have hoped to induce them to cross the stream. In the sequel, indeed, he seems to have attempted to push, or sweep them over it from behind, by sending his cavalry round the hill, on which they were posted, and cutting them off from their water supply in the rear. Their retreat surprised him far more than their further advance would have done, and finally hurled him across the river with disastrous results.

2. ἐπιτήδεα. 'suitable thereto, i.e. to beginning battle. The adverb is used c. 7 *supra* in a more absolute way.

3. Ἑλληνικοῖσι ἱροῖσι ἐχράτο. An admission which goes to show how little the Persian war was a religious crusade against the idolaters (cp. c. 18 *supra*, 104-15 *supra*). Mardonius is especially philhellenic in these remarks, cp. 8, 123.

4. Ἠγησίστρατον, a name of prominence on either side, and strong enough, at this same moment, in the operation in the Greek fleet, cp. c. 41 *supra*. Like Themistocles, the leader on the Greek side c. 33 *supra*, Mardonius dined in an Eleian, but of another noble family or clan, the Teutides, founded or represented by that Teutias who had wrought the Persianians into the service of the Persians, x. 77. There was probably a very proximity between the land on the national side and the Teutid on the Persian.

έόντα λογιμώτατον, τὸν δὴ πρότερον τούτων Σπαρτιῆται ; λαβόντες ἔδησαν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ὡς πεπονθότες πολλὰ τε καὶ ἀκέρεια ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. δ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κακῷ ἐχόμενος, ὥστε τρέχων περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς πρό τε τοῦ θανάτου πεισόμενος πολλὰ τε καὶ λυγρὰ, ἔργον ἐργάσατο μῆζον λόγου. ὡς γὰρ δὴ ἐδέδετο ἐν ξίλῳ σιδηροδέτῳ, ἐστυειχθέντος καὶ σιδηρίου ἐκράτησε, 10 αὐτίκα δὲ ἐμψχανάτο ἀνδρηιώτατον ἔργον πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖν ἰδμεν· σταθμησάμενος γὰρ ὅπως ἐξελεύσεται οἱ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ

6 «τὴν» ἐπὶ Worfel, van H., || τε om. R 7 ὑπ': πρὸς malit Kallenberg 8 προσόμενος Marc. 9 ἐδέδετο R(V) 10 ἐστυειχθέντος B || καὶ C 11 δὴ B (αὐτιμολῶ) S; || ἀνδρηιώτατου Marc ἀνδρηιώτατον ceteri (ἀνδρηιώτατον van H.) || πάντων ἔργων B

6. πρότερον τούτων. Hist. expressly dates the origin of the feud between Hecgestrates and the Spartans before ἐδ Ἰλατάου, but he does not explain its origin, nor how Hecgestrates came to leave Tegea for the Persian camp, nor what became of him between the battle of Plataea and his arrest in Laconia. Hist. possibly starts this story with an anachronism; the great enmity of the Spartans for Hecgestrates may only date from his medium, and his capture at Plataea, his escape from Sparta, have been subsequent to that event. If he was following his father's career in central Greece, there is no difficulty in understanding how he came to be drawn to Maronides. Could he ever have given the Spartans greater cause of offence?

6. ἔδησαν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ: cp. 3. 114 Μῆζον γὰρ (so δέον) ἐπὶ δ' There would be some form of final before sentence was actually pronounced, or carried out (was the *Coronatus* the count? Cp. Aristot. *Pol.* 2. 9. 25-1270a, 3. 1. 10-1275a, of course under assumption of the Ephors).

6. πεπονθότες . . . ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. It is a weak point in the story that the injuries inflicted by Hecgestrates upon the Spartans are not specified. The conjecture that he had acted as divider to the Tegeates in a war with Sparta (such a suspicion that there had just been such a war and also that it would have been lawful to put him to death on such a charge, which is hardly tenable. A charge of 'medium' would be another matter, cp. 7. 2. 1. But his offence was manifold (πολλὰ)!

7. ἀνάρσια. c. 110 *intra*.

ἰσὺ, with a noster verb, as often. cp. 5. 61 ὑπὸ βασιλῶν ἀποχαιρόμενοι ἐπὶ ἐν τούτῳ τ. κακῷ ἐχόμενος ἐπὶ ἐν θώματι ἐνέχεσθαι ἡμέρα, and ἀποχαιρῶ ἐνέχεσθαι 8. 52. Here, however, the situation is more definitely material.

ἔστυειχθέντος - ἐπὶ cp. 5. 101 ὥστε τὰ περιέχεσθαι νομομαχῶν του πυρὸς 6. 44 ὥστε γὰρ θηρωθέντα τῶντος τῆς θαλάσσης ταύτης ἀπλ.

8. τρέχων περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς: cp. 3. 102 δραμόνται περὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν. 7. 57 περὶ σφῶν τρέχων

πρὸς τε τοῦ θανάτου i.e. he was prepared to undergo a good deal rather than die, to escape death; before, instead of death. on this cp. ec. 136, 157 *supra*.

9. λυγρὰ is a decidedly poetical word

μῆζον λόγου, 'beyond description, too great for words'—as we too say, when about to describe anything!

10. σιδηροδέτῳ: which explains why he could not cut the stone to pieces. Cp. story of Kleomenes 6. 75, which may also suggest how Hecgestrates managed to possess himself of a knife. σιδηρίον. 7. 18 in a somewhat different sense.

11. πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἰδμεν: a more formula cp. 8. 102, 1. 2 c. 54 *intra*, etc.

12. σταθμησάμενος ἐπὶ ἀσπίδι, or ἀσπίδι on the fort σταθμησάμενος cp. Vr too *Perle*, sub m.): he might in this case actually 'measure', or merely 'calculate' . . . 'we go' he could not

ἐξελεύσεται of course 'out of the stock'.

ποδός, ἀπέταμε τὸν ταρσὸν ἐαυτοῦ. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας, ὡς
φυλασσόμενος ὑπο φιλάκων, διορύξας τὸν τοῖχον ἀπὲρρη ἐς
15 Τεγέην, τὰς μὲν νύκτας πορευόμενος, τὰς δὲ ἡμέρας καταδύνων
ἐς ὕλην καὶ αὐλιζόμενος, οὕτω ὡς Λακεδαιμονίων πανδημί
διζημένων τρίτῃ εὐφρόνῃ γενέσθαι ἐν Τεγέῃ, τοὺς δὲ ἐν θώματι
μεγάλῃ ἐνέχσασθαι τῆς τε τόλμης, ὁρῶντας τὸ ἡμίτομον τοῦ
ποδός κείμενον, καί κεινον οὐ δυνάμεντος εὐρεῖν. τότε μὲν οὕτω
20 διαφυγὼν Λακεδαιμονίους καταφεύγει ἐς Τεγέην ἐθίσαν οὐκ
ἀρθμὴν Λακεδαιμονιοῖσι τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον· ὕλης δὲ γενό-
μενος καὶ προσποιησάμενος ξύλινον πόδα κατεστήκεε ἐκ τῆς

13 αὐτοῦ? Stein². del. Krueger, van H. ὥστε B, Holzer, van H.
19 ὥστε B², Stein¹, Holzer, van H. || παιδῆμαί BCF², Stein¹ .7
θώματι Pz, Stein¹ 18 τε τότε B || ὁρῶντας Pz, Stein¹, van H.
ὁρῶντας C 19 τοῦτο κείμενον : 20 καταφεύγει R.V 23
ἐκ ἐκ C

13. τὸν ταρσὸν would, strictly speak-
ing, be only the flat or fore-part of the
foot, cp. 8¹², but he must have cut
off rather more than that. Did he not
amputate his foot at the ankle? And
and he only one foot in the stocks? Or
did the liberation of one foot enable him
to withdraw the other also? These
dilemmas were perhaps not merely
'medical men,' but something of
surgery (as well as comparative
anatomy, from their extirpations!).

14. διορύξας τὸν τοῖχον, no doubt
merely a mud wall, or bank of adobe.
He might use the same knife as he had
used for the operation on his foot.

16. αὐλιζόμενος: sc. ἐν ἀρχῇ. For
the verb cp. c. 23 infra.

πανδημί διζημένων there was a
hunt and cry raised after him, πανδημί
does not necessarily imply an expedition
under arms. The verb διζημαί is of
frequent occurrence in Hdt. and is not
to be confounded with the rarer διζω,
διζομαι.

17. τρίτῃ εὐφρόνῃ. Tegyra is only
about thirty miles from Sparta but
Hegestratos will have had to go a good
deal out of the direct road, travel only
in the dark, and with a bad wound.

τοῦ δὲ, as though αὐτὸν μὲν had
succeeded which must indeed be under-
stood before γενέσθαι.

18 ἐνέχσασθαι cp. l. 7 above. Not
quite exact is the coordination of the two
points, or cause of their attainment,
viz. his hardihood in amputating his
foot and his success in escaping τὸ

ἡμίτομον. cp. 7³⁹. But would he
have surprised them less if he had not
left it about 7?

20 δούσαν οὐκ ἀρθμὴν Λακεδαί-
μονιοις. Tegyra was at war with Sparta
not so very long after τὰ Πλαταιά cp.
c. 34 supra, and in some ways, at
least as soon the later date between
Tegyra and Sparta would be very near the
story of Hegestratos except so far as the
words πρότερον τοῦτον up above may
be held to bar the way. If Tegyra was
at war with Lakonianism before the
Persian invasion of which no other
record survives, then this feud should
have been noticed in 7. 14 as one of
those composed in 431 B.C. If so, the
reconciliation did not extend to the
Messanians, the Spartans were already
provided with Tegyraeans. Might they
not have had Hegestratos on easier
terms? Was Tegyraeans himself at all
reasonable for their unpleasing hostility
to the Teles?

22 προσποιησάμενος ξύλινον πόδα
he did not make his wooden foot with
his own hands, but probably employed
a statuary. Art. 5 is perhaps even ap-
parently true, except as to such
slowness.

κατεστήκει . πολέμιος, he took
his stand took up a hostile attitude,
or simply 'became', for the verb cp.
c. 70 infra.

ἐκ τῆς ὕλης 'openly, frankly, &c.
ὁδοὶ or τέχνη: cp. c. 57 infra. Had
he ever pretended friendship for them?

ἰθὺς Λακεδαιμονίοισι πόλεμος. οὐ μὲντοι ἐς γε τέλος οἱ
συνήνεκε τὸ ἔχθος τὸ ἐς Λακεδαιμονίους συγκεχυρημένον ἦλθε
γὰρ μαντευόμενος ἐν Ζακύνθῳ ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπέθανε. 25

Ὁ μὲντοι θάνατος ὁ Ἡγησιστράτου ἕστερον ἐγένετο τῶν 38
Πλαταικῶν, τότε δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀσσιπῇ Μαρδονίῳ μεμσθωμένος
οὐκ ὀλίγου ἐθύετό τε καὶ προεβυμέτεν κατὰ τε τὸ ἔχθος τὸ
Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ κατὰ τὸ κέρδος. ὥς δὲ οὐκ ἐκαλλιέρε
ὥστε μάχεσθαι οὔτε αὐτοῖσι Πέρσιν οὔτε τοῖσι μετ' ἐκείνων
ἱούσι Ἑλλήνων (εἶχον γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι ἐπ' ἐωντῶν μάντιν
Ἰππόμαχον Λευκάδιον ἄνδρα), ἐπιρρέοντων δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων

23 ἰθὺς cod B γε 15 B, Guistford 24 συγκεχυρημένον R
συνεχυρημένον BV, συγκεχυρημένον Reiske, Holder, van H. 38 1
μεντοι. μὲν γὰρ B, Holder 2 δ' CP, van H. τῇ Μαρδονίῳ 2
3 ὀλίγου 4 1 προεβυμέτεν AC προεβυμέτεν van H. τε γὰρ τὸ BV, τὸ
τῶν R 1 ἐκαλλιέρι van H. 7 ἐπιρρέοντων G, Holder

23 15 ἰθὺς. 'imply, 'at last'
24 συνήνεκε. sc. ἐς τὸ θάνατον, 'went
well' was successful; cf. 8 δὲ πρὸς
the word is used absolutely, as here;
followed in c. 36 by συνήνεκε αὐτῷ ἐς
εὐτυχίαν

συγκεχυρημένον: the passive
form is unique and constitutes a dis-
tinction; it can hardly be right though
the neighbouring ingenious guess the word
of 'mutants' 'mutant' 'mutant' out of
it. But it is not that the reading of 8
was a correction of the true reading
συγκεχυρημένον which Reiske conjectured
afterwards. cf. App. Crit.

25 μαντευόμενος. 'acting as diviner'
in c. 36 2 μαντεῖον, but not necessarily in
fact; it was this assumption of mantle
functions apparently which gave such
great offence to Sparta that he had
predicted he was in the service of
Persia might be his chief offence.

ἐν Ζακύνθῳ. what would be the
date of his arrest in Zakynthos? Schöel
dated it to the second summer of the
Peloponnesian war, cf. Thuc. 2.66, which
would give Hegesistrates indeed a long
life! But c. 11. 1. 123 places it with
more probability just after the battle of
Diplas. fugitives from Sparta naturally
went west; Demasitos has been over-
taken in Zakynthos (cf. 10 μαντεῖον) but
not extradited; Themistokles started in
the same direction, Thuc. 1.133

ἀπέθανε. κ. τ. αὐτῶν cf. 1. 7
οὐρανῷ

23. 2 ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀσσιπῇ. cf. c. 30
supra. Mardonius and the Greeks are
both 'on the Asopia,' but on different
sides of it.

μεμσθωμένος οὐκ ὀλίγου: there
was nothing peculiar in this circum-
stance; no doubt all the diviners were
(more or less) successful through to the dis-
covery of Hegesistrates' crime is it men-
tioned that he prostituted the diviner's
office for 'bute and greed.'

4. οὐκ ἐκαλλιέρι ὥστε μάχεσθαι. 1
οὐκ ἐγένετο κατὰ τὰ ἔα, cf. c. 36 supra,
μάχεσθαι πρὸς ἑαυτὸν — μάχη ἀπέχθη, other-
wise there is a slight discrepancy between
c. 37 ad init. and this place. Perhaps
the signs as directed by the diviner were
against him the competitor, while
Hegesistrates misused his divination to
the extent above narrated.

6 14 ἰωνῶν cf. c. 11 supra.

7. Ἰππόμαχον Λευκάδιον ἄνδρα.
Hippomachos of Leukas is the least
distinguished of the diviners, and Hdt.
has nothing to tell of him. His fellow
diviners are highly in the ranks of
the confederate Greeks, cf. c. 28 supra.
(The name is not as common as might
be expected, appearing first as that of
a Trojan, Il. 12. 186 and again as one
of the Thracians at Athens in 404 B.C.,
Xenoph. Hdt. 2.3.2.3.12.)

ἐπιρρέοντων cf. Il. 11. 724
ἐπάρκω ἵκωσιν

καὶ γινομένων πλεόνων. Τιμηγενίδης ὁ Ἑρπυος ἀνὴρ Ἀθηαῖος
 συνεβούλευσε Μαρδονίῳ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Κιθαιρώνος φυλάξαι,
 10 λέγων ὡς ἐπιρρίουσι οἱ Ἕλληνες αἰεὶ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην καί
 39 ὡς ἀπολαμβάνοιτο συχνοῖς. ἡμέραι δὲ σφί ἀντικατημένοις
 ἤδη ἐγεγύνασαν ὀκτώ, ὅτε ταῦτα ἐκείνος συνεβούλευε Μαρδονίῳ.
 3 δὲ μαθὼν τὴν παραίνεσιν εὖ ἔχουσαν, ὡς εὐφρόνῃ ἐγένετο,
 πέμπει τὴν ἵππον ἐς τὰς ἐκβολὰς τὰς Κιθαιρωνίδας αἱ ἐπ.

8 καὶ < αἰεὶ > γινομένων Nalw, Holder καὶ γινομένων < αἰεὶ > van H
 1 τιμηγενίδης αἱ Pz 9 κιθαιρώνος α 10 ἐπιρρίουσι α, Holder 1
 αἰεὶ del van H. 11 ἀπολαμβάνοιτο B 39. 3 εὐφρόνῃ A
 4 ἐκβολὰς R: ἐμβολὰς SMarg.

8. Τιμηγενίδης ὁ Ἑρπυος. This name appears below, cc. 86, 87, with Attaginos, as leader of the raiding parties in Thracia; he doubtless held the post of 'Basilearch', cp c. 16 supra. The name appears as Τιμηγενίδας in Pausan. 7. 10. 2 who has nothing new to say of him; the proper form was presumably Τιμηγενίδας (or Τιμαγενίδας?). The name Τιμαγενης is not uncommon, but Τιμαγετίας is only borne by the Thracian traitor Hs. father's name, Herpyas (Heracles?), is no less unique.

The notion that Mardonios was put up to employing his cavalry on the Greek flank and thus of communication by Τιμαγενοῖδας is probably a popular fiction. The Persian was, indeed, unworthy of his position, if he had to be counselled in the very rudiments of warfare by a Boeotian.

9 τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Κιθαιρώνος. It is nowhere botanica any clear connection that there was more than one pass over Kithairon, but cp. next chapter. The plural ἐκβολὰς is without parallel, as Hdt. uses the plural (eg. 7. 178) of a single route: ἐκβολή not ἐκβολή, is, however, the usual term; the word here seems appropriate from the supposed speaker's point of view. No other Τιμαγενοῖδας nor Mardonios could have any pass now in view but the main route over Kithairon to Eleutherai. The Eleutherai Plateau road was merely a branch of this; the Platina Muzia road was high on the mountain, very rough and unsuitable for cavalry, and doubtless, like the previously named one, covered by the Greeks. But in moving from their first position at Myka and the Greeks had opened up the main road Thracian Erythrai Eleutherai, perhaps relying upon their supplies coming the

Hestia and Platina. The Persian cavalry could now ride freely up the hill past Erythrai, and once up there might sweep down to the west along the road to Hystia, to Platina, and so on. If Mardonios had moved west with a view to outflanking the Greek host, he seems now preparing a diversion on their right.

It is conceivable that the advance of the Greeks from the position 'at Eleutherai' to the position 'on the Aegaeon' was encouraged or enforced by the presence of the Persian cavalry. It is even conceivable that Hdt's chronology, or sequence of events, is here at fault, and that it was this very expedition of the cavalry here recorded which induced the Greeks to advance down from the plateau on to the Aegaeon lake.

φυλάξαι, 'to occupy in force.'

11. ἀπολαμβάνοιτο, an unusual form cp. 3. 148 ἀπολαμβάνεσθαι.

39. 1 ἡμέραι δὲ σφί. δατά. Pzetai make this mean that night have had opened since the two armies came into position opposite one another ἐπὶ τῷ Ἄεστω or in the second position, cp. cc. 43, 31 supra. The δατάειν passage is that position has been a ready-made, c. 33 supra. No long a delay as this, without any exchange of hostilities, or any attempt on the part of the Persian cavalry to go to and off surprises or to harass the Greeks in the advanced position, seems improbable. The situation would be eased if we might suppose or add the indefinite number of days spent in the first position, and its development. It may, however, safely be doubted whether the hurry of Platina is to be taken quite seriously in the summering of days; cp. Arrian's 1 VIII. 6. 2.

3 τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Κιθαιρώνος αἱ ἐπὶ Πλατίναν φέρουσι, the pass over

- ὑπαξυγία τε πεντακσία σιτία ἄγοντα ἀπὸ Πελοποινήσου ἐς
τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ ἀνθρώπους οἱ εἶποντο τοῖσι ξυγγίσι
10 ἰλόντες δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἄγρην οἱ Πέρσαι ἀφειδέως ἐφόκειον.
οὐ φειδόμενοι οὔτε ὑποξυγίου οὔδενος οὔτε ἀνθρώπων, ὥς δὲ
ἄδην εἶχον κτείνοντες, τὰ λοιπὰ αὐτῶν ἤλαυνον περιβαλλόμενοι.
παρὰ τε Μαρδόνιον καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον.
40 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἑτέρας δύο ἡμέρας διέτριψαν,
οὐδέτεροι βουλόμενοι μάχης ἄρξαι· μέχρι μὲν γὰρ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ
ἐπήισαν οἱ βάρβαροι πειρώμενοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, διέβαινον δὲ
οὐδέτεροι. ἢ μέντοι ἵππος ἢ Μαρδονίου αἰεὶ προσκεκίττο·
5 καὶ ἐλύπεε τοὺς Ἕλληνας· οἱ γὰρ Θηβαῖοι, ἅτε μηδίζοντες
μεγάλως, προθύμως ἔφερον τὸν πόλεμον καὶ αἰεὶ κατηγγέοντο

9 οἱ R 11 οὐ om. B, van H num glosses αὐ . . ἀνθρώποι
delevener? 13 ἄδην: ἄδε S | αἰτίαν ε | περιβαλλόμενοι Μαίη: (ταλαι-
βαλλόμενοι C) 13 παρὰ τε om. C· τε om α 40 2 ἐπήισαν
Μαγ. | πειρώμενοι van H. 6 προθύμως <τε>? Stein? || ἐφεροντος
πόλεμον C

by the cavalry are not very convincing'; the Persians would hardly have killed the beasts for pure love of slaughter. I see a mad Aias, but presumably captured as far as possible with the stores.

10. ἄγρην is rather a sporting word, cp. L. 12, 2. 70, S. 129.

11 οὐ φειδόμενοι . . ἀνθρώπων looks like a gloss ἀφειδέως is used without explanation in L. 163, 267 but I will not argue to form that to the ear or composition of this passage.

12. ἄδην εἶχον: an adverbial construction on Plato *Rep.* 341 D. Schweig houses: *Lac.* treats ἄδην as a subst.,

περιβαλλόμενοι: cp. M. 2.

40 1. ἑτέρας δύο ἡμέρας, i.e. 9th and 10th. The ἔργον, a furious slaughter of slave and beast—not without misplaced irony!—had taken place on the night of the 8th.

διέτριψαν, 'wasted'—a little hard upon them, especially on the Persian cavalry, which, though neither unwounded μάχης ἄρξαι (a pitched battle), and some would diminish, as is immediately admitted.

2 μέχρι . . τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ ἐπήισαν. Mardonius apparently drew out his men, day by day, on the left bank of Asope, opposite the Greek *Lager*, and by attacking his cavalry round their position tried to draw and drive them north across the Asope.

3 οἱ γὰρ Θηβαῖοι καὶ The passage

exhibits a parallel instance against the Thébans, who were nicknamed 'whole sale' *μεγάλοι*. But, following to don't a previous source. At the or phed. Attic represents the Thébans as beating Persians and Medes, until it came to actual fighting (μέχρι μάχης), and then leaving it to the 'barbarian' cavalry to lead the fighting deeds ἀρξάμενοι. It is hardly to fight the Thébans, Thébans an an-Makebolian cavalry on the right of the Persian line round the Asope, on the left wing, even as the Medo-Persian cavalry on the left side round the Lakodanionians on the Greek right and the two may have met about the springs of *ταρπαιή*; it is possible, however, that the Greek left, on *ταρπαιή* ground, or was concerned for *ταρπαιή*, suffered less from the waiting Greeks than the Greek right from the Persians. Only the Thébans are mentioned here with Thessalians and Macedonians the Athenians were afterwards or either *αἰετα*.

It is not very likely that the Greeks had been explicit drawn these troops together (on the Asope) before Mardonius adopted these very obvious tactics, nor again very likely that he owed *their* adoption to Thébans suggestion.

6. ἔφερον τὸν πόλεμον, cp. c. 12 *αἰετα*.

κατηγγέοντο: cp. c. 12 *αἰετα*. Cp. 104 *αἰετα*, 124 *αἰετα*.

μέχρι μάχης, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου παραδεκόμενοι Πέρσαι τε καὶ Μήδοι μάλα ἔσκον οἱ ἀπεδείκνυντο ἡρετέν.

Μέχρι μὲν νυν τῶν δέκα ἡμερῶν οὐδὲν ἐπὶ πλεον ἐγένετο 41
τούτων· ὡς δὲ ἐνδεκάτῃ <σφι> ἐγγόνες ἡμέρῃ ἀντικατημένοισι
ἐν Πλαταιῇσι, οἳ τε δὴ Ἕλληνες πολλῶ πλευνες ἐγγόνεσαν

θ μάλιστα θ: καλὰ C

3 ἐν: ἀλλήλοισι ἐν s

41. 2 τούτων s || <σφι> Σίωσι(?) s

7. μέχρι μάχης κτλ is not inconsistent with οὐδέν· βουλευμένοι μάχῃ ἄρσιν, above, which plainly refers to a general or pitched battle.

τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου παραδεκόμενοι is a somewhat different sense: 1. 18 παραδεκόμενοι πορὶ τοῦ ναυάρχου τὸν πολεμὸν προσεῖχε ἐνταταμένον. Still more, 2. 148 τὰ ἐν πόλεμῳ ἐπασκόντες μάχην παρὰ πατρός ἐδεκόμενοι. Cf also 1. 102 παραδίδωτο ἐν ἔργῳ. In all these cases the predecessor has done what the successor is doing: ἐδεκόμενοι is the appropriate verb with Hdt. Cf. 7. 211, 3 (ἐπεδεδέσθαι s. 21. 15 α. below).

8. μάλα ἔσκον· the verb has the frequentative form, cf. 7. 119 μάλα κ the positive of μάλλω and μάλιστ' α, and occurs here to have a comparative, adverbial, or intensifying signification, differentiating still more emphatically the action of the Persians from that of the Thians. It is comparative; it goes with verbs: 1. 102 θώματα δὲ γῆ ἢ Ἀσπίδι ἐν συγκρούσει μάλα ἔχει, 1. 186 οἱ δὲ τὰ ἀρχαῖα μάλα τῶν ἐχθρῶν 1. 181 ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐν συγκύσῃ ἄλλος πύργος ἐπαβέβηκε, καὶ ἕτεροι μάλα ἐπὶ τούτῳ, where it very nearly = εὐθέως πόλιν. Cf also 7. 11, 186 etc.

ἀρετέν· a substantivized plural; not a number of different virtues, but a number of cases of one virtue: courage - 'being brave.' Cf. 1. 178 Ἀσπίδι δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ μαχόμενα δόλου πρὸς πάλιν ἐστὶν ἀνεδείκνυντο.

41. 1. τὸν δέκα ἡμερῶν: viz. the eight days specified in 39 and the two days specified in 40 supra. With 'ten days' above, we reach the Persian's Heliosic 'week,' out of which the previous analysis of time may have been extracted. A guess has been hazarded on the eighth, ninth, tenth, and even on the second (s. 40 supra). It is hardly possible that from the third to the eighth at sundown the Greeks had been allowed to occupy their second position absolutely unprotected, or that,

if protected, as on the ninth, tenth and twelfth the eleventh is dropped by Hdt. from this point of view, and devoted to the conference between Histiaeus and Artabanus), they could have held out without either attacking the Achaemenid battle or retreating to some third position, better protected from the cavalry. In other words, it is very unlikely that so many days elapsed in the second position as Histaeus.

οὐδέν· τούτων is a formula, cf. 9. 121, 6. 42.

2. ὡς δὲ ἐνδεκάτῃ ἐγγόνες ἡμέρῃ, 'when the eleventh day was come' (not 'was past') = viz. the eleventh day on which the two armies were facing each other ἐν Πλαταιῇσι. It is no doubt according to Hist. a corruption, 'in the second position, ἐν τῇ Πλαταιῇ, ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσπιδί, cf. s. 25, 30, 31. 32 supra. But, even if the chronological index is to be taken quite strictly, the topographical or encampment index may admit of being stretched a little further, so that ἐν Πλαταιῇσι should not merely equal ἐν τῇ Πλαταιῇ, but cover the ground of all the operations in Boeotia antecedent to the battle. The word needed, as here used, ἀντικατημένοισι ἐν Πλαταιῇσι, appears to the Persians equally with the Greeks, yet the Persians were on the other side of the Aspidon which was not even Persian land.

3. πολλὰς ὥρας ἐγγόνεσαν· this assertion cannot be taken to mean that the Persians gave above s. c. 30 and by this time were largely encircled. Hist. was bound in his translation to give the maximal estimate, and the figures there given must be taken to cover the actualities here specified. But the apparent inconsequence shows that strict exactness of time or argument cannot be assumed in Hdt.'s methods of exposition, and entitles his readers to a certain liberty of conjecture, whether in the logical or in the chronological interest.

καὶ Μαρδόνιος περιημέτεε τῇ ἔδρῃ, ἐνθαῦτα ἐς λόγους ἦλθον
 5 Μαρδόνιός τε ὁ Γοβριεὺ καὶ Ἀρτάβαζος ὁ Φαρνάκεος. ἔτι ἐν
 ὀλίγοις Περσέων ἦν ἀνὴρ δοκιμὸς παρὰ Ξέρξῃ. βουλευομένων
 δὲ αἶδε ἦσαν αἱ γυνῶμαι, ἣ μὲν Ἀρταβαζέων ὡς χρεὼν εἴη

4 περιημέτεε . . Μαρδόνιος om. R 5 γοβριεὺ P Marc., Stein
 Γωβριεὺ van H. γωβριεὺ 6 βουλευομένων B 7 ἔτιαν = || μετ
 γὰρ B || χρεὼν CPz, van H.

4. Μαρδόνιος περιημέτεε τῇ ἔδρῃ: for the verb cp. S. 109, for the construction rather 4 154. ἔδρῃ is a quasi-military term, cp ἀνταρπάρῃ above. Thuc. 6 7 2. But here it means perhaps little more than 'delay' (διατριβή, cp. διτρίβαν c. 40).

5. ἐς λόγους ἦλθον 'had a conversation' or conference together. The parties to such a proceeding would be more or less co-ordinate (like two Roman commanders commanding different armies); nevertheless, on the present occasion, it appears that in some way or other the authority of Mardonius was superior to that of Artabazus; moreover the conference is not a private dialogue, but apparently a council of war, at which all the chief officers in the army, or at least, are present—though Hdt. is not clear or explicit on this point. How purely rhetorical or stylistic the use of the passive may be is more fully shown in the present case, cp 7 11 etc. For Goltzsch ep. 7. 3 3 etc.; for Pritchett S. 126.

6. ἐν ὀλίγοις cp. 5 52.

6. βουλευομένων, not merely the two Persians just named but all those present at the Council, who have two γυνῆας laid before them, that of Artabazus, supported by the Thabians, and that of Mardonius which probably commanded itself to his Persian officers.

7. ἣ μὲν Ἀρταβαζέων The plan of Artabazus is to abandon operations in the field, to evacuate the fortified camp, to retire behind the walls of Thebes, and from there—whether it might be expected the Greek army would follow to attempt by bribery and corruption the surrender of the Persian camp. This record is remarkable for several reasons.

(i) It implies that there were serious disagreements of the Persian side as to the issue of a battle.

(ii) It suggests that the forward movement of the Greeks and their occupation of the second position gave them some

advantage, perhaps threatened the Persian position more directly than Hdt. appears to realize. As against this, however, it seems improbable that the tradition, so favourable to the Greeks, and especially to the Athenians, should have quite forgotten, or missed so important a point in their favour.

(iii) Artabazus cannot be exonerated from the suspicion of viewing Mardonius with jealousy, and misunderstanding the Persian intent to personal schemes and rivalries. The story of his subsequent action or inaction is astonishing. The technical relation between the two generals is obscure; see below; but whatever it was, Artabazus comes bad out of the affair in the sequel, notwithstanding a pretty evident bias in his favour.

(iv) The plan proposed by Artabazus, as far as negotiations, bribery and so forth are concerned, had already been tried; cp notes to c. 4 *supra*. It is said to be supported by the Thebans, it is indeed their own original idea, cp c. 2 *supra*, but the time has surely gone by for it now, with the confederate army in position before them. If there was a meeting party in the Athenian camp, Plutarch *Arad.* 18, there was an advising session on the other side of the Asopos' cp. c. 44 *infra*.

(v) The idea of retreating into Thebes is not a sound one, though the proposal is valuable as implying comparatively small numbers on the Persian side. Artabazus might, indeed, have acquired a respect for Greek fortifications from his own failure before Potidaea 4 128-9, but a siege of Thebes could hardly have been to the advantage of the besieged: the Persian cavalry would have been lost, the abandonment of the Persian camp on the Asopos was morally tantamount to a defeat.

(vi) Hdt. places this debate on the 11th day. But this date may be merely a dramatic time. The difference of

ἀναζεύξαντας τὴν ταχίστην πάντα τὸν στρατὸν ἶναί ἐς τὸ
τείχος τὸ Θηβαίων, ἔνθα αὐτὸν τέ σφι ἐπεινεῖχθαι πολλὸν
καὶ χρόνου τοῖσι ὑποζυγίοισι, κατ' ἡσυχίην τε ἰζομένους δια-
πρήσσεσθαι παιεύοντας τὰς· ἔχειν γὰρ χρυσὸν πολλὸν μὲν
ἐπίσημον πολλὸν δὲ καὶ ἄσημον, πολλὸν δὲ ἄργυρὸν τε καὶ
ἐκπόματα· τούτων φειδομένους μηδενὸς διαπέμπει ἐς τοὺς
Ἕλληνας, Ἕλληνων δὲ μάλιστα ἐς τοὺς προεστώτας ἐν τῇσι

8 ἀναζεύξαντες C 9 ὁββαῖοι RV || τί σφι, 8 ἐπεινεῖχθαι RB:
συνεινεῖχθαι Cobet 10 διαπρήσσεσθαι. C 12 δὲ καὶ ἄργυρὸν
Citz || τε σφι, S' 'τε καὶ ἐκπομάτω suspecta' Stem² 13 τούτων δ' S
τούτων δὲ B

opinion between Artabazus and Mardonius will not then first have occurred, or come to light. It was probably of longer standing. What time had Artabazus taken when the party was originally proposed by the Thebans, c. 3 years' idle, may have crystallized and mutated a long standing feud and difference of opinion. Or has Artabazus and his *corps d'armee* only just joined Mardonius? He has had the whole summer for his march from Potidaea, and Mardonius has already offered battle.

10. At this point there are perhaps two alternatives recognizable, one or other of which Artabazus might have advocated. (a) A tactical stratagem. Mardonius himself was anxious to draw the Greeks across the Aisopos: why not retire on Thebes, abandoning even the camp with its place and spoil for the nonce in order to get the Greeks across the river, and to bring about a general engagement (cp. Hummel's sum, lary 22, 41 f.)? (b) A strategic coup. Artabazus may have proposed what he himself afterwards carried out, retreat, the evacuation of Boeotia, perhaps of Greece, the preservation of their two armies intact for the king's service. Artabazus was a special loyalty to Xerxes. Events in Asia movement of the Greek fleet, revolt of Babylon, etc., may already have been reported at Persia. Local matters in Boeotia. Such tactics or such strategy Mardonius rejected: the first might easily prove a failure; the second was failure confessed. The time for political and diplomatic maneuvering had gone. Under the circumstances, with the available evidences, one's sympathies in this debate must be with Mardonius.

8. ἀναζεύξαντες; cp. B. 60; but the verb here governs σ. ε. στρατὸν, if the words are genuine.

τὴν ταχίστην: α. ὁδόν. The phrase suggests a longer march than just back to Thebes: but it may well be taken with ἀναζεύξαντες and not τείχεσσι. Still, where was the need of hurry?

τὸ τεῖχος τὸ Θηβαίων. Thebes was a walled city, cp. c. 86 *infra*. If the whole army was going to find accommodation in Thebes it cannot have numbered 300,000. Even 150,000 men would have strained the accommodation. But perhaps the northern troops were expected to go home. Artabazus himself may also have no intention of remaining in Boeotia. Thebes might have accommodated 80,000 men—Mardonius *corps d'armee* as well as its own population.

The statement that there was abundance of food for man and beast (σῖτος, χόρτος) will be contradicted, within twenty-four hours, by Alexander of Macedonia, c. 41 *infra*. But it is probably true for all that. Cp. notes ad c.

9. ἐπεινεῖχθαι is of course pl. p.

10. διαπρήσσεσθαι: obviously of political intention, the active is needed, not so very different, c. 24 *infra*.

12. φειδομένους μηδενός, 'without stint (Μη ἀελα), i.e. abundantly' cp. c. 39 *infra*.

διαπέμπει· distributively. Why support the plate? Rather than that insert would—it was no doubt of gold and silver. Cp. 3. 145, also c. 81 *infra*.

14. τοὺς προεστώτας, not necessarily the formally appointed strategates, or commanders, but the political leaders, προεστώται, cp. 5. 23, 43, etc.

- 15 πόλιν, καὶ ταχέως σφέας παραδώσει τὴν ἐλευθερίην· μὴδὲ ἀνακινδυνεύειν συμβάλλοντας. τοῦτου μὲν ἡ αὐτὴ ἐγένετο καὶ Θηβαίων γνώμη, ὡς προειδότες πλεῖν τι καὶ τοῦτου, Μαρδοκίου δὲ ἰσχυροτέρη τε καὶ ἀγνωμονεστέρα καὶ οὐδαμῶς συγγνωσκόμενη· δοκεῖν τε γὰρ πολλῇ κρέσσονα εἶναι τὴν σφετέρην 20 στρατιὴν τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς, συμβάλλειν τε τὴν ταχίστην μὴδὲ περιορῶν συλληγομένους ἐπὶ πλεῖνας τῶν συλληλεγμένων, τὰ τε σφαίγια τὰ Ἱηγησιατράτου εἶναι χαίρειν μὴδὲ βιάζεσθαι. 42 ἀλλὰ νόμῳ τῷ Περσέων χρημένους συμβάλλειν. τοῦτου δὲ οὕτω δικαιοῦντος ἀντέλεγε οὐδεὶς, ὥστε ἐκράτες τῇ γνώμῃ· τὸ

15 παραδίδωμι Naber

16 ἀνακινδυνεύειν idem, van H. συμ-

βάλλοντας S || μὲν νυν ε | ἐγένετο ε

18 τε om. B: τε καὶ ἀγνω-

μονεστέρα om. U || συγγνωσκόμενη α: συγγνωσκόμενοι van H.

19

κρέσσονας σφ: κρέσσον U

20 στρατιήν R¹

21 πλεῖνας

γίνεσθαι ε || συλληγομένων A¹P:

22 βιάζεσθαι van H

23 χαίρειν

μήνους P, van H.

15. παραδίδωμι: suphemistically for προδίδωμι.

16. ἡ αὐτὴ ἐγένετο καὶ Θηβαίων γνώμη: (i.e. opinion) was the same as that of the Thebans—i.e. as expressed above in c. 2. Hdt. does not mean to say that the Thebans now expressed their opinion.

17. ὡς προειδότες πλεῖν τι: it is rather insight than foresight, perhaps, which the phrase is meant to suggest.

Μαρδοκίου δέ: as ἡ δὲ γνώμη Μαρδοκίου δὲ (ellipses, or brachylogy). It follows in *orig.* ubiq. Hdt. apparently means to compare it, as 'stark, obdurate, uncompromising'—i.e. utterly devoid of compassionateness, of the spirit of compromise. In ἀγνωμονία *orig.* c. 3 *supra*. πολλῇ κρέσσονα corresponds with the figures as given by Hdt. 350,000 c. 110,000, but if true of the real numbers would somewhat have mitigated the apparently 'boorish obstinacy' of Mardochius. If tradition had been content to state the figures of Mardochius' force more accurately, the obstinacy might have seemed less reasonable.

20. συμβάλλειν may be constructed with με χρὴν εἶναι or such like, understood out of ἡ γνώμη δὲ, but a looser construction, or approximation, were no less legitimate.

τὴν ταχίστην—εἰς τάχιστα, so. συμβόλην, εὐδον, or εὐν.: *orig.* .. 8 *supra*.

21. περιορῶν i.e. παρῶν, *orig.* 7 18

τά τε σφαίρια . . . εἰναι χαίρειν—this exclamation sounds, and is intended

to sound, very impious and shocking, though as coming from a Persian it might be less offensive than to the mouth of a Greek, but then, Mardochius should not have had recourse to Hebraic divination if he was going to flout it in his fashion. *x. ias.* *orig.* c. 45 *infra*, 4. 112 *supra*.

22. βιάζεσθαι: *orig.* ἐπιβίβασθαι, Baehr, *permissives ut videtur non tunc afferunt*, Mull. so: the one taking the verb as disparaging terms, the other as praise. Both uses are found: Soph. *Antig.* 66 βιάσθαι εὐδον πάσῃ. Thuc. 7. 63. 2 τοὺς εὐνοῦν βιάσασθαι so ἔπειτα το σφαίρια. So also with personal objects. In a rather different sense, which might however work here, Thuc. 4. 112 βιάσασθαι τὴν ἀπόβασιν. 7. 72 3 βιάσασθαι . . . τὸν λαόν. See notes that ἐπιβιάζεσθαι would have been clearer.

23. νόμῳ τῷ Περσέων: i.e. it was not the Persian custom to submit matters of tactics to the chance of divination. There is something of a problem, here. Persians were probably no superstitious, to say the least of it, as Greeks. The apparent absence of the divination in the army of Mardochius is remarkable. He himself is represented as the special factor of Greek victory. He here appears in the character of a 'freethinker,' like Camillus Puleher c. 249 B.C. before the battle of Veientes; or Suetonius, *Tib.* 2.

42. 2 διακρινόμενος: a Semitic word with Hdt. = εἰς αἶμα, *orig.* 8. 126.

γὰρ κράτος εἶχε τῆς στρατιῆς οὗτος ἐκ βασιλείας, ἀλλ' οὐκ Ἀρτάβαζος. μεταπεμφόμενος ὢν τοὺς ταξίαρχους τῶν τελέων καὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ ἑόντων Ἑλλήνων τοὺς στρατιηγούς εἰρώτα, εἴ τι εἶδεῖεν λόγιον περὶ Περσέων ὡς διαφθερεύονται ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι. σιγῶντων δὲ τῶν ἐπικλήτων, τῶν μὲν οὐκ εἰδότων

42 ἀ ἐκ βασιλείας C: ἐκ βασιλῆος: cm B, Valla: 'the Persian king' van H J τοὺς τε ταξίαρχους τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ ἑόντων 'Ελλήνων καὶ mult t Stein' 3 ἡρώτα CP: 6 εἰδοῖεν 1 J διαφθερεύονται P. διαφθερεύονται B διαφθερόμενται Paris 1535: διαφθερύνονται

ὥστε, 'and so,' cp. 7, 118.

τὸ γὰρ κράτος εἶχε πλ. i the statement that Mardonios but not (ἀλλ' οὐκ Ἀρτάβαζος) was commander-in-chief of the army by the king's commission (ἐκ), still leaves the exact relations of Mardonios and Artabazos an obscure problem. (a) B. 126 *supra* looks as though Artabazos held a post directly subordinate to Mardonios, inasmuch as he was in command of 50,000 of Mardonios' own select soldiers; but that passage is not convincing, and if 300,000 is near the figure, not for the force of Mardonios but for the king's grand army (see p. 42 *supra*), the passage must really be quite the other way. (c) The version on which Artabazos is there engaged points to an independent command, as does also (c) his subsequent conduct towards Mardonios: a *δόγμα*, and (d) the reception which he after wards enjoys at home. had he been in a position actually subordinate to Mardonios his reception could hardly have been so good. Moreover (c) this passage itself, closely considered, lends weight to the supposition that the two commanders were independent of each other: Hdt. at any rate has avoided saying that Artabazos had to take his orders from Mardonios. Is it not possible that the exact position of neither general is fully or clearly stated? Was the command of Artabazos primarily a command in Thrace, and the command of Mardonios a command in Helles, south of Olympus? Was Mardonios at least more than mere 'commander'? Was he governor, or entrup of Helles, for the time being? His Greek 'slaves' (cp. cp. 31-32 *supra*) were certainly the king's subjects. It was only their presence which gave the army of Mardonios its numerical superiority to that of Artabazos. Mardonios is perhaps to

be thought of as defending his own province from an Persian invasion.

6. μεταπεμφόμενος ὢν. so far the two Persian commanders have been having a private conversation; but this implication is in itself improbable, and conflicts with other indications in the text, viz (a) the not speech ascribed to Artabazos; (b) the *βουλευόμενον* above; (c) the purely inadequate and dummy rôle assigned to the *ἐπικλήτων* who now at last summoned. — the obvious probability, and indeed certainty, that the commander would confer with his officers. We may fairly conclude that the Council has really been sitting through c. 41 or at least that the arguments already given represent speeches made at the Council, even if the two chiefs had previously held a private colloquy.

τοὺς ταξίαρχους τῶν τελέων: the term *ταξίαρχος* cp. *ἐπικλῆτος* is hardly found; the 'taxarches,' or captains of the *τέλη*, or equidrons, are here a representative the Persian and other native officers, cp. 8, 67, the *ἐπικλῆτες* of the army but in Bz. 7, cp. 7-31, as distinguished from the Strategoi of the Greeks, i.e. the Korymbos, the Aeneides, Alexander of Makedon, Harmokydes the Phokian and so forth.

5. εἰρώτα εἰ τι πλ. this inquiry by Mardonios would have been anguishedly tactless in form and in substance if it had really been addressed to the officers above mentioned, Persian as well as Greek summoned at home. 'How ye are prevented that we Persians are to be utterly destroyed here in Helles?' Stein's amendment would amend the passage cp. App. 1.11. But did Hdt. reason so clearly?

7. τῶν ἐπικλήτων well rendered by Macaulay, 'those summoned to council,' cp. 7, 8, c. 101. The generals, or

τοὺς χρησμούς, τῶν δὲ εἰδότεων μὲν ἐν ἀδείῃ δὲ οὐ ποιούμενοι
τὸ λέγειν, αὐτὰς Μαρδόνιος ἔλατ' "ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ὑμεῖς ἢ ἴστε
10 οὐδὲν ἢ οὐ τολμᾶτε λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ἔρω ὡς εὐ ἐπιστάμενος
ἔστι λόγιον ὡς χρεὺν ἔστι Πέρσας ἀπικομένους ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα

8 ἀδείαι P 9 αὐτὸς τε B: αὐτὸς γε Gomperz, Holder || Μαρδόνιος
ἔλατ' ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ἔρω ὡς εὐ ἐπιστάμενος, ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑμεῖς ἢ ἴστε κατὰ S ||
ἡμῖς C 11 χρεὺν OP: || ἔστι: τ. B

governor, has his *ἐπιχρησται*, i.e. the king. (The word cannot here be evacuated of meaning, or reduced to *ἐπιτελὴς θεῶν* or *ἐπιτελῆς γεγονότων*.) The Persians (*πάντων*) would mostly be ignorant of the Greek oracles, the Greeks (*πάντες*), might know them, but 'did not consider it safe' (*ἐν ἀδείῃ δὲ οὐ ποιούμενοι*) to say so.

9. *αὐτὸς Μαρδόνιος* says: did he speak in Persian, or in Greek? The speech ascribed to him still further complicates the situation. 'There is a prophecy to the effect that the Persians after coming to Greece must sack the temple in Delphi, and thereafter perish to the last man. We shall not sack the temple: as far as that is concerned, then we are safe enough.' Mardonius might have gone on to show some positive cause for expecting a victory: he has done that privately to already to Artabazus, viz. (1) the Persian army is superior to the Greek; (2) there is no time to be lost, for the Greek army is increasing day by day; (3) it is the Persian way to assume the offensive, to deliver the attack.

The present anecdote has very little to say to the situation at Delphi: it is not so much part of the story of Plataea, as part of the Apology of Delphi. It explains the fact—a fact so very awkward for Delphi by and by—that Delphi escaped pillage at the hands of the Persians. The explanation is good in itself, but it is completely at variance with the other and more brilliant explanation and apology already given, viz. the story of the Persian attack on Delphi, and the miraculous preservation of the temple and its contents, 8, 35-53. Both stories cannot be true, though both may be false. To suppose that if the Persians, a year before, had done their best to plunder Delphi Mardonius would have urged this line of argument, in order to cheer and encourage the Council of War is absurd: the rather

as the Delphic god takes the wail for the deed, 8, 36. But this critique ought only be one point more against the story in Bk 8, in itself almost incredible. Is the story here true? It is improbable. Its apologetic tendency condemns it. The improbability of the Persian commander, in chief urging such a line of argument in any case remains. But himself adds that there was no such oracle: the oracle cited he refers to another conception. Last, not least, considering the real situation in 480-79 B.C., there is hardly room or occasion for such an oracle, much less for such a scene in the Persian camp as this anecdote involves: it is, in the strict sense, a huge anachronism. Delphi, if not actually on the Persian side, was on the side of the Greeks who were on the Persian side, cp. 7, 132. The question of a Persian sack of Delphi can hardly have been a real question at the time. Xerxes and Mardonius were more busy to be making offerings at Delphi—the *Isatis* at Delos in 490 B.C., cp. 8, 27—than plundering the shrine. It may fairly be concluded that this anecdote, though not involving physical impossibilities, is not more true, in a strictly historical sense, than the other.

11. *λόγιον* is *prima facie* a *prima* utterance (yet *οὐ ποιεῖται* in Bk 1 c), the oracle, then, will hardly be a Delphic response. It cannot, however, be as Stein suggests due to *θεομαντία* (cp. 7, 4), for he communicated no oracle *σφάλλου φέρων τῷ Μαρδόνιῳ*. Mardonius might be supposed to have had it through Mysis his commissioner. Cp. 8, 135 ff. Stein points out that *Μυσις*, *Ἰακός*, 135d, has this oracle of this anecdote (?) in view; *ὅπως δὲ ἄν τις χρηστήριον διαφύσσει, νοστήν δὲ ἄν πάλιν εὐχόμενος, οὐκ οὐ διαφύσει*. It may be that Mardonius alluded to the story in 8, 35 ff. Here there is no answer.

χρεὺν ἔστι after *ἐπεὶ* *λόγιον* is a little curious and clumsy: if man is man,

- 5 τὴν δ' ἐπὶ Θερμῳδοντι καὶ Ἀσωπῇ λεχαιοῖν
Ἑλλήνων σίνουδον καὶ βαρβαρόφωνον ἰνγῆν,
τῇ πολλοὶ πεσίνονται ἐπὶρ λάχεσιν τε μόρον τε
τοξοφόρων Μιδων, ὅταν αἰσιμον ἡμαρ ἐπέλθῃ.—

ταῦτα μὲν καὶ παραπλησια τούτοις ἄλλα Μουσαῖον ἔχοντα
10 οἶδα ἐς Πέρσας. ὁ δὲ Θερμῳδων ποταμὸς ρεῖ μεταξὺ Ταναήρης
τε καὶ Γλίσαντος.

- 44 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπειρώτησιν τῶν χρησμῶν καὶ παραίνεσιν
τὴν ἐκ Μαρδονίου νύξ τε ἐγένετο καὶ ἐς φιλακὰς ἐτάσσοντο.
ὥς δὲ πρόσω τῆς νυκτὸς προελήλατο καὶ ἡσυχίη τε ἐδόκει

5 Θερμῳδοντι R 7 πολλή, B ὁ πολλή ἢ, Caisle || λάχεσιν RV
8 αἰσιμον B 9 τούτοις C || Μουσαῖος Beller 44 1
ἐπειρώτησιν C 2 ἐγένετο R- 3 προελήλατο B || ἡσυχίη τε B,
Sic nō ἡσυχίη B: ἡσυχίη

5. λεχαιοῖν of the Achaean is
Homeric: *Il.* 4. 383.

6. σίνουδον *cp.* τ. 27 *supra*.

ινγῆ is a rare word, found also
cp. *Dion. Philok.* 741; *cp.* verb *ἰνγε*
Tr. 284. The Homeric form is *ἰνγῆ*,
Il. 18. 512.

7. ἐπὶρ λάχεσιν τε μόρον τε, beyond
what destiny and fate decree —
‘*Lachesis*’ does not appear in Homer;
but *ἡσυχία* μόρον in *Homeric*, *Od.* 1. 64.

8. αἰσιμον ἡμαρ *Homeric* *παῖς*
αἰσίοι *ἡσυχία*, *p.* *Il.* 8. 73, etc.

9. Μουσαῖος: *cp.* 7. 6 *supra*.

10. οἶδα *cp.* 1. 3 *supra*. The two
are remarkable the rather as they
hardly refer to exactly the same kind of
knowledge. Had Hdt. in his hands a
copy of the poems as I prophesies of
Muses, or whereas his assurance of per-
sonal knowledge in this case? His asser-
tion that the prediction (said to have been
referred by Marochius to the Persians in
truth referred not to them but to the
Enechiolians is a question of interpreta-
tion. Here we may suppose an ante-
cedent visit to Delphi, and even the
correction of a previous error. This
chapter has many marks of being an
insertion an interpolation if from the
author's own hand taken not as part of
the first or original draft of the work
cp. Introduction, § 9. Two further
points are of special interest in regard
to the λόγος. (1) It is an ‘unfulfilled
prophecy’, a prophecy, indeed, designed
to defeat its own fulfilment. (2) It
exhibits the possibility and the practice
of transferring predictions from one
event to another as a right suit

ὁ δὲ Θερμῳδων κτλ. the geo-
graphical gloss is added to explain the
name in the *αἰσίοι* *ἡσυχία*. On the river
cp. τ. 27 *supra*. Pindar (*Tr.* 18. *cp.*
Thucyd. 27) shows that the ‘*S hylinē*’
vinted τῆς ἐπ. Θερμῳδοντι μαχη δεδωκε-
το *ἡσυχίη* could be interpreted of the
battin of Chaeroneia in 338 *bc*. *Ὁ*
Γαλακτα *cp.* 1. 3 *supra*.

11. Γλίσαντος. *Γλίς* appears in
the Catalogue (*Il.* 2. 551) in one line
with Pindar. Its ruins are placed by
Pausanias (9. 10. 2) off the road from
Thebes to Chaikus, seven stades to the
north of Thebes, under Mount Harpi α.
It was between α the river α a battle
between the Argives, i.e. Epigoni, and
the Thebans (1. 14. 4 *etc.*). Pausanias
names the Thermodon beside it. *cp.*
Strabo 412 *Γλίσαντος* *δε* *ἡσυχία* *κατακτα-
ν* *ἐν* *τῇ* *Τανάτῳ* *ἔχει*, *πλάσιον* *Τερμῳδον-
τι*, *ὅ* *ὑποσπικτε* *τὸ* *Λακων* *αἰσίοι* *αἰσίοι*
καὶ *ὡ*

44. 1. τὴν ἐπειρώτησιν τῶν χρησμῶν,
a curious expression, for ‘*ἐπειρώτῃ*’ *αἰσίοι*,
or after the oracles’ referring to
Marochius’ inquiry *cp.* 45 *supra* *the*
the *word* *cp.* 4. 67. The *παράινεσις* is
also to be found in *cp.* 45 *supra*.

2. νύξ τε, . . . καὶ . . . a very simple
parataxis, *cp.* 7. 21.

3. φιλακὰς ἐτάσσοντο apparently
applies to both sides and means practi-
cally that they retired to quarters
unmolested, instead of ‘*οὐκ αἰσίοι*’ in
battle array, *φύλαξ* *ἡσυχία* *καὶ* *ἡσυχία*,
etc. *cp.* also α. 51 *supra*, and here just
below. On the division of the watches
see note to α. 51 below.

3. πρόσω τῆς νυκτὸς προελήλατο —

εἶναι ἀνὰ τὰ στρατοπεδα καὶ μάλιστα οἱ αἰθρωποὶ εἶναι ἐν ἵππῳ τηρικαῦτα προσελάσας ἵππῳ πρὸς τὰς φυλάκας τὰς 5 Ἀθηναίων Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Ἀμύντεω, στρατηγὸς τε ἰὼν καὶ βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων, ἐδίξητο τοῖς στρατηγοῖσι ἐς λόγους εἰσελθεῖν. τῶν δὲ φυλάκων οἱ μὲν πλεῖντες παρέμεινον, οἱ δ' ἔθεντο ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς, εἰσθόντες δὲ εἰσάγον ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἦκει ἐπ' ἵππῳ ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τοῦ Μηδίων, δεῖ ἄλλο μὲν 10 οὐδὲν παραγυμνοὶ ἦσαν, στρατηγοὺς δὲ ὀνομάζων ἐθέλειν φησὶ ἐν λόγους εἰσελθεῖν. οἱ δὲ ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ἤκουσαν, αὐτίκα εἴποντο 45

Ε τὸς Ἀθηναίῳι τῶν Ἀθηναίων Pz 8 δ'. δὲ B 10 ἦκει Marc: 11 εἰσέλει σφι C. εἰσέλει σφίσιν Marc. εἰσέλει φησὶ: 45. 1 εἴποντο CPz

neither construction, with a correct tourmalin perfect *εἰσέειπεν ποτὶς προσελάσας*. Cf. 2.121 *ὡς δὲ τῶν δὲ τῶν φυλάκων*. Copied by Sallust, *Imp. 21* *ὡς δὲ πλεῖντες ποτὶς προσελάσας*. The whole phrase *ὡς δὲ . . . ἐν ἵππῳ* is a paraphrase for 'the second watch, *cp. c. 51 supra*.

5. τὰς φυλάκας τὰς Ἀθηναίων the *same* name φυλάξ may be either collective (*cp. c. 1 supra*) or local: the plural here suits the latter meaning 'the outposts, *cf. c. 1 p. 1 supra*.

6. Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Ἀμύντεω καὶ. If the patronymic might have been employed here for the sake of clarity and style, yet the full description added in *cp. c. 1 supra* after the many previous accounts of Alexander (7.123-4, 8.34, 10.12, *cp. 1, 4, 8 supra*), and points rather to the independent Attic or philattic source, from which this part of the narrative is obviously derived. The Macedonians were posted on the Persian right, opposite the Athenians, *cp. c. 31 supra*.

7. ἐδίξητο: *cp. c. 37 supra*.

τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι. In spite of *c. 29 supra* Alexander knows that there is more than one Strategos in the Athenian quarters. Stein says, 'probably no ten were in camp *cp. c. 103*—but what then of Xenithron, and his probable colleagues or colleagues on the fleet?' (*p. c. 113 supra*). And was there no Strategos left in Samos?

8. ἐν λόγους εἰσελθεῖν: he wishes to communicate to converse with them but there is no question of a discussion or a debate, *cp. c. 41 supra*.

9. τὸν δὲ φυλάκων. the good, efficient, vigilant, shrewd Athenian

packet! Most of them stay—to keep an eye on Alexander (whom they did not recognise), while two or three run (*εἰσθόντες*) to hash matters with the message. Probably there was an officer who gave the proper directions, and the action was not all quite so spontaneous and dramatic as it reads.

9. ἄνθρωπος is not complimentary to the king, it suggests a barbarian. Perhaps an ἄνθρωπος, *cp. above* has a special reference to the name of it, whose reference Alexander had of course as a hypothesis to avoid; or it might contrast with the *foetia*, who were perhaps awake, but did not matter.

11. παραγυμνοὶ *cp. c. 10*.

στρατηγὸς δὲ ὀνομάζων certainly not all ten of them, but a selection! If only Hdt. had done as much! The only Strategos for this year whom he names are Aristides (*c. 23 supra*) and Xenithron (*cp. 114 supra*). Plutarch (*Aristides* 20) adds for Plutarch two names, Isokrates and Myrrinides. It is hardly likely that Aristides was but *εἰς τὸν πόλεον* with no large force under arms. The Athenian democratic theory was that all battles were soldiers' battles, and that generals did not count for much, and needed not to be remembered, unless they were killed. Where was Themistokles, for example, at this time? Was he with Xenithron on the fleet? Then 1.99 disproves it. Was he with Aristides in the camp? Was he in Samos with the women and children? The Athenians found to say—forgot even to say whether he was one of the Strategoi this year at all.

45. . . οἱ δὲ τὸν, three, or more, named by Alexander. It is not said

ἐς τὰς φυλακὰς· ἀπικορμένοισι δὲ ἔλεγε Ἀλέξανδρος τῆδε.
 “ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, παραθήκην ὑμῖν τὰ ἔπει τῆδε τίθεται.
 ἀπόρρητα ποιούμενος πρὸς μηδένα λέγειν ὑμῶς ἄλλον ἢ
 5 Πανσανίην, μή με καὶ διαφθείρητε· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἔλεγον, εἰ μὴ
 μεγάλως ἐκχόδμην συναπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος. αὐτός τε γὰρ
 “Ἕλλην γένος εἰμὶ τῶρχαῖον καὶ ἀντ’ ἐλευθέρης δεδουλωμένον
 οὐκ ἂν ἐθέλοιμι ὁρᾶν τὴν Ἑλλάδα. λέγω δὲ ἂν ὅτι Μαρδοῖον
 τε καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ τὰ σφάγια οὐ δύναται καταθίμα γενέσθαι
 10 πάλαι γὰρ ἂν ἐμάχεσθε. νῦν δὲ οἱ δεδοκται τὰ μὲν σφάγια
 εἶναι χαίρειν, ἅμ’ ἡμέρῃ δὲ διαφωσκούσῃ συμβολὴν ποιέσθαι.

2 ὁ γὰρ 3 τῆδε τὰ ἔπει B | τίθεται Macc. 3 καὶ οὐκ. CP
 | οὐ δὲ γὰρ 7 ἐλευθέρης Macc. 8 ἔλαμι B | ἢ Ktizer
 10 δὲ οἱ οὐκ. R || μὲν τὰ RV (μὲν οὐκ. B ap. (Gaisf.) 11 ἅμα B, Holder,
 γὰρ H, || διαφωσκούσῃ. A³: διαφωσκούσῃ A²B: διαφωσκούσῃ reliqua
 Holder || συμβολὴν B

they had to be rescued. Everything is wide-awake in the Athenian camp.

2. τὰς φυλακὰς is practically here locative, and feminine, cp. cc. 44. 2, 93. 23.

λέγει Ἀλέξανδρος τῆδε. Alex. another address is given in *oral. narr.*. It appears to be made up in essentials out of Maccianos' in *oral. narr.*, c. 41 *supra*, the change is purely stylistic, and the one speech doubtless as authentic as the other. If there were anything to choose, it would not be in favour of this one. A example is the only speaker at this interview with the Strategoi, they supply a passive audience, it is not a conference, it is a monologue. Alexander may have spoken good Greek, with a Macedonian brogue: a few misnomers in his reported language would have lost it verisimilitude.

3 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι: strictly correct, had he been addressing the *Boule* or *Ekklēsia*, as in 8. 140. The ἄνδρες gains a point from the *ἀνδροπάτης* in the previous chapter.

παραθήκην τίθεται, 'I deposit,' 'I entrust, perhaps without recall; cp. 6. 71 π. παρατίθημι.

ἢ ἀπόρρητα ποιούμενος: as τὰ ἔπει 'as a secret matter' cp. c. 94 ἢ κρυπτόν πρὸς μηδένα λέγειν is explanatory.

ἢ Πανσανίην. Pausanias is here recognized as the sole confidante-in-chief. The need for this strict secrecy is not apparent: so long as no one of his own race knew, Alexander was safe. When this story came up Pausanias had

been seized to his account and was beyond further inquiry except by unbecomancy, and as none of his other Greeks had been told of the matter, owing to this solemn precaution it was no use their saying they had never heard of it. Thus the story provides its own Apologetics!

6. συναπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος. of Hellenes collectively; no more geographical expression, cp. 7. 147.

αὐτός τε γὰρ Ἕλλην γένος εἰμι: answering to the story in 8. 147 and the judgement of the *Hellenodidask* 8. 23. Cp. notes ad B c.

7. τῶρχαῖον: i.e. 'originally' cp. 1. 56 τὸ ὄρεα cp. 2. 173 τῶρχαῖον, etc. Here = τὰ ἀρχαῖα.

8. (λέγω) δὲ ἂν γέννηται or emphasizes the point at which he is drawing; cp. 7. 147.

Μαρδοῖον τε καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ: 'to Mardochai and his army.'

9. οὐ δύναται. 'cannot, and not' 'cannot be got to . . . cp. 7. 134. A strictly literal non-moralized κατάθιμα. of 6. 39, of the best orders. An intimate word, warmer than the cold *ἐπιτίθημι* (cf. 37 *supra*).

10 γάρ, 'for, otherwise.'

δεδοκται: the point of absolute revelation, *dictata manu*.

11 ἔμ' ἡμέρῃ δὲ διαφωσκούσῃ. i.e. 'at dawn of day—the 12th day' cp. 3. 86 and c. 42 *supra* ad f.

συμβολὴν ποιέσθαι: i.e. *ἀρχαῖα* ὄρεα, or *ἀρχαῖα*.

καταρρώθηκε γὰρ μὴ πλεῦνες συλληχθῆτε, ὡς ἐγὼ εἰκαζω.
πρὸς ταῦτα ἐτοιμάζεσθε. ἦν δὲ ἄρα ὑπερβάληται τὴν συμβολὴν
Μαρδόνιος καὶ μὴ ποιήται, λιπαρέετε μίνοντες· ὀλίγων γὰρ
σφι ἡμερῶν λείπεται σιτία. ἦν δὲ ὑμῖν ὁ πόλεμος ὁδε κατὰ 15
ρόον τελευτήσῃ, μνησθῆναι τινὰ χρὴ καὶ ἐμεῦλευθερώσεις
πύρι, δεῖ Ἑλλήνων εἵνεκα οὕτω ἔργον παρήβολον ἔργασμαι ὑπὸ
προθυμίας, ἐθέλων ἐμὴν δηλώσαι τὴν διάνοιαν τὴν Μαρδονίου,
ἵνα μὴ ἐπιπέσῃσι ὑμῖν ἐξαίφνης οἱ βάρβαροι μὴ προσδεκο-

12 καταρρώθηκε γὰρ κτλ.: καταρρώθηκες θ, συλληγῆτε β συναχθῆτε α
13 ἄρα ΔΒ 14 καὶ μὴ ποιήται διδ. van H ποιήται β, Hahler
ολίγα S: ὀλίγων ceteri 16 ἐμε C 17 ἔργον οὕτω, Helder,
van H: τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον οὕτω: 19 ἐξαίφνης οὐκ β (οἱ βάρβαροι
ἐξαίφνης Γ¹) || μὴ εὖμ πικρὰ γ μὴ οἱ Marc.

12. καταρρώθηκε γὰρ κτλ.: a clear
assertion or admission of the formidable
number of the Greek forces. There was
no need for conjecture about the view of
Marionius; he has expressly stated it
c. 41 *supra* (cf. *supra* in Acta).

13. ἄρα, 'as is not likely': of the less
probable case, c. 7, 10, etc.

14. μὴ ποιήται, the negative here
emphasizes the verb to form a
single idea, the conditional ἦν being
omitted but not so clearly as in cases
where it is used.

λιπαρέετε, a word put again into
Alexander's mouth, c. 10.

ὀλίγων γὰρ σφι ἡμερῶν λείπεται
σιτία. If this statement were true, it
would supply another good ground for
the impatience of Marionius to do battle.
It is contrary, and even contradictory, to
the statement in c. 41 *supra*, and looks
like either a deliberate lie on the part of
Alexander (hardly in the spirit of the
Greek) or an oversight on the part of
Hdt. Eusebius thought this statement
could not be true. Stein limits it to
'the magazines on the Δαίρεα,' but
admits there was plenty in Thebes.
Bakeney refuted the point of contrast
by anticipation: "With the superiority
in cavalry . . . it would have been per-
fectly easy to maintain uninterrupted
communication between Thebes and the
army in camp."

15. ἦν δὲ . . . τελευτήσῃ and so to the
war acceptance to the Greeks was in
sight; on the Persian side victory was
anything but assured. This is the first
clear admission of the fact as recognized
before the event, c. 11, 12 *supra*.

The 'bidding' of Alexander, as a fact, is
the real evidence.

16. τινὰ c. 8, 109.

λευθερώσεις πύρι, the sugges-
tion that Alexander planned before and
with the Athenians his deliverance from
the Persian at their hands is in the
true style of Attic afterthought. The
Athenians are the 'liberators' from the
Persian, and not from the Persian alone,
c. 8, 142 (but in Macedonia, or at least
in Thessaly the Spartans are to and by
to bring 'liberty' from the Athenians
c. Thuc. 4, 85).

17. Ἑλλήνων εἵνεκα: Alexander is
moved by the best motive, thinking
mainly of the general interests.

οὕτω. Stein takes with some
boldness, c. 7, 16, waste, however, no
word interposes between *οὕτω* and
the one hand and the adjective (and
subst.) on the other.

παρήβολον bold, hazardous,
reckless. Also of persons Aristoph.
Wasps 192, Theodor. 19, 3, 2 *φωλακιδουσι*
, καὶ παρήβολοι ἐν τοῖς μάχαις.

ἔργασμαι ἐπὶ πρόβ.: c. 8, 87.

18. Δαίρεαν (c. 8, 97): the plan to
attack on the following morning.

19. ἵνα μὴ κτλ. The concern of
Alexander lest the Greeks should be
taken unawares is a doubtful com-
pensation and an inconsequence. According
to the context, they had been for ten days
among the Persians in battle array, and
anxious that the enemy should cross the
Δαίρεα and attack them, on the morrow
they were to have their wish at last.

ἐξαίφνης is 1) a doubtful form for
ἐξαίφνης, as in 1, 74, 57; 2) omitted in

20 μένουςί κω. εἰμι δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδών." δ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπας ἀπήλαυνε ὀπίσω ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ τὴν ἐσωταὶ τάξιν.

46 Οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐλθόντες ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν αἶρας εἰλεγον Πανσανίην τὰ περ ἤκουσαν Ἀλεξάνδρου. δ δὲ τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ καταρρωδήσας τοὺς Πέρσας εἰλεγε τάδε. "ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ἐς ἣν ἡ συμβολὴ γίνεται, ἡμέας μὲν χρεὼν ἐστὶ
5 τοὺς Ἀθηναίους στήναι κατὰ τοὺς Πέρσας, ἡμῶν δὲ κατὰ τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς τε καὶ τοὺς κατ' ὑμέας τεταγμένους Ἕλληνας, τῶνδε εἵνεκα· ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε τοὺς Μήδους καὶ τὴν μάχην

21 ἀπῆλαιεν B
abesse malit via H
στασθαι BR

46. 4 χρεὼν CP; και H. 5 τοὺς Ἀθηναίους
δ τε om aC, εἵνεκεν Marc. : ἐπὶ

one group of men; (3) tautologous and gives like in this passage.

20. εἰμι δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδών. Alexander in thus announcing himself appears to forget that Aristoteles and the men of Athens were thorough y fact far with his appearance, if only from his embassy to Athens in the previous winter, cp. 8. 116 ff. The two stories are of course from independent sources (though both Atticist).

The historical credibility of this interview is not high. Certainly, if any such interview or communication took place between Alexander of Macedon and the Athenian Strategoi, the gist and purport of it were widely different from this report. Possibly there was at Platina some kind of understanding between the Macedonian and the Athenians. He had been to Athens, or to Salamis, a while before, and may have seen reason to think that Marathon was anything but an easy task before him. To play off the Greeks and the Persians against each other was the obvious policy of Macedon. The Athenians may have used the opportunity to come to an understanding with the king. He may have had information of the troubles in Asia (revolt of Babylon etc.). The remarkable success with which, in the subsequent battle, the Athenians disposed of 60,000 men opposed to them, and their comparative immunity during the occupation of the second point on, suggest the idea that matters were not pressed against them. For that they may have had to thank Alexander, who was posted on the Persian right.

46. 1. οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων i.e. Aristoteles and his colleagues as so many of them as were present went to the right wing the army by command in order of battle. They have not a very poor figure in the previous interview, acting the part of mere advisers.

2 Πανσανίην. no account being taken of Eurykhai, in spite of c. 16 supra. Leonidas is better struck at the next! Not a Laconian touch. His speech like that of Alexander just before is given in oral, *verbo*.

4 ἐς ἣν ἡ συμβολὴ γίνεται cp. 3 86 τῆς ἐς σήμερον ἡμέρας ὅσον ἡμῶν ἐστὶν. The present is rhetorical. In this case the argument is double—that the battle is to take place at dawn is a *terminus* for the tactical move, that it is not to take place until dawn gives time to execute the proposed movement.

5 τοὺς . . Ἕλληνας indicating the Macedonians, whom we meet throughout in this novel as much as possible.

7 τῶνδε εἵνεκα. the reasons given for the change of front, or exchange of positions, are incredible. The assertion of the Marathonians, as a tactician might have come very well from a Spartan after the vainglorious boasting of the Athenians in c. 27 supra (cp. notes ad l.) but as a serious argument, by a Spartan commander for such a manoeuvre as proposed here it is virtually inconceivable. Nor on the other hand, could a Spartan have practically ignored the Spartan achievement at Thermopylae as Marathon has been done. True, the Spartans at Thermopylae had all perished (Aristodemos who is at

ἤρρεκε ἀμφοτεροῖσι ταῦτα, ἥως τε διέβαινε καὶ διαλλάσσοντο

47. 2 ἢ ὥστε R || διέλασαν R: διέλασσον SV

47. 2 ἥως τε διέβαινε καὶ διαλλάσσοντο τὰς τάξεις the dawn of the twelfth day, according to the *Journal*, c. 41. 44 supra. The grammatical parallelism is obnoxious, c. 7. 217 ἥως τε διέβησαν καὶ οὐκ ἐγένοντο τῷ ἀριστήριον πρὸς δόρυ. The tenses are important; it does not appear that the exchange of positions was ever fully carried out between the Spartans and Athenians: dawn broke and found them still engaged in the manoeuvre τὸ περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τοῦ, is imperfect (Blakely's clause is unimpaired 'with the very break of day they changed their respective positions'). Hdt. indeed does not expressly say that the manoeuvre was not carried out; he leaves, however, the impression that it was not fully carried out, but was arrested, by the rapid counter-development on the Persian side, which showed Panamaeus that his purpose had been discovered.

This chapter perhaps conceals a great mystery. Presumably there was an excuse in fact for the story of the exchange of positions. Some manoeuvre, some development in the position of the Greeks took place which lent colour to the Athenian version of the affair. Speeches and motivation with Hdt. are in a different category to acts and events: the reported order, the chronological succession of acts and events, is often less acceptable than the bare acts or events themselves; they in turn seldom present a complete series and frequently undergo a transposition, for better or for worse, but fact is nevertheless not a mere novelist, not even a semi-historical novelist. As though the considerable freedom in the hypothesis for construction of a story, which in its technical form is ineluctable and incredible and it makes reconstruction inevitable. The exchange of positions, according to Hdt., is to take place on the twelfth day of the occupation by the Greeks of the position 'on the Asopos' marked by the Androkraton and Gargaphia. Is it credible that for eleven days the Greeks occupied this position unmolested? Why then suddenly on the twelfth day in the evening loose upon them, and the position immediately rendered untenable? Again why is so much stress laid on the fact that it

was a man on horseback that came to the Athenian lines on the night of the eleventh, if the Greek and Persian armies were then in close contact, or separated by the Asopos? If the Athenian came on a horse it was because he had a good deal of ground to cover. In other words, the Greeks were not on τῷ Ἀσωπῷ on the eleventh, or any of the preceding days. Hdt. has apparently attested the occupation by the Greeks of the position 'on the Asopos, that is, round the Androkraton, with Gargaphia in their rear, and has underestimated and misdescribed the first position' and its developments, in front of Hyant and Plateia. It was only on the twelfth that the Greeks descended to the 'second position, i.e. the hill in front of Gargaphia 'on the Asopos'—probably counting on the Persians crossing the river to attack them. In the process of advancing a tactical manoeuvre, or series of manoeuvres is performed, which is ~~misdescribed~~, parodied, and converted ~~into mere~~ glorious Athenianism in this passage at the expense of the Spartans, exactly as in a previous passage the move from the position at Erythrai to the position at Hyant had been similarly explained at the expense of the Persians. The exact nature of the manoeuvre may be a matter of dispute. Hdt. treats the *μετάβασις*, or *μετακίνησις* as purely a question between the two wings, the centre taking no part in it. In reality the whole line was doubtless involved. There was an advance checked when Atticizing tradition interpreted as an attempt on the part of the Lakotai man antagonist to the Athenian position. There was perhaps more than that: an actual development, whereby the Lakotai came to stand where the Athenians had been standing, on the extreme left of the line; and near the Athenians finally, when Gargaphia was passed, were again standing on the extreme left of the line. This was the manoeuvre by which the position on τῷ Ἀσωπῷ was actually occupied. Whether it had the appearance of an attempt to outflank the Persians or not, may be questioned; such can hardly have been its real purpose. With their hopeless inferiority in mounted men the Greeks

τὰς τάξεις. γινόντες δὲ οἱ Βοιωτοὶ τὸ ποιούμενον ἔξαγορευον οὐ
Μαρδόνειον. δ' δ' ἐπείτε ἤκουσι, αὐτίκα μετιστάμεναι καὶ αὐτοὶ
ἐπιεράτο παράγων τοὺς Πέρσας κατὰ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. 5
ὡς δὲ ἔμαθε τοῦτο ταυτοῦ γινόμενον ὁ Πανσανής, ᾗ οὐς ὅτι
οὐ λαυθάνει, ὅπως ἤγε τοὺς Σπαρτιήτας ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας.
ὡς δὲ αὐτως καὶ ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐνωμένου.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατεστησαν ἐς τὰς ἀρχαίας τάξεις, πέμψας ὁ 48
Μαρδόνιος κήρυκα ἐς τοὺς Σπαρτιήτας ἔλεγε ταῦτα. "ὦ
Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ὑμεῖς δὴ λέγεσθε εἶναι ἄνδρες ἄριστοι ὑπὸ τῶν

3 τάξεις CHV || 8' RV 4 δὲ RV 6 τοιοῦτον B, γινόμενον B
7, 8 utrum τοὺς Σπαρτιήτας genuine aut an post Μαρδόνιος
ἐκποιεῖν τοὺς Πέρσας dubit. van H. 8 ὡς Stein. ὡς van H. ὡς I
8' CP. || αὐτὸς καὶ; καὶ αὐτὸς B || «τοὺς Πέρσας - ἐπὶ (van H.), Hilder
τὸ ἐνωμένον B, Hader, van H. 48. 1 τάξεις CR || ὁ om. B
2 κήρυκας C 3 λεγόμενα. R

would have been courting certain distraction in moving, or attempting to move, on Ithaca, by the Pente Thronos road. Mardonios draws out his line of battle on the north bank of the Asopos; he deploys to the west. The mediating Greeks, occupying the extreme west of the Isthmus, may have been potentially opposite the Greek right for a while, until they pushed up the river westwards, then, places being taken by the Muses and Persians, Mardonios has now drawn the Greeks down to the Asopos; he hopes to draw or drive them across. He gives them no peace all this day: the cavalry ride round the position freely, harass them extremely, and destroy and cut off the water-supply. For but one single day do the Greeks maintain themselves in the position: they have been disappointed of their expectation that Mardonios would send his infantry across the Asopos to do battle, and they determine to retreat or to return to the position on the island of Sphacteria, or the position of which the island was the most prominent feature.

x ὡς δὲ αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ Μαρδόνιος αὐτὸς τοὺς Πέρσας.

48. 1 τὰς ἀρχαίας τάξεις - in the order, or position, 'originally occupied' before the changes, or attempted changes, recorded in 47.

2 κήρυκα . . ὅπως ταῦτα the exact words of Mardonios' message? The

speaker must have been a Greek, or a 'disguise'. The herald apparently crosses across the river with a 'bag of tricks' to the Spartan quarters, but the story was never so told in Sparta! The speech is an Athenian Apologia to the previous Athenian self justifications. It contains some satirical reflections on Spartan reputation and an extremely sporting offer, or challenge, to Mardonios' part. Grote directed to the anecdote, Romanus defends the 'Hermes' (see) text as quite agreeable to the practice of primary and specially oriental races (rather contradictory terms, but even he admits that the challenge is less pleasant. However, we may fairly counterclaim that there was some foundation in fact for the fiction. The object of Mardonios must still have been to induce the Greeks to cross the river. Had he really offered them a free and unimpeded passage? Or did he offer to come across if they would give him time to return on their shield? Such offers are not made in war a *casus belli*, but the Persians were cavaliers in quarters, and Mardonios may have thought of the Greeks as his own future subjects. (In the Assyrian cuneiform to Herakleus, 2 Kings 18. 23.)

3 ὡς is accurate, cp. L 115. The first of four such in the speech, to which all ἀπὸ, τὸν ὡς δ', καὶ, δὲ, ἀλλὰ, and of which brighten the effect, to say nothing of the brighter nature in the more material phrases and propositions.

τῆδε ἀνθρώπων, ἐκπαγλεομένων ὡς οὔτε φεύγετε ἐκ πολέμοι
 5 οὔτε τάξιν ἐκλείπετε, μένοντές τε ἢ ἀπολλυτέ τοὺς ἐναντίους
 ἢ αὐτοὶ ἀπάλυσθε. τῶν δ' ἄρ' ἦν οὐδὲν ἀληθές· πρὶν γάρ
 ἢ συμμείξαι ἡμέας ἐς χειρῶν τε νόμον ἀπικέσθαι, καὶ οἱ
 φεύγοντας καὶ στάσιν ἐκλείποντας ὑμέας εἶδομεν, ἐν Ἀθηναίοισι
 10 ἡμετέρων τασσομένους. ταῦτα οὐδαμῶς ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργα,
 ἀλλὰ πλείστοι δὴ ἐν ἱμῖν ἐψεύσθημεν. προσδεκόμενοι γὰρ
 κατὰ κλῆος ὡς διηπέμφεστε ἐς ἡμῶν κήρυκα προκαλείμενοι
 καὶ βουλόμενοι μόνουσι Πέρσῃσι μχεσθαι, ἄρτιοι εἴντες
 ποιεῖν ταῦτα οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο λέγοντας ὑμέας εὔρεμεν ἀλλὰ
 15 πτώσσοντας μάλλον. νῦν ὦν ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ὑμεῖς ἤρξατε τοῦτον

4 ἐκπαγλεομένων B 6 δε α 7 συμμείξαι hbrg, Steier.
 Holder || ὑμέας B 8 στάσιν τάξιν B. Holder || ἐκλείποντας EV
 9 πείραν B || ἀντί B 10 ταῦτα δε = 11 προσδεκόμενοι L 13
 μόνουσι :: μόνουσι μόνουσι Koen, Holder, van H. 14 τοιοῦτον B
 ὑμέας om. B 15 πτώσσοντας B Marc.

The constant n. ἀνδρῶν : ἀνθρώπων is intentional: τῆδε 'in these parts.'

6 ἐκπαγλεομένων: cp. 7. 141. Marathon was no doubt with Xerxes at Thermopylae, cp. 5. 209, and had been the seat of the Spartans to his countrymen. The reputation of the Spartans as ἀποκλειόμενοι τοῦ πολέμου (i.e.) was unshaken in Greece down to 425 B.C.; cp. Thuc. 4. 60. 1. (The notion that this speech dates after that battle is untenable; the point, the glory of the παρὰ, lies in its barbarous insolence.)

8. τῶν δ' ἄρ' ἦν οὐδὲν ἀληθές. Marathon, like the Athenians throughout, ignores the lesson of Thermopylae. But that story had not yet reached the classic development which it exhibits in Pl. 7 among a form which illustrates the effects of dialect on the genesis of tradition partly in answer to the charge of blundering and partly to issue, in answer to other Athenian criticisms. ἀρα gives a touch of ironic surprise, and the irony is also contained in the tense.

7. συμμείξαι: of hostile congress, cp. 8. 94, so that δε χειρῶν σε νόμον ἀπικέσθαι cp. 8. 94 is equivalent to ταῦτα ὅρα. ἡμέας : na az d you?

καὶ δὴ = ὅτι: cp. 8. 94. 11 πρὸς

8. στάσιν = τάξιν cp. 8. 94. 11 πρὸς

ἐν Ἀθηναίοισι τε τὴν πρότερον ποιούμενους: the phrase indicates the manner. For cp. ποιεῖν cp. Thuc. 3.

80. 6 πρότερον τε ποιούμενοι εἰς ὅρα : δυνατὸν εἶναι τὰ ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῇ ποιεῖν οὐ ποιεῖν ποιεῖν. Here the Athenians would remember that they had already furnished a πρότερον at Salamis, cp. 21 πρὸς, to say nothing of Marathon, cp. 16 οὐκ ἔστιν. Athenian tradition (cp. 11) had this motif; cp. 11. 12. 13. 14.

9 ἀντί βούλων τῶν ἡμετέρων : pleasant hearing, or reading for the ears, and other matters' ἀντί, i.e. cp. 12 c. 31 n. 10.

11 ἐν ἡμῖν 'in your camp.'

12. κατὰ κλῆος, 'ob noxious person': Holder: cp. 8. 44 οὐκ ἔστιν, προκαλείσθαι, 'to challenge' (Homer, Il. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

13 ἄρτιοι. cp. 8. 27 οὐκ ἔστιν

14 εὔρομεν cp. 8. 24 οὐκ ἔστιν. The

tense is observable, we have found' as the perfect, 'we have found' as the imperfect.

15 πτώσσοντας: like timid birds as Homer and also metaphorical usage, e.g. Il. 7. 129. Ovid enough (17. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

νῦν ὦν here too the speaker points to the point, cp. c. 45 οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπιδῆλ· ἀλλὰ: p. c. 45 οὐκ ἔστιν ἀλλὰ: p. c. 45 οὐκ ἔστιν

τοῦ λόγου, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ἄρχομεν. τί δὴ οὐ πρὸ μὲν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡμεῖς, ἐπεὶτε δεδοξασθε εἶναι ἀρίστοι, πρὸ δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων ἡμεῖς, ἴσοι πρὸς ἴσους ἀριθμὸν ἐμαχασόμεθα; καὶ ἦν μὲν δοκέη καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους μάχεσθαι, οἱ δ' ἂν μετέπειτα μαχίσθων ὑστεροί· εἰ δὲ καὶ μὴ δοκίει ἀλλ' ἡμῖας μῦνοις το ἀποχρᾶν, ἡμεῖς δὲ διαμαχασώμεθα· ὁκότεροι δ' ἂν ἡμέων νικῆσσι, τούτους τῷ ἄπαντι στρατυσίδῳ νικᾶν." δ μὲν 49 ταῦτα εἶπας τε καὶ ἐπισχῶν χρόνον, ὥς οἱ οὐδεὶς οὐδέν ὑπεκρίνατο, ἀπαλλασσέτο ὀπίσω, ἀπελθὼν δὲ ἐσήμαινε Μαρδονίῳ τὰ καταλαβόντα. δ δε περιχαρῆς γενόμενος καὶ ἐπαρθεὶς ψυχρῇ νίκῃ ἐπῆκε τὴν ἵππον ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἑλληνας. 5

16 ἄρχομεν B | τί δὴ οὐ ἂν R: τί δὴ ἂν V: τί δὴ ἂν R 17
ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ τῷ πάλαι ταν H. 18 μαχασόμεθα S, Weusling, Gaisford
19 δοκίει C: δοκίει Marc. 20 ὑστεροί B 21 διαμαχασόμεθα B.
49. 3 of om. C 3 ὑπεκρίνατο B, Holder, van H. || ἐπῆκεν B 5
ἐπαρθεὶς libri

16. τί δὴ οὐ . . μαχασόμεθα; this 'Attic' form of challenge, 'mustly with the word', is only found in this one place in Hdt. (Sicem). Cp. Madvig, § 111, R. c. 141, R. 3.

17. δεδοξασθε. cp. 7. 145, § 124, the perfect is both more magnificent and also slightly suggestive of a *tempe passio*. It is true they did something and ελεος δέ.

πρὸ δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων ἡμεῖς. Hdt. gives himas f. his source, his herald, and Mardonius away in this phrase. It is a sheer impossibility. When Pausanias uses *δοξάσαι* for Roman it is by the mouth of a dramatic person who would use the word naturally, as even in his *Pericles*: 'domestica scripta, Marcus vocat barbarum' *Primum* 19, *Alia* 10. If this grated on a Roman ear, it was after all a comedy. Here the noble Persian commander by the mouth of his herald taunting the poorer Greek writes himself down—just at a Greek's vanquish. That the messenger in the *Pericles* of Aeschylus does the like (147, 245, 327) on phrases the substantial character of this speech put by Hdt. into the mouth of Mardonius.

18. ἴσοι πρὸς ἴσους. Xantus had among his quarrel men prepared to engage three Greeks at a time, 7. 103. In his own playful vein he had suggested to Themistocles that as a Spartan king he should be prepared to receive a score of Persians. Mardonius proposes the strictest λόγος *ματωμαχίᾳ*. Such pro-

posals in the eyes of the Spartans of the fifth century might be magnificent but were not war, cp. Thuc. 5. 41. 3.

19. ἦν μὲν δοκέη . . εἰ δὲ καὶ μὴ δοκίει the first gives the more probable, the second the less probable alternative.

of δ' ἂν seems to combine (1) δὲ with resumed subject, (2) δὲ in *apostrophe*. 3) δ' ἂν as a significant admission *ἡμεῖς δὲ* combine (1) and 2).

21. ἀποχρᾶν: cp. c. 94 *infra*, νικᾶν, 'be victors'; cp. c. 69, 104 *infra*.

49. 2. ἐπισχῶν χρόνον, 'after pausing a while', cp. 5. 16, 1. 170, and c. 93 *infra*.

οὐδεὶς οὐδέν ὑπεκρίνατο. The Athenians or phil Attic connoisseurs of the story did not venture to derive a reply for the Spartans, who could only have referred Mardonius to Themistocles. For proof of their method, that was their *πρότερον*. This brought force for the story now begins in the hands of Hdt. to round somewhat to the Spartan side, and the indifference of the Spartans at Themistocles to the curious Persian word, 7. 208.

1. τὰ καταλαβόντα. ac, *ἐπὶ τῷ*: cp. c. 93, 104 *infra*.

δ δε περιχαρῆς καὶ: "an Hellenic view of Mardonius sentiments with its foundation of truth," Maekley *περὶ* 3. 65.

5. ἐπαρθεὶς ψυχρῇ νίκῃ. for the participle cp. 6. 81; c. 132, 7. 39. ψ v. *ισαίη*, *ἐνδοξά*, cp. 6. 108.

ἐπῆκε τὴν ἵππον ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἑλληνας

ὡς δὲ ἐπῆλθασαν οἱ ἵππότες, εἰσινόντο πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιὴν
τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν ἐσακοντίζοντες τε καὶ τοξεύοντες ὥστε ἵππο-
τοξοὶ τε ἔσθτες καὶ προσφέρεσθαι ἄποροι· τὴν τε κρήνην
τὴν Γαρφαλίην, ἀπ' ἧς ἰδρεύετο πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα τὸ
10 Ἑλληνικόν, συνεστίασαν <τε> καὶ συνέχωσαν. ἦσαν μὲν

6 εἰσινόντο B 7 ἐστοξεύοντες B, Holder, van H. ὥστε Marc.
ὥστε καὶ B || ἵπποτ' εἶναι V 8 τε om BC || ἵπποροι : 9 γὰρ
σικρήνη S 10 <τε> (van H.), Steinh. ἦσαν :

If little or nothing has been heard of the Persian cavalry for twelve days, it must be because the Greeks were in a position where the cavalry could not get at them, or else because the services of the cavalry have been appreciated. The cavalry, however, had at least cut the Greek lines of communication by Dryon-kephala c. 89 *μῖλια*. If they had not also already destroyed Gargaphia, and rendered the Greek position at Gargaphia untenable, it must be because that position had not been occupied by the Greek units this very day, to wit, the twelfth. On this day the Greeks were reduced to the necessity of advancing across the Anagros, or else retiring and giving up the position.

6. εἰσινόντο πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιήν: the Persian cavalry, and perhaps the Bactrian Phoenician, Macedonian could now ride completely round the Greek position, and especially could harass the Greeks in the rear. The horsemen evidently did not attempt to ascend the Akropolis and sides, but swept safely through the trough of the hills, in which Gargaphia and its neighbouring woods lay, and the Akedaimonians may have been posted near the woods, in the vain attempt to save them: those men must have been beaten back northwards on to the 'Anagros Ridge. What were the hosts of *ψαλοὶ* about on the Greek side? They should have been in being, have kept the Persian cavalry off. It is this situation which makes it difficult to believe in the 69,500 Greek *ψαλοὶ* of c. 80 *μῖλια* or even a little of that number.

7. ὥστε ἵπποτοξοὶ τε εἰσόντες καὶ προσφέρεσθαι ἄποροι, *ὥστε*—*ἄρε*, cp. c. 37 *σικρήνη*. With *προσφ.* *ἀπ.* cp. *ἀποροι* *προσφ.* c. 4. 45. The meaning is evidently that it was difficult to come to close quarters with them. Baskinley renders "impossible to bring to close fight"—as though *προσφεμεσθαι* were

passive, or, if not, as if *εἰσόντες* were to be understood. The verb is better taken as middle or deponent, *εἰσόντες* or *εἰσόντες* being understood, the construction being the personal instead of the neuter: *ἀποροι ἢ προσφ. ἐσόντες εἰσόντες* (*εἰσόντες* 'it was impossible to come to close quarters with them.')

The difficulty afflicts hoplites, not *ψαλοὶ*, *τοξοὶ*, *ἀσπίσται*, *σφενδαῖται*, *αἶψα*, who should have shot down the horses and men, *εἰσόντες*, at least if they had been decently trained; but they were probably *εἰσόντες* among the hoplites. On the superiority of the Persian still at the end of the fifth century cp. Xenophon, *Anab.* 3. 3. 7.

ἵπποτοξοί: a form of *μῖλιον* afterwards familiar at Athens (cp. Thuc. 2. 13. 8, though a corps of 200 could not hope to effect very much. The Persian cavalry, Hdt. says (2. 64), had the same equipment as the infantry described in 2. 61) including bows and arrows, and short spears, i.e. throwing spears, javalins. *Καταμύων αἶψα* (from *Αἶψα* 1. 13) (the *κρανικόν* and 3. 13 (Arbela) that in Alexander's day the favourite weapon of the Persian cavalry was the javelin (*πικρὸν*). Cp. c. 17 *μῖλιον*.

8. τὴν τε κρήνην τὴν Γαρφαλίην cp. c. 24 *μῖλιον* for its identity and position. The statement here that the whole Greek force under arms (*στράτευμα* not *στρατοπέδον*) depended on this one source for water-supply might have warranted Hdt. that the position could hardly have been occupied for twelve days. What? 110,000 men, for twelve days, watered from one spring? It would needs have been a copious one. Now at any rate in the course of a few hours the Persian cavalry renders it quite useless as they could have done on any one of the preceding eleven days.

10. συνεστίασαν καὶ συνέχωσαν the first verb describes the condition of the water-supply after the Persian cavalry

ὡν κατὰ τὴν κρήνην Λακεδαιμόνιοι τεταγμένοι μόνους, τοῖσι δὲ ἄλλοις: Ἕλλησι ἢ μὲν κρήνη πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐγένετο, ὡς ἕκαστοι ἐτυχον τεταγμένοι, ὁ δὲ Ἀσωπὸς ἀγχοῦ ἐρυκόμενοι δὲ τοῦ

11 μόνους τεταγμένοι π || τοῖσι . . τεταγμένοι ου. B 12 ἄλλους
 Marc. || ἐγένετο : 13 ἀπὸ τοῦ CP:

has been rising over it and through it: the sound the absolute dilapidation of the troughs, basin, stone work, and so forth (cp. c. 13 supra) which they must have amounted to! Pausan. v. 4. 2 has little independent value, but may be just worth quoting: *τὴν δὲ ἑρπύνην τὴν ἰσχυρίαν Μαρδόνιος καὶ ἡ ἱπποὶ συνέχευον ἢ ἱερῶν, ὅτι τὸ Ἕλλησιν σπράγνυμα τὸ ἀντιπρόθετον σφαιρὸν ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τῷ σπέρῳ μόνους τὸ ὅριον ἀπέσπασαν αἱ Περσικαί.*

1] *ἦσαν μὲν ἂν . . Λακεδαιμόνιοι*: Dr marks the gravity of the situation. That Lakedaemonians and Lakedaemonians alone (μόνους) were posted opposite, or 'over against' the fountain, suggests several inferences: 1) The main body of the Lakedaemonians form the Greek right wing, stationed apparently on the high ground immediately north of the spring, or well (Grundy's 'source' etc.); but 2) doubtless a detachment would have been on guard in the immediate vicinity of the water. If so, that detachment cannot have maintained ground.

If *Antisthenes* be Gargaphia, the Greek left would have to be moved a little, but only a little, westward. In reality the centre probably watered from *Antisthenes*, which no doubt was equally destroyed by the Persian cavalry. The centre was posted immediately in and about the *Androkrateion* (the Church of St. John).

The left wing may have been expected to get its water from the stream Δ' running down from *Antisthenes* into the *Asopos* proper, or failing that from *Antisthenes*.

11 *τοῖσι δὲ ἄλλοις*. Ἕλλησι: i.e. the right centre (αἱ αὐφα Μαραθῶνος c. 62), the left centre (αἱ αὐφα Μαραθῶνος τοῦ Φλασίου c. 21) and the left wing (Athenians and Plataeans). The *Tegeatai* are probably lumped with the Lakedaemonians above.

13. *ἢ μὲν κρήνη πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐγένετο*: πρὸς αὐτὸν the antithesis of *ἐγγυς*, cp. Plato,

Protag. 356. There is no need to expand *ἢ ἐγγυς* into *ἢ ἐν τῇ κρήνῃ ὅθεν Σίταρις*, but the next words, *αἱ ἱπποὶ τρυχὸν τεταγμένοι*, introduce an element of relativity or comparison: *ἵνα πρὸς αὐτὸν*, i.e. *water*, the imperfect *ἐγένετο* is also adapted: the well was not equidistant from all; it was not near to any, but it was further from some (the Athenians) than from others (the centre), according to their places in the line of battle.

13. *ὁ δὲ Ἀσωπὸς ἀγχοῦ*: ἀγχοῦ = ἀγχοῦς. (Cf. with a dat. 3. 65 ἀγχοῦ τῇ ἰσχυρίᾳ). The assertion that the *Asopos* was near any of the towers, or any of the Greeks near the *Asopos*, is puzzling. The whole position indeed, has been described above, c. 13, *μακρὰ + ὁ Ἀσωπὸς*, but that is relatively to the previous position: *πρὸς τῇ ὕδατι*, and not from the point of view of the actual water supply. The Greek position along the top of the *Asopos Ridge* was not, from the enemy's point of view, near the *Asopos*, if by *Asopos* is meant the main stream (as in c. 39, and *passim*). *Maκρὰ* has here probably made a mistake, owing to his ignorance of the ground: that the parts of the army which were not near Gargaphia were near the *Asopos* may be a small inference from the general and not, broadly speaking, incorrect description of their position: *οἱ περὶ τὴν Ἀσπὸν*. It is possible, however, that the G B (Grundy's) interpretation (for a phrase in c. 31 *ἀγχοῦ γὰρ*) is better, accurate, and that '*Asopos*' is here used of stream Δ', though not with conscious knowledge or discrimination on the historian's part. The towers left, in particular the Athenians, were certainly in the vicinity of this streamlet, but were no doubt unable to use it *πρὸς τὴν ἑρπύνην καὶ τὸν ὄριον*. They may erroneously have spoken of it as the *Asopos*, or the Lakedaemonian *Asopos*, but Hdt. had he known the real state of the case, would surely have distinguished expressly between the main stream and this comparatively insignificant affluent. *ἐρυκόμενοι*: *passive*; cp. 5. 15.

Ἀσωποῦ οὕτω δὴ ἐπὶ τὴν κρήνην ἐφοίτων· ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ
 15 γὰρ σφί οὐκ ἔξην ὕδωρ φορέεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἰππέων καὶ
 50 τοξενμάτων. τούτου δὲ τοιοῦτου γινομένου οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων
 στρατηγοί, ὅτε τοῦ τε ὕδατος στερηθείσης τῆς στρατῆς καὶ
 ὑπο τῆς ἵππου παρασσομένης, συνελέχθησαν περὶ αὐτῶν τε
 τούτων καὶ ἄλλων, ἐλθόντες παρὰ Πανσανίην ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν
 5 κέριον. ἄλλα γὰρ τούτων τοιούτων ἰόντων μᾶλλον σφίαις
 ἐλύπεε· οὔτε γὰρ σιτία εἶχον ἐτι, οἳ τε σφίων ὀπίσκει

14 ἐφοίτων C: ἐφοίτων P, Stein¹, van H. 15 ὕδωρ van B
 50. 1 γινομένου Marc. 3 αὐτῶν τε τούτων: 4 Πανσανίη
 ἐπὶ van: 5 ἄλλα A²SB Marc. ἄλλα | τούτων | μᾶλλον σφίαις AB.
 Stein²: μᾶλλον σφίαις 6 ἐπὶ περ CP | τέ σφίων van B. ὀπίσκει R
 ὀπίσκει S: ὀπίσκει Schaefer

14. οὕτω δὴ: here not temporal but
 modal, or even causal.

15 ὑπὸ: cp. c 45 17 ποταμῷ

50. 1. τούτου δὲ τοιοῦτου γινομένου
 'such coming to be the state of the case,'
 'things getting to this pass' (p. 6.
 109). αὐτῶν οὐκ αὖτις phrase, repeated
 below in more positive or eulabastic
 form, τούτων τούτων αὐτῶν, but ex-
 plained as referring to the two serious
 necessities, (1) the want of the water-
 supply, (2) the harassment of the
 cavalry. Nor was this all: '3. Thence
 was without ration and (4) completely
 cut off from its base: (3, and (4), were
 vexing them all the more μᾶλλον σφίαις
 (desire) owing to the 3, the 4, a supplement
 of (1 and (2). The admissions made
 in this chapter are notable: but the
 logical and chronological sequences are
 not acceptable.

οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατηγοί: either
 then Pausanias and Beryandax, who no
 doubt summoned them to the Council of
 War, which is held on the right wing.
 The position of the Greek force is highly
 precarious. The question before the
 Council must have been whether to
 advance and cross the Asopus, or to re-
 treat. The third alternative, remaining
 where they are, is impossible.

5. οὕτω γὰρ σιτία εἶχον ἐτι. This had
 been probably one of the chief reasons
 for their advance to the position on the
 Asopus Ridge, in which they were offer-
 ing battle to the Persian, if only he
 would come across the Asopus with his
 infantry. Mardonius had perhaps turned
 them out of their position at Hyriae by
 smiting and cutting up Dryoskephalai,
 and forced them to come down to the

Asopus and offer battle. He is still, no
 doubt, even hoping to draw or drive
 them across the Asopus. He, who
 keeps the Greeks twelve days on the
 Asopus Ridge, far eleven of which they
 are also very unmolested and allowed
 to water freely from Gargaphia now at
 last admits that battle or retreat is a
 necessity owing to the complete break-
 down of the communications that break-
 down being due to the complete command
 obtained by the Persian cavalry of the
 main route to the rear of the Greek
 force. The difficult passes Megara pass-
 es are indeed open, and it is just upon
 that they resolve to fall back, for even
 that pass was no use to them in their
 present position.

οἳ τε σφίων ὀπίσκει ἀποσημειώσαντες
 δὲ Μελοποννήσου: the δέσιναι - the
 ψῆλαι των σιτιῶν περὶ ἀνδρῶν ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς
 ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ c. 24 ποταμῷ c. 11
 ψῆλαι, οὐκ αὖτις αὐτοῖς εὐν ἀδύνατον
 αὐτοῖς, whatever their true number.
 The Meleponnesean part of them has
 been sent away, to bring up supplies
 (cp. ἐπισυνέμενον, cp. c 126) to replace
 the σιτιῶν of their masters, and cannot
 get back, the Greek army being com-
 pletely isolated in its present position
 by the Persian cavalry.

This passage goes to show that the
 only δέσιναι, or ψῆλαι, in camp, or near
 the army, at this crisis, would be the
 attendants on the Athenians, Megarians,
 Plataeans. The preparation is, however,
 that the Athenian and Megarian orders
 were also absent though the Athenian
 τάγματα were of course on the spot
 c. 60 τάγματα. The army was practically
 a purely heliote force at this moment.

ἀποτεμφθέντες ἐς Πελοπόννησον ὡς ἐπισιτιούμενοι ἀπεκκληρίετο
ὑπὸ τῆς ἵππου, οὐ δυνάμενοι ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὸ στρατοπέδον.
βουλευομένοισι δὲ τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι ἔδοξε, ἣν ὑπερβύδονται 51
ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέρην οἱ Πέρσαι συμβολὴν ποιούμενοι, ἐς τὴν

7 ἀπεκκληρίετο Dindorf, Stein, Holler · ἀποκκληρίετο van H · ἀπο-
κκληρίετο B: ἀπικεκλήετο 8 ὑπὸ: ἀπὸ Q || ἀπικέσθαι H 51. 2
κείνην = | μὴ ποιούμενοι B, Holler, van H.

But, perhaps, we should allow still the
regulation attendant on each hoplite.

7 ἀπεκκληρίετο, "were utterly and
had for some time previously been sent
off," from retreating. *Immo pro atque
ἐκείνην ἡμέραν, Schwichgriesner* (but cf.
Vetzel, *in Festschr. v. v. κλειών*). Cf. ἀπο-
κλήρομαι τῆς ἐκείνου οἴου 3. 55, in a
completely different connection.

9. ὑπὸ: cf. a. 37 *supra*. The Persian
cavalry completely dominates the situa-
tion. On the night of the 11th (i.e. 39
supra) they have seized *Ischyros* (near the
junction of the Euxine to Erythrae
and Southern Hymet Pataca roads, in
the rear of the Greek position, at Hymet).
The Persians were, of course, maintained
their hold on that position. As con-
sequence the Greeks are cut off from
their base except by the difficult Plataea
Mogara route, and on the 11th (no doubt)
come to the determination to go down
to a position east of Ἀσσωπὸς, and offer
battle to the Persian. This manoeuvre
is carried out upon the 12th (perhaps
not without some loss) and Mardonius
moves into position opposite them,
with the Asopos str. between c. 42
supra.

Still, neither side will cross the river;
but all that day, the 12th, the Greeks
are harassed by the cavalry, cut off from
the water supply on all sides cut off
from their base, not merely via Erythrae
and Hymet but even via Plataea the
route they have taken from *ἀσσωπὸς* and
battle or retreat becomes an absolute
necessity.

51. βουλευομένοισι δὲ τοῖσι στρατη-
γοῖσι ἔδοξε · a council of war before
fight, but this time the council was
tactical. The two alternatives for the
Persians are here presented by tradition:

(1) that the Persians should come across
the river and attack them *διαβήναι τὸν
Ἀσσωπον καὶ μάχην ἔρχειν*; (2) that the
Persians should not do so, but postpone
for that day or indefinitely, covering the
attack *ἣν ὑπερβύδονται*. οἱ Ἕλληες
συμβολὴν ποιούμενοι. Here *συμβολὴν*

πορεύσθαι has nothing to say to the
cavalry skirmishing which was going
on, but of course means to bring on a
general engagement, to deliver the attack,
μάχην ἔρχειν. The participial construction
is *ἐκείνην ἡμέραν*. On your course it treated
as open to the Greeks, viz. to retreat.
But there was another viz. to advance,
to cross the Asopos, to assume the
offensive. That was what Alexander did
at the Granikos, but here, Alexander's
army was not considered as fully off hand.
To have crossed the Asopos must have
meant annihilation to the army of Mar-
donius. He had no cavalry. He had
practically no *πύλαι*, or none worth count-
ing. Crossing the stream would have
broken the Greek ranks. Once across
the Persian cavalry could have ridden
round and round them on the con-
paratively level and open plain. On a
smaller scale the situation would have
anticipated Arbela, with no cavalry, no
light infantry, no developed tactics, no
Alexander, on the Greek side, the issue
would have been the annihilation of the
Greek army, the total victory of Mardonius.
The Asopos stream was a Rubicon in-
deed, the Greek determination to remain
south of it was their salvation. Mar-
donius crossed it to his ruin. Had he
crossed on the 12th the result would
have been the same. The Council of
War was only summoned by Mardonius
(and Eumachos) when it became fairly
certain that the Persian infantry was
not coming across, and that the present
position was untenable.

2 *ἐς τὴν ἡμέραν ἵκεν* · this was to
retreat perhaps to the position previously
occupied. A third alternative between
advancing and retreating was logically
possible, viz. to stay where they were,
and wait, were, in hopes that Persian
might still discover an attack. But why
should he grant to postpone what he
refuses to do? Or how are they to
remain, with that water without to drink?

What is the name to be counted?
And how? The manuscript gives

νῆσον ἰεναί. ἥ δὲ ἐστὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ καὶ τῆς κρήνης
τῆς Γαργαφίης, ἐπ' ἣ ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο τότε, δέκα σταδίους
ἀπέχουσα, πρὸ τῆς Πλαταιέων πόλιος. νῆσος δὲ οἶτω ἀν εἰς
ἐν ἡτείρω· σχεζόμενος [ὁ] ποταμὸς ἀνωθεν ἐκ τοῦ Κιθαिरῶνος

2 δ' εὔτεν R 4 γαργαφίης S | ἐπ' ἣ B. ἐς τὴν. ἐπ' ἣν 5
ἔχουσα B | νῆσος ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ del Krueger | δ' ἀν B 6 ὁ scil. Stein?
Holder, van H.

by Hd. are not the most important evidence in determining the site. The measurements are only round numbers, approximative, in character. The important factors are (1.) The island was wooded (Πλαταιῶν πόλιος (2.) The island was formed not by the Asopos, or its tributaries, but by the Ceres. These two factors were, indeed, used by Leake and Vischer in fixing the island away to the west beyond the main road from Athens to Thebes. (3.) The strategic and tactical necessities of the case must be met. From this point of view the objections to Leake's location are overwhelming. On such an island the Greeks (a) would still have been exposed to the attacks of the Persian cavalry; (b) would not have been in a better position as regards supplies. The island must be sought near the *ὄρεα*, and it must be backed by the only remaining pass through which the Greeks could draw supplies, viz. the difficult Platan-Megara route; and there must be a water-supply. The position proposed by Dr. Grundy meets these requirements. (a.) It is in front of Platan, and perhaps also Hymettos; (ii.) it is formed by the Ceres; (iii.) it is inaccessible to cavalry, backed by the route to Megara well supplied with water (Ceres, *Fontaine* spring, and also (iv.) considerably better with the measurements given by Hd., such as they are, than the position assigned by Leake and Vischer. Cp. G. Grundy, *J. P. H.* pp. 481 ff.

3. ἥ δὲ ἐστὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ πλ. . . How vague are the distances as expressed by Hd. in stades as shown by his joining the Asopos and Gargaphia together as 'ten stades' from the 'island.' Unless Gargaphia and the Asopos are identical they can hardly have been so exactly the same distance from a third point. Again, if by 'the Asopos' were here meant the main stream we should either have to fall back on Leake's location of the island

or to confess that Hd.'s measurement is valueless. If the Asopos here = A it approximates sufficiently to Gargaphia to allow Hd.'s measure to pass, and to refer to Dr Grundy's 'island,' as above.

νήγη is a fountain with artificial pipes, outlet and so forth as distinct from *φύσας*, a well. 1. 53 cp. 1. 129 and *νήγη*, a spring source, 1. 1-9, 7. 23.

4. ἐπ' ἣ ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο τότε: the apparent exclusion of the Asopos from the purview of the Helonic League is curious, but (a) the singularity of the relative may have been determined by the proximity of the fountain concerned; (b) the column was being fixed on the right wing of the Greek position and the right wing was in immediate proximity to the fountain; (c) the Asopos just above has been defined as more or less near the position of the Greek contingents, and so perhaps came to be omitted here as in *cp. 200*, (d) the grammatical construction might be strained, so as to carry back and cover the Asopos too, *cp. 200*.

5. πρὸ τῆς Πλαταιῶν πόλιος: the 'island' between O¹ and O² was evidently 'in front of the city of the Plataeans' to any one approaching Platan by the road from Athens, it might also, however, through less appropriately, be so described from the point of view of the position occupied by the Greek forces on Gargaphia.

νήγη δὲ οἶτω ἀν εἰς ἐν τῷ ἡτέρω the adverb *οἶτω* *scil. 200*, referring to what follows, *cp. 8. 94. 4 (192. 2, 140. 31).*

6. σχεζόμενος, being sent (in twain, dividing itself; *cp. 7. 31. 213. 8-14* also 2. 17. Hd. evidently conceives the Ceres as first starting in a river channel, or stream, then turning it into two and reuniting so as literally to form an island; *cp. 2. 17. ῥέχρη μὲν οὖν Κερκισσαίου ποταμοῦ πέρι νεῖται ὁ Νεῖλος ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ ταύτης ἐν ἑαυτῇ σχεζόμενος ὡς ὅπου* *scil. 2. 3. 140. 31).*

ρέει κάτω ἐς τὸ πεδίον, διέχων ἀπ' ἀλλήλων τὰ ρέεθρα ὅσον περ τρία στάδια, καὶ ἔπειτα συμμίσγει ἐς τὴντό. ὄνομα δὲ οἱ Ἰνέρον· θυγατέρα δὲ ταύτην λέγουσι εἶναι Ἀσωποῦ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι. ἐς τοῦτον δὲ τὸν χώρον ἐβουλεύσαντο μεταναστῆναι, ἵνα καὶ ὕδατι ἔχῃσι χρᾶσθαι ἀφθονῶ καὶ οἱ ἱππῖες

7 ὅσον περὶ δλας. : ὅσον τε Kueger. ὅσον ἐπὶ i Stein. 8 τοῦτο B
9 οἱ pr. loc. : ὁ RV 10 μεταστῆναι SV

δλας σφίερα.) is not the case with the Orontes, and probably never was. It is not written from autopsy, or even from a cartographical survey! But such an eminent and conspicuous hill or peak between two streams as *Ligeia* now is, might easily be named an 'island' though not quite strictly speaking surrounded by water. Even the 'Peloponnesos' is only a peninsula, or 'I. Peloponnesos', etc.

7 ἐς τὸ πεδίον. If Hdt meant by these words to imply that 'the island' was down on the plain, he would be giving further evidence of his ignorance of the ground. But need the phrase be so closely pressed? The river in any case is flowing down to the flat land.

διέχων, 'holding apart' . . . cp. *epoxyar* c. 4 *mirra*. το ρέεθρα may here mean 'channels,' cp. 7. 130, and L. & S. *oideia*, *rethra*, but *βίαι* above and *συμμίγειν* just below rather suggest 'streams'; and dry channels would not have been enough for the Greeks on this occasion.

ὅσον περ τρία στάδια. the measurement given is very exact, *ὅσον περ*, cp. *ὅσον περ* c. 120 *mirra*, but only in one direction! How then, is the distance of 3 stades reckoned, in latitude or in longitude? Is the island 3 stades long, or 3 stades broad? Unless the island were a rectangle, a square, it would seem that it must be its length that is given, and rectangular it could not be. On the other hand, a plot of land only 3 stades long and probably not 3 stades wide would have been far too small to receive the army. Not indeed that the whole forces need have been actually on the island in the strictest sense. Dr Gerbel's island is considerably less than 3 stades wide, and infinitely more than 3 stades long, but the actual mound might be about 3 stades long which is precisely what Hdt would have said, had he measured, or even seen, the ground before writing.

9 Ἰνέρον. Orontes is a river of the east, and more than that 'The men of those parts in Hdt's time regarded Orontes as a daughter of Asopos. Hdt. need not have gone to Hattai to learn that. He might have met an *ἐπιχώριος* elsewhere. Theander of Orchomenos (c. 16 *mirra*) might have been his informant, or he might have read the statement in a geographical or mythological work; but it was probably too late for a Hellenist to have admitted. What was the sense of calling Orontes a daughter of Asopos? Much too naive as of saying that Thebe and Argina were daughters of Asopos (cp. 5. 80). There is poetry in it; the Orontes region is treated as part of the *Παλαίονος* cp. c. 15 *mirra*. If it is myth, were intended for science, that cartography & again at Orontes, the locality of which is certainly known to a different land system to that of the Asopos, and sheds its waters to the west down into the bay of Kremaia, not eastward to the Euboean sea.

The names of rivers are seldom feminine in Greek. Westlake remarked that Orontes is not included in the twelve daughters of Asopos by Pausanias 4. 72. cp. Apollon 3. 11. 5. Only two of the names, *Περφάν*, *Ἀσωπὸς*, could apply to springs, or streams. The latter perhaps might be the Orontes but this, the Asopos with twelve daughters is the Phileasian or Bekrian cp. c. 15. 13 *mirra*.

10 ἐβουλεύσαντο μεταναστῆναι. 'They resolved after deliberation to migrate' . . . cp. *μεταστῆναι* in Thuc. 1. 12. 1, 3. 114. 3, also the substantivized *μεταναστῆναι* 1. 2. 1, 2. 16. 1.

Three motives for this move are given: 1. need of water supply; 2. avoidance of the cavalry; 3. the ruin of the communications, which was coupled up on *Κιτταῖον*. All three reasons are so much homage to the dominance of the Persian cavalry, as is also further the determination to carry out the move under cover of night.

11. ἵνα . . . ἔχῃσι καὶ πᾶ

σφαιρᾶς μὴ) σινολίωτο ὥσπερ κατιθὲν ἰόντων· μετακινῆσθαι δὲ
 εἰσέκει τότε ἐπὶ αὐτῆς τῆς νυκτὸς ἢ δευτέρῃ φιλακῇ, ὥς ἂν μὴ

12 δὲ Στοιχ. 7c

σινολίωτο a more immediate and a more remote, a more certain and a less certain, purpose or result, are indicated by the middle variation, *ep. ἢ μὲν δοκῇ* . . . *εἰ δὲ καὶ μὴ δοκῇ* c. 14 supra.

12. ὥσπερ κατιθὲν ἰόντων, 'as they did when they were directly exposed to them' (Hakesley) 'as now, when they were right opposite' (Maccary); 'as when it was drawn up right in their front' (Jebb). *κατιθὲν*, *ep. ar. tōr.*, can hardly mean anything but 'right opposite.' To what subject is *ἰόντων* to be referred—*issue* out of *issue*, or *advance* out of *advance*? The material result, or argument, will be the same in either case—which perhaps accounts for the formal ambiguity. The argument is obscure. A. If *Hdt.* means that the cavalry was making frontal attacks upon the Greeks in their position (11) 'on the Asopus,' the use of the land is *prima facie* against him. It is not likely that the cavalry crossed the Asopus in front of the Greek position, and charged up the hill, halting and discharging their missiles, and then retired to a safe distance: for (a) this would require that bridges should have been laid across the river in many places, a proceeding of which there is no record; (b) this frontal attack would have no connexion with the destruction of Gargaphia and the water-supply in rear of the Greek position B. If *Hdt.* means that frontal attacks by the cavalry were more to be feared than attacks on flank, or on rear (*κατὰ ὤμων*), he would be saying what is manifestly absurd, and in contradiction with his own context. The frontal attacks at Erchiras failed; the flank and rear attacks by the Persian cavalry upon the Greek positions since the advance from Erchiras have been successful. C. Is it possible that ὥσπερ κατιθὲν ἰόντων here practically means that the Greeks were completely surrounded, and even to direct attack on all sides, though *Hdt.* himself may have repeated the phrase of his authority, or possibly imperfectly and without fully understanding it? The actual fact was as suggested. In the position 'on the Asopus,' the position associated with the Androkrateion and Gargaphia the

Persian cavalry could attack the Greeks on all sides, more or less. The destruction of Gargaphia proves that the cavalry ranged freely behind the Greek position; the same fact is proved by the admission that the Greek connections were cut, and that supplies could not reach them. In such a situation, the Greeks cannot have maintained a formation on a single front, facing Asopus 'north.' The Greek army must necessarily have formed either in two lines or a to break *παλαιὰ ἀποστολὴν* Asian Text 20 c. 11, a hollow square or parallelogram, round the Androkrateion, otherwise the Persian *Ἰσχυροτάτοι* would have shot them down from the rear. Though the south side of the 'Asopus bridge' is steeper than the north slope, it is not inaccessible. Especially the detachment told off to guard Gargaphia must have had such a formation. It is possible that the expression *ὥσπερ κατιθὲν ἰόντων* covers three facts. The Asopus was practically quite inaccessible for cavalry. D. Last, and least likely, the words might, ungrammatically, have reference to the new position about to be taken—they are in any case more or less misused, or may represent words in *Hdt.*'s source originally intended to mean that in the new position the *κατὰ ὤμων* or *κατὰ ὀπίσθεν* attacks were formidable, attacks would be possible. The grammatical obstacle to this interpretation is threefold. (1) the *κατὰ ὤμων* remains objectionable, as on every hypothesis; (2) *ὥσπερ* has to be made *καὶ* *ὥσπερ*; (3) the present participle has to be taken as loosely equivalent to a future participle. These objections, fatal to this interpretation of the words as they stand, do not convince me that the phrase as originally used by Herodotus may not have had reference to the new position to be occupied, viz. the *νύκτι*.

13. *δευτέρῃ φιλακῇ*. The Romans certainly divided the night into four vigils, *ep. (Acoust. B 12, 1 1)*, and Lewis & Short, *sub n. vigilia*. The Greek division is not so clear. Pausanias 70 is the main authority and might be taken to limit it to three *πρὸς ἑσπέρην*

ἰδοῖατο οἱ Πέρσαι ἑξορμωμένους καὶ σφεας ἐπόμνοι ταμίσους
οἱ ἱππότες ἀπικομένων δὲ ἐς τὸν χώρον τοῦτον, τὸν δὲ ἡ 15

13 ἑξορμωμένους P., δένει, van H.: ἑξορμωμένους C Marc., Gaisford

φύλαξαι καὶ δευτέραι καὶ τρίται. Σινδὰς
ἐπὶ τὴν φύλαξιν τὸ τρίτον μῶρι καὶ
ἐπὶ τὴν φύλαξιν γὰρ διήρπαι, has been
assumed to be referring to it in Roman
atticism exclusive γ, but I think it more
probable that the Greek system was
practically identical with the Roman:
thus in Pollux i.e. I. νικτὸς ἀρχή, περι-
τρώμεν νύκτα, νικτὸς ἀρχαίτης—πρώται
νύκτε, πρώται νύκτες. II. περί πρώτων
δένει—νύκτε συνέδριον (Tac. Ann. 1, 38),
ἀντιπαραπύλαι. III. μεσοτρε νικτὸς,
μεσοτρε νύκτε—νύκτε μεσοτρε νύκτες
νύκτες, 14. περί ἀνατολῆς οὐδὲ, ἀνατολῆς
οὐδὲ, ἀπὸ τῶν φθόνων οὐδὲ—οὐδὲ
οὐδὲ, οὐδὲ νύκτες. The watch
and δευτέραι καὶ τρίται in Pollux i.e. are
out of place, and should not prejudice
the question. The 'second watch' is
very elaborately paraphrased in c. 44
περὶ τῆς νύκτος, and 'the first watch'
perhaps in 7, 213, αὐτὴ νύξ. The exact
length of the watch depended on the
length of the night between sunset and
sunrise, but was roughly two to three
hours. The 'watchers' in the Iliad 13.
72 ἡ δὲ ἡ μεσοτρε νύκτε ἡ ἀνατολῆς
ἡ πρῶτη νύκτε ἐκείνη τὴν νύκτα. But
not some consideration of this fourfold
division of the night, that the five terms
in c. 131 by which the time of day is
marked give likewise a fourfold division
of the day; in the present case 'the first
watch' was not dark enough for the
intended movement of the Greeks. They
meant to start about 10 P.M. apparently.

14. ἑξορμωμένους 'starting, in the
act of moving out of position', cp. 7, 37,
αὐτὴν, cp. 7, 715 ὁρμίζω in τὸν
στρατόν.

ταμίσους: as they had been
doing most of the day: cp. c. 51 τῆς
στρατῆς καὶ τῆς ἱππικῆς παρασκευῆς etc.
The confusion (ταμίαι) was only con-
founded (συντάραξαν) in the case of the
fountain, c. 44 νύκτε, or perhaps in the
immediate vicinity of the fountain.
There is here fresh evidence of the
efficiency of the Persian cavalry.

16. ἀπικομένων δὲ ἐς τὸν χώρον τοῦ-
του, genitive absolute and participle
cp. the mystery of the preceding story,
ἐκείνη νύκτε, the action here must be

conditional, i.e. virtually future: in the
dative (with εἴκοσι) it would, of course,
record their actual arrival at the island,
in the genitive it only contains the
report of the council's decision, to the
effect that, 'on arrival at the island,
they should still, under cover of night,
despatch a division to Kittiraon, etc.
etc.' Whether this report be correct is,
of course, another question.

τὸν δὲ ἡ Ἀσπίς [ἡ Ἀσπίς] περι-
σχεῖται. There is no difficulty in a
passive, present or passive, compounded
with περι taking the a-suffix (cp.
περιμενέω, περιμενέμεθα). The peculiarity
here, however, arises from the proposition
apparently having a sense in connection
with τὸν χώρον τοῦτον, which is not
strictly compatible with the meaning of
the verb. 'I am περι τὸν ἄσπετον
εἰσέτι' would mean simply that at this
point the Ἀσπίς divides, cf. 13114, into
two streams, τὰς Πάστους 23 αὐτὴ
καὶ Ἀλφειοῦ, ἡ δὲ διὰ τὴν Πάστου,
περὶ δὲ κατὰ κορυφὴν σχίζεται τὸ τοῦ Νείλου
ῥοαίον, ὁμοίως περικυλίσσονται ἅπασαι εἰς
τὴν ἑσπέρην περὶ τὴν νύκτα, not a
region, but here the idea of surround-
ing seems suggested. The εἰσέτι is not
a point, or a κορυφὴ on which the
Ἀσπίς wrote, but an oblong figure, or
quadrangle, which it surrounds. Had περι-
μενέω been the verb here, no one would
have felt a difficulty. Text 7 214
περικυλίσσονται τὸ ῥοαίον τῶν Περσῶν: 1.
ἡ περιμενέμεθα τὸν Νείλον τὸ ῥοαίον δὲ
180 παρθένος . . περιμενέμεθα τὴν ἑσπέρην
do not clear this case, the difficulty lying
not in the περι but in τὸν σχίζεται. If
Hdt. had written σχισμένη or σχισθεῖσα
περικυλίσσεται, instead of περὶ τὸν
περικυλίσσεται the phrase would have been un-
impeachable. Hdt. in here a little betrayed in
his phraseology, cp. c. 13114 τὴν ἑσπέρην
αὐτὴν instead of οὐκ ἔχοντα τὴν ἑσπέρην,
yet not so badly as that. c. 13114 τὴν
Πάστου, 3 42, 7, shows a much clearer
head. ὁ περιμενέμεθα τὴν περιμενέμεθα
τὴν ἑσπέρην . . περιμενέμεθα τὴν
ἑσπέρην, ὁ ὅς περιμενέμεθα τὴν
ἑσπέρην περιμενέμεθα τὴν ἑσπέρην, ὁ
περικυλίσσεται (Hdt.) περιμενέμεθα
τὴν ἑσπέρην.

Ἀσωπὶς [Περὸν] περισχίζεται ῥέουσα ἐκ τοῦ Κιθαिरῶνος, ὑπὸ τὴν νύκτα ταύτην ἔδωκε τοὺς ἡμέσεας ἀποστέλλειν τοῦ στρατοπέδου πρὸς τὸν Κιθαिरῶνα, ὡς ἀναλάβοιεν τοὺς ὀπίσθους τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ σιτία οἰχομένους· ἦσαν γὰρ ἐν τῷ Κιθαिरῶνι 20 ἀπολελαμμένοι.

16 *nomen socius* || σχίζεται S || ἐκ τοῦ Κιθαिरῶνος del. Gomperz, Holder 18 ὀπίσθους K. ὀπίσθους S 19 ὄναι :

16. ὑπὸ τὴν νύκτα ταύτην: i.e. apparently 'before daybreak'; yet ὑπὸ νύκτα is generally taken to mean 'about daylight'. τὴν νύκτα night, as night comes on. The temporal indication must qualify not ἔδωκε (for the date of which see above) but ἀποστέλλειν.

17. ἔδωκε remains the ἔδωκε just above; but the change to the imperative, after ἐβόλευσαντο and ἔδωκε, in the report of the proceedings of one and the same council, looks as though (1) the precise time of departure, (2) the operations projected for the ἀποστολὴ στρατοῦ (so to speak, cf. τὸν ἡμέσεα ἀποστέλλειν ἡμέρα), were less clearly, less definitely resolved, expressed, understood, than the previous question of retreat, and retreat to the 'island' as a new halting place. Anyway, these imperatives introduce operations which were very imperfectly realized.

τοὺς ἡμέσεας ἀποστέλλειν τοῦ στρατοπέδου πρὸς τὸν Κιθαिरῶνα: a most curious statement. It was resolved, or was in a way to be resolved, that after the whole army had reached the island, the half of the army should be further despatched to Kithairon, in order to convey, relieve, the attendants who had gone away to fetch supplies (cf. p. 50 supra). Which half of the army was to be dispatched on this service? To what part of Kithairon was it to go? Was it really intended to direct the army? One half would have comprised (provisionally, either a) the right wing and right centre, 22,400 men, or b) the left wing and left centre, 15,400 men, or c) the two wings together, 20,100 men, or d) the right and left centre, 18,600 men. Cf. the tactical disposition and figures as given and annotated = 28 supra. There is no clear indication which of these four alternatives is intended. But as in the sequel the whole centre moved back far beyond the two wings, while the two wings attempted to form up a line though unsuccessfully, it is best to understand

by τοὺς ἡμέσεας in this passage the right and left centre (cf. p. 52 supra) (or else, one half only of the centre). The whole plan, then, is apparently that the two halves of the centre should ret. to πρὸς τὸν Κιθαिरῶνα, while the right and left wings, i.e. the Lakian contingents with the Iagatai and the Athenians with the Plataians, should concentrate back on to the island. To what point on Kithairon was the centre to retire? Were they to go back on to the Plataean Megarian pass, and to protect and convey the δόρυς and the αἶμα down the pass, and to the island? The Persian cavalry was in command and possession of Divanophela, and the two routes, or passes, therefore, on the plain, or the slopes. Was the centre to attempt the recovery, or the rejoining of the loop from Three Heads to Platani? The centre was to be detached upon a service apparently which was the less hazardous; they were to retire first, they were to retire forthwith, they were to retire in a compact body, leaving the two wings in the dark to fight or keep touch of each other, and to concentrate back on to the island, from their isolated positions at the two extremities of the extensive line. It showed some confidence in the virtues of the centre to charge them with that service, as they might have gone down off the Attalians on the other side from the battle field, in the sequel they did good service. One thing is manifest. It has not fully conveyed the precise meaning of the traditions which he reports, but, as often the report is sufficiently full and faithful, to yield the facts to a critical reconstruction.

18. ἐνδοφθόνων: a remarkable use of this Hellenic word; cf. 7. 241, 8. 147.

19. ἦσαν γὰρ ἐν τῷ Κιθαिरῶνι ἀπολελαμμένοι. they were on Kithairon unable to make further progress, ἀπολελαμμένοι: cf. p. 58 supra, etc. ἰδιῶς πορφ. πῦρ, ἀπολελαμμένοι do not

Ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι κέλευν μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην πᾶσαν προσ- 32
κειμένης τῆς ἵππου εἰχου πόνον ἄντυον· ὥς δὲ ἢ τε ἡμέρη
ἔληγε καὶ οἱ ἵππες ἐπέπαυτο, νυκτὸς δὲ γινομένης καὶ
ἐούσης τῆς ὥρης ἐς τὴν συνέκειτό σφι ἀπαλλύσσεσθαι, ἐνθαῦτα
ἀερθευτες οἱ πολλοὶ ἀπαλλύσσοντο, ἐς μὲν τὸν χοῖρον ἐς τὸν
συνέκειτο οὐκ ἐν νόφ' ἔχοντες, οἱ δὲ ὥς ἐκινήθησαν ἐφειγον

52. 1 ἐκέλευν B || προκειμένης (C) RS 2 ἔχον : 3 νυκτὸς τε
vel νυκτὸς τε δὴ Stein¹ 4 θούσης αC | τὴν δὲ B, Holder, van H.
5 ἀπαλλύσσοντο om. Marc. || δε δὲ αC 6 ὥς ἐς C

ἄρμα) ἔσαν is here more than a mere auxiliary, and ἔσαν ἀπολεσάμενοι more than merely ἀπελεσάμενοι, i.e. Hdt. does not merely report what part of Antisthenes the supply train was arrested, or cut off, or prevented from advancing by the Persian cavalry, or the fact thereof. He nowhere shows any clear knowledge of a pass direct from Plataea to Megara.

52. 1 ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι . πᾶσαν· the natural inference from this previous note was that the Council took place early, and that the cavalry assault continued for the whole day after. But that inference would be inconsistent with c. 49, 59 *supra* where the Council is only summoned τοῦτον τοιοῦτος εὐναι, or at least ταῦτοι δὲ τοιοῦτοι γενομένου. 'All the day' means a) all the rest of that day, or b) simply all day, to signify that after the Council as before, the παραχρῆστος τῶς σπουδῆς continued. The day is still the 12th, which dawned in c. 47 *supra*. There has been nothing to justify the assertion of one or more days between the dawn there and the night here. κέλευν indeed, places the *πᾶσαν ἄντυον* and the *συνέκειτο* upon the same day. *ἄντυος* is a poetic word, with a masculine, Pindar, *Pyth.* 6. 171. has the same phrase, *ἀντυοί σπῆος*, but not in quite the same sense *πᾶσα δ' ἡμέρα προσέειπε δίδωμαι μοι τὸ ἄντυον τῶσδε*.

2 ἢ τε ἡμέρη ἔληγε· 'towards evening on the 12th. ἄρμα here of time, as of space 1. 516, cp. 4. 59 Xenoph. *Anab.* 1. 3. 6 has *ὅταν μὲν ἡ ἡμέρα αὐτῶν ἔλγῃ* οἱ ἄντιος ἐπέπαυτο· i.e. προσέειπε, or προσέειποντες or παρασποντες τὴν σπουδῆν, as they have been doing all day. The use of the imperfect after the imperfect is noticeable; the cavalry attacks came to an end before the day-light. But Hdt. uses a material aux-

iliary, and not the pure *παρέρχεται* *προσέβλησεν*, or possibly *προσεβλήσασθαι*, cp. 8. 24) to signify the coming of the attack.

3. νυκτὸς δὲ γινομένης would serve to mark the first watch νυκτὸς ἀρχή and *πρῶτη νύκτα*, and *εἰς τὴν ἀρχομένην αὐτὴν πρῶτος φύλακος*, Polux, 1. 70, cp. c. 51 *supra*.

4 ἐούσης τῆς ὥρης ἐς τὴν συνέκειτο· is a *διωτική φύλαξις* c. 51 *supra*, or, *πρῶτος* *ἐκπαι* Polux i.e., cp. c. 54 *supra*. The word ὥρη here comes very near to our word 'hour,' το *διωκτικὸν μέρος τῆς ἡμέρας* (*τῆς νυκτός*), cp. 2. 109.

5 ἀερθεύτες οἱ πολλοὶ ἀπαλλύσσοντο· the participle and the adverb both strike a depreciatory a dyslogistic, a sarcastic note, which is immediately followed by still more deprecatory clauses, *ἀερθεύτες ἀείρου*, *ἀείρου* is used in 1. 105 110 (also in 4. 150 *ἡρώς ἀείρουσθαι*) in a technical way of sea-faring, starting on a *πῶς-εὐνοῦσθαι* *πῶς* perhaps, or *εὐνοῦσθαι*, being understood; or even *εὐνοῦσθαι*, cp. 8. 56-54. Here, then, 'the masses or 'the mass of the army departs under foot, and' (This might be an Athenian touch.) *οἱ πολλοὶ* here presumably corresponds exactly to *τοὺς ἡμῶν* in c. 51 *supra*. They are not, strictly speaking, in the majority; the whole centre numbers 18,690 as compared with 20,100 for the two wings; as compared with either wing a mere however, and comprising the rest 6000 the centre has a large majority.

6 ἐς τὸν συνέκειτο repeats with a touch of *μεταφορά* the *ἐς τὴν συνέκειτο* just above the constitution is of course, *ἐκπαι* (*εὐνοῦσθαι* *προσέειπε*) higher up. Hdt. is not even careful to avoid such improprieties, or 'improprieties' themselves.

6 οὐκ ἐν νόφ' ἔχοντες marks the duplicity like the *ἐκπαι* c. 54, 'has

ἄσμενοι τὴν ἵππον πρὸς τὴν Πλαταιέων πόλιν, φεύγοντες δὲ ἐπικεύσανται ἐπὶ τὸ Ἡραῖον· τὸ δὲ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐστὶ τῆς

8 ἥραιο· RS || δὲ B || τῆς: τῶν Marc.

ing no intention—not having it in their minds *sc.* ἀπαλλάσθαι (or even ἀπειθεῖν to the *τομάρχαι*, the appointed place, i.e. no doubt in the view of Hdt. himself, as of his source, the island. But the previous chapter shows that the invasion, or divisions, here in question, were to retire *πρὸς τὸν Κίθαιρον*—much farther than the island. They probably did exactly what had been agreed upon at the Council of War.

of 54: the subject repeated with the *δε* which might more usually go with the verb, to emphasize their action; but then . . . cp. 7, 51.

ὡς ἐκινήθησαν ἔφυγον, 'were no sooner in movement than they took to their heels, leaving to their joy the Persian cavalry far behind!'

The representation of the ἀπώλει (cp. c. 12 *supra*) as a *φύγη* (but is the clearest indication of the *ἀσμενία* of Hdt. a source, and of his own simplicity, in representing his authority.

7 πρὸς τὴν Πλαταιέων πόλιν: the city of Plataea was no doubt in ruins (cp. 8, 50 *supra*), though its site and its remains might offer some cover (on the morrow) from the dreadful Persian cavalry. The story, however, goes on to relate that in the course of their flight (φεύγοντες 54), and before they actually reached the (ruins of) the city of Plataea, they arrived at the temple of Hera (perhaps in ruins too), and there, in front of the temple, they halted, with the utmost precision! Had they been in flight? they would not have stopped there, nor do fugitives pile arms and take lager: they throw their arms away and bolt. The division which halted (presumably according to orders, at the Heraion, perhaps companies, only the left centre, or *ἀπὸς Μεγαρέων τε καὶ Φλασίων* c. 80 *infra* 7300 strong, at the Heraion the left centre was perhaps in a better position *ἀναλίσσειν τοὺς ὄντας*, cp. c. 51 *supra*). Further, the right centre, in this case, or *ἀπὸς Κορινθίων* c. 60 *infra*, 11,300 strong, may either have gone higher up Κίθαιρον, in order to bring forward the *σύνταγμα*, or have been posted on the road leading from Plataea to Drynkephalai, to protect both the rear of the forces on

the island and the flank of the Egyptian train, coming down the pass from Megara. In that position they may subsequently have had some fighting to do.

8. τὸ Ἡραῖον: the temple of Hera was in front of the πόλις, i.e. the Akropolis of the Plataians, 20 stades from the fountain of Gargaphia. The site of the Heraion has been fixed with some probability by the excavations of Mr. Henry N. Washington—see *Reports of the American School at Athens*, vi. 1897, pp. 40-64. Its position is almost at the very centre of the plateau of Plataea, the southern end of which alone constituted the *πόλις* even in 429 B.C. Even at that date there were perhaps no other buildings on the site. The restored Platea of Makredonian, Roman, and later times covered the whole plateau, as the extant remains of the city-walls demonstrate (cp. *Journal of the A.S.A.* v. (1892), p. 205 f.), and must have enclosed the *ἱερόν*, the site of which, in 479 B.C., was certainly outside the city-walls, lower down on the larger northern portion of the plateau. Any one from the north side would doubt be the site as *πρὸ τῆς πόλεως*, and the Plataians themselves, or any one following their terminology, would use the same language (cp. 8, 53), which would also be not anomalous from the point of view of the supposed flight was in a story. It is very doubtful, however (to my mind, whether the Heraion was standing in the year 479 B.C. or even, at the time when Hdt. was writing. The Persians had probably destroyed it in 480 B.C. (cp. 8, 50). If so it was in ruins at the time of the battle. At the second destruction of Plataea by the Thubans, c. 425 B.C., it is not recorded that they destroyed the Heraion, but it is recorded that they built a great wall or *κῆνος*, round a courtyard 200 feet square for the reception of pilgrims, dedicating it and its furniture to Hera *καὶ τὸν ἐκατομῆδον λίθινον ἀνδριάντα* (Thuc. 3, 68, 3). This was probably the very temple *sc.* which Pausanias (9, 2, 7) found within the restored and enlarged city of his time, *ἔκκε δὲ καὶ τοὺς καὶ τὸν ἀγαλματῶν τὸν κοσμὸν*

Πλαταιέων, εἰκοσι σταδίους ἀπὸ τῆς κρήνης τῆς Γαργαφῆς ἀπέχον· ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἔθεντο πρὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὰ ὄπλα. καὶ οἱ 53 μὲν περὶ τὸ Ἥραϊον ἐστρατοπέδουντο, Πανσαίνης δὲ ὀρίων σφίαις ἀπαλλασσομένους ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου παρήγγελλε καὶ

9 γαργαφῆς 8

53. 2 ἱερὸν B || ὀρίων CPx Stein¹, van H.

3 παρήγγελλε ι

But though a *Hekatompeion*, and built on or over the foundations discovered by Mr. Washington, the restored temple was perhaps not so long as the earlier (sixth-century) building, to judge by the measurements. It is not likely that the Theban destroyed a temple which had been restored since the Persian war; nor is any account of a temple in such a position made by Thucydides in his stories of the siege in 429-2 a.o. Probably the Heraion had not been restored, but was purposely left in ruins, as an eternal protest against the Persian squire (and his Greek slaves) hence the Theban restoration of 428 a.c.). The temple built by the Plataians out of the spoil of the battle of 479 a.c. was a temple to Athena (the Thebans did not destroy that), Plutarch, *Aristed.* 20, Pausan. 9. 4. 1. Hdt. in this connection too shows no sign of having visited Plataea before writing his account of the battle.

9. *ἄκοσι σταδίους*, these distances in footmiles are quite unconvincing, but might pass for rough estimates, say, 14 miles. If more exact measurement the Heraion is about 15 stades from *Arcteryn*, and 18 from Dr. Granville's *teatagalia*, and would be a good 20 stades from the Greek position round the *Anomastaton*. Why is Gargaphia here presented as the terminus *a quo*? that was rather the Spartan point and point of departure. ἀπέχον interior, with acc. of distance is of course a rather less common construction, cp. 1. 179 *ἄλλη πόλις ἀπέχουσα ὅσω χωρὶς ἄλλω ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος* X 24 *ἀπέχοντι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἑκὼν ὅδῳ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως*.

10. *ἔθεντο πρὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὰ ὄπλα*, 'they piled arms in front of the temple'—an omission in itself sufficient to disprove the imagination of *φύγη*. The sacred centre, or perhaps only the last centre, must now be conceived as moved near τὸ Ἥραϊον on the lower or northern end of the Plataean plateau, with the heavy stores piled *ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ*. In this position they are inaccessible by cavalry; they are in proximity to water (at least

four ranges of brooks in the immediate vicinity of the plateau, cp. *Isopora* A.S.A. v 1892, p. 269—they are covering to a greater or less extent the road from Plataea to Megara. They are also apparently on the extreme left of the 'third' Greek position, which is to be when the whole movement shall have been successfully carried out. But they are not actually conveying the baggage-train, *ὄπλους* and *οἰκία*, nor in any way covering the line from Plataea to Dryoskephalaia, through which the Persians might possibly circumvent the supplies. That particular duty may have been entrusted to the right centre, cp. note to l. 7 above.

53. 2. Πανσαίνης δὲ ὀρίων Hdt. speaks as though Panassios himself had not retired, or agreed to the order for retirement—as though a *τολμαί* were stampeding out of *λαμπρὴ* animation; as though in consequence he were, or less to the Lakonian *ἐκκλίνας* to retreat, ὀρίων, however, need not be pressed against Hdt., cp. c. 34. 9 *ἐπὶ τῷ ἱερῷ*, Panassios could hardly have 'seen' the movement, in the literal sense of the word.

3. *παρήγγελλε καὶ τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοις*; the Spartan method of the *παρήγγελλε* has been immortalized by Thucydides, b. 86. 5: *πασίλευε γὰρ ἀγορεύει ἐπὶ ἐκείνῳ πάντα ἀρχοῦναι, καὶ τοῖς μὲν τελευτᾶσθαι αὐτὸς φράζει τὸ δεῖον, οἱ δὲ τοῖς λόχοις, ἐκείνῳ δὲ τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνους αὐτοῖς δὲ οὐκ ἐκινετο ἀρχοῦναι, καὶ οἱ τοῖς ἐκείνῳ καὶ αἱ παραγγέλλει, ὅν τι κινεῖντο, κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ χροῖται καὶ ταχύνει ἐπέρχονται σφιδαν γὰρ τι τὰς ἐλπίδας αὐτοῦ τὸ στρατοπέδον των Λακεδαιμονίων διὰ τῶν ἐκείνῳ ἐπὶ, καὶ τὸ ἐκείνῳ τῷ δευτέρῳ πολλὴν ἐποίησε.* On the present occasion, however, as the whole movement had been discussed and determined in the Council of War hours before (cp. c. 21 *ἐπεὶ*), one must suppose that all the necessary orders had already been given, at least to the officers. Panassios may still have had to give the word for the actual moment of departure.

τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἀναλαμβάνοντας τὰ ὅπλα ἵνα κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς προϊοντας, νομίσας αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸν χώρον ἵνα ἐς τὸν συνεβήκαντο. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἄρτιοι ἦσαν τῶν ταξιάρχων πείθεσθαι Πausanῇ, Ἀρομφάρετος δὲ ὁ Πολιάδεω λοχηγέων τοῦ Πιτανητέων λόχου οὐκ ἔφη τοὺς ξείλους φεῦ

6 ἴσαν : 7 ταξιάρχων 8 ταξιάρχων : Ἀρομφάρετος δὲ οὐκ ἴσῃ 9 λοχηγέων : οἱ. Marc. | Πιτανητέω Koen, Holder, van H.

4. ἀναλαμβάνοντας τὰ ὅπλα : the shields were piled, but of course there must have been some men under arms, if only those on the watch.

ἵνα κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους can hardly have been the precise form of the command, but rather gives the effect of the order, as the writer conceived that effect. With the expression cp. c. 80 infra, κατὰ πόδας ἐπεὶ ἐλαττων.

8 νομίσας αὐτοὺς . . . ἐς τὸν συνεβήκαντο, 'or he believed the others to be going to the place agreed upon,' i.e., according to Hist. the island συνεβήκαντο, ac. ἵνα. The 'agreement' had been made at the Council of War, c. 81 supra. Hist. describes (i.e. follows at a distance which conceives) the minutiae of the Greek army in the field of battle as the result of compromise, agreements, bargains, argument, persuasion, but not of definite orders, originating from headquarters or the commander-in-chief. In any case the result of his παράκλησις to the 'Lakedaimonians' (10,000 strong) must have been to set Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοῦ in motion, unless indeed the order was addressed only to a portion of the forces.

8 οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι . . . τῶν ταξιάρχων : not ταξιάρχων, ταξάρχαι is the usual Attic form of the word. The term is not a Spartan one at all. All but one of these good Spartan officers, whatever their proper title, were willing and ready (ἄρτιοι, cp. c. 27 supra) to obey their commander. No very astonishing circumstance in an army where *weidwylle* was so sedulously enforced as in the Spartan (cp. Xenophon, *Lac. Rep.* 8).

7 Ἀρομφάρετος 81 ὁ Πολιάδεω : Armonpharetos is hardly a mere *Alkion-name* (Stein); a Spartan of the name appears as one of the five arbitrators in the early Megaro-Athensian dispute about Salamis, *Isotol.* 1² (1826 : 248; cp. *Plutarch, Solon* 13). The younger might be a grandson, or descendant, of the elder Armonpharetos. But these are the only

two known bearers of the name. The (author's) name Poliadēs is found elsewhere but not again at Sparta. If *Isop. Boumbler sub c* is correct in deriving it from Atheno Hektor, the Spartan might have been named by his father in compliment to Athens, or, in the case of the Spartan *Samus* 3 c. Was there even perhaps an *Arkesias* *Zeus* or *Prokles* in the family?

9 λοχηγέων, 'occupying the rank of a *Lochos*' or commander of a *Lochos*, a strictly Spartan office and command. But the exact duty and rank of a *Lochos* are not so clear. In Xenophon *Rep.* *Lac.* 11. 4 a *Lochos* is one-quarter of a *morai*, and there are six *morai* in the army, each apparently under the command of a *Polemarchos*. This would give a total of 24 *Lochoi*. In an army of 5000 that total amounts almost 208 men to the *Lochos*. But Xenophon is writing in the fourth century when a Spartan army in the field never approached a strength of 5000. The numerical strength of Spartan *Lochoi* varied with the levy probably. Her Spartan *Mora* destroyed in the *Koron* than was numbered 600 men *Xenoph. Hist.* 4. 5. 11-12. If it consisted of four *Lochoi*, the *Lochos* was numbering 150 men, but there may have been six *Lochoi* of 100 men each in it. Thucydides, writing of the battle of Mantinea (418 B.C.), with the aid of an eye-witness, expressly notes the difficulty of estimating the exact number of men in a Spartan force. He uses the term *Lochos* apparently for the division commanded by a *Polemarch* (perhaps only in exceptional circumstances) and makes the army of Agis on that occasion consist of 7 *Lochoi*, exclusive of the *Spartan* 600 strong. It is obvious that the *Lochos* in that passage corresponds to the *Mora* of Xenophon, a term not employed by Thucydides (cp. *Hist.* 2. 4. 31 earliest case; the number 7 remains a problem, which Arnold in-

ἔσθαι οὐδὲ ἴκων εἶναι αἰσχύνειν τὴν Σπάρτην. ἰθαυμάξ

9 ἰθαυμάξ Pz, Stein¹

passionately solves by the hypothesis that the army really consisted of six divisions, together with the corps of *Boasides* and *Neoborides*. (Gilbert, *Op. Staussdt.*, p. 77, 1893, apparently identifies this corps with the *Skiritai*, and gives up the number of *Lochoi* as hopeless.) In the *Lochos* at Mantinea there were four *ἐκτακτοὶ*, each consisting in turn of four *ἐκτακτοὶ*. If the numerical strength of the *Πρωτοὶ* is necessarily and always corresponded to its name, that would give but 200 men to the *Lochos*, and (roughly) but 12 to the *Βυμβολοὶ*, but on the possibility of variations in the number of men composing the various subdivisions, Arnold quotes Thucydides i. 1, of which H. Gilbert, for example, took no account, is still worth consulting. The normal number of the *Βυμβολοὶ* is not really quite certain, it may have been 15 (cp. Gilbert, *op. c.* 72, n. 4), it may have been 24 besides the captain, as Arnold supposes; but it is certain that the tactical organization of the Spartan army underwent modification not merely between the time of Thucydides and of Xenophon, but between the time of Herodotus and of Thucydides; nor is it to be supposed that the indications of the narrative in Hdt. will correspond exactly with the traditions of the Lykurgian system. An army of 5000 men might very well consist of 8 *Lochoi* of 1000 men each, and as a matter of fact 5 is the number of *Lochoi* suggested by some of the authorities for the older period (sixth century), cf. Gilbert, *op. c.* p. 70. A *Lochos* of 1000 men would probably have been subdivided into 10 companies of 100 each, possibly 'militia *ἑκτακτοὶ*', such as Arnold speaks of 'possibly over three' to my thinking less probably, also-called *Lochoi* in his suggestion. An amplification is emphatically not one of the 'Polynesian' (cp. 7, 173) but may have been in command of 1000 men. He was no more 'saturnian' or the story that followed could hardly have been told about him.

τοῦ Πρωτοῦ λόχου. Thucydides, still in this respect employing the same terminology as Hdt., goes out of his way to assert that it was an error to say that there was, 'or ever had been'

a *Πρωτοῦ λόχος* (cp. just below) in the Spartan army, i. 20. 3. Whether Thucydides is contravening the source from which Hdt. gets this story, or, as seems likely enough, Hdt. himself, the express assertion of the Athenian on this matter is final, if rightly understood. But what does Thucydides exactly mean? Not that the Spartan army was not organized *εἰς λόχους*, for that would contradict his own text elsewhere, but either that the *λόχος* had not territorial designations, or that no *λόχος* derived its designation from *ἱεράρι* (cp. 3, 55). The recorded names of *Lochoi* are territorial, at least in part, e.g. *Μεσοδέρμι* (cp. Gilbert, *op. c.* p. 70 n. 3), so that we may conclude in favour of the latter alternative. If Ammopharetos was a *δημῶν* of Pitane, a *Μεσοδέρμι*, and commanded one of the *Lochoi* in the Spartan army, an Athenian source might very probably speak of the division under his command as the *ἱεραδέρμι λόχος*, especially if, as above argued, the family of this Pitane was likely as he known and popular in Athens.

Hdt. himself calls *ἱεράρι* a *δήμος*, rather an Athenian than a Laconian, 3. 55. Pausanias 3. 16. 9) seems to put Pitane and Messa in juxtaposition (α) *ἐν Μεσσοῖ τε καὶ ἱεράρι δόμοις ἐν Ἀργεῖ*, and the mistake censured by Thucydides may lie in calling the *Μεσοδέρμι λόχος* the *ἱεραδέρμι*. Pitane itself was evidently a considerable place. Pausanias (3. 14, 2) mentions a *λόχος* *Κροταῖον* in the vicinity of the Royal Tomb of the Agamem. Ἀθήναι καὶ δὲ οἱ Κροταῖοι ἱεραδέρμι ποῖοι. This makes Pitane at the west end of Sparta; the Argives above named to Artemis Isaura, Pausan. 10. 10. 1. *Lut. marche Kulte*, 1891, p. 102. Cause by were the lands of Leonidas and Pausanias the Regent, and the monument to the 300 who fell at Thermopylae (p. 7 224).

The story of Ammopharetos may well belong to the first draft of Hdt.'s work. It is a superfluous inference that Hdt. got this story of Ammopharetos in Pitane, during his visit to Sparta: the story is plainly not a Spartan story, it is almost as plainly an Athenian. There is nothing in the story to show that

10 τε ὄρων τὸ ποιούμενον ἄτε οὐ παραγενόμενος τῷ προτέρῳ λόγῳ. ὁ δὲ Πausanias τε καὶ ὁ Εὐρύναξ δεινὸν μὲν ἐποιεῦντο το μὴ πειθεσθαι ἐκείνον σφίσι, δεινότερον δὲ ἔτι, κείνου ταύτ' ἀναινομένου, ἀπολιπεῖν τὸν λόχον τὸν Πιτανήτην, μὴ ἐν ἀπολίπωσι ποιεῦντες τὰ συνεθήκαστο τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἕλλησι.

10 ὄρων Stein¹², van H.
ναυμένου B, Wesseling, Gaisford

12 δ' ἐπὶ αCα | ἐκείνοι B | ταῖτα
13 πιτανήτην C

Hdt. had been in Sparta before writing it down, rather the reverse. If Hdt. afterwards made friends in Pitane it was perhaps because he took introductions from Athens; but he never will not discover his mistake about the *hiradēni* λόχου, or he failed to correct it. If the emperor Caracalla (211-217 A.D.) before starting for the east went for a body-guard from Sparta and called it the *hiradēni* λόχος Herodian 3. 8. 3., that only shows how hard an error dies which has once attained classic expression in literature. If Photius, *Lex. sub v. Hiraia*, has φύλη καὶ τόπος τῆς Λακωνικῆς, that is because in the Roman period this name had been adopted for a local tribe; cp. *O 155* 1425-6.

τοῖς ταῖνους: cp. 11 παρὰ δὲ ἡμέτεροι.

9. ἐκείνους: cp. 7. 184.

10. ὄρων τὸ ποιούμενον, cp. 1. 2 παρὰ. Amompharetas could hardly see 'in the dark,' he no doubt received certain orders (probably to stay where he was, or to cover the retreat).

ἄτε οὐ παραγενόμενος τῷ προτέρῳ λόγῳ: the *πρότερος λόγος* in this case is the Council of War in 491 *σφῆρα*. The phrase does not necessarily imply that there was any fresh council or discussion now taking place. If Amompharetas was really absent from the previous Council it was not because he was not sufficiently high officer to be present, but for some other reason. Stein argues that he was in command of an important outpost, but which? And had he retired from it? The army had been re-organised all together, and in battle array. How also does Amompharetas now come to be back in the Council? A statement of this sort, explanatory or rather apologetic of his absence from the Council, is very appropriate, it is argumentative, and apologetic, to meet the obvious objection to the story, that Amompharetas must have known all

about the intended movement from having been present at the Council earlier in the day. (It is just conceivable that a Spartan *Lochos*, under Amompharetas or some other, might have been posted in or about the church of St. Demetrios, but the position would have been a dangerous one, as the detachment could not have kept touch of the forces on the *Acropolis* Ridge, with the Persian cavalry rolling up and down the valleys or ravines between the ridges, or he might have been holding on to any old wall or gate, in which case he had retired before the stronger army.)

1. ὁ δὲ Πausanias τε καὶ ὁ Εὐρύναξ why Pausanias is, is never here suddenly comes by his apparent remark it is not easy to say, down below, c. 36. he even takes precedence. Does this 'Attic' story tend to discredit both Spartan commanders at the expense of Amompharetas? The Spartan commanders were abashed at his treachery too, but still more horrified at the idea of a coward going him to his help.

δεινὸν ποιέσθαι, a moral remark, or conclusion, cp. 7.

12 κείνου ταύτ' ἀναινομένου i.e. as long as Amompharetas refused to *ἀναλίσκειν* τὰ δὲ λαίματα. *ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ*. The verb *ἀναινομαι* is common in Homer and not unknown even in Attic prose (cp. *Agg 1111*).

13 τὸν λόχον τὸν Πιτανήτην: cp. above.

ἐν ἀπολίπωσι κ. τοῦ λόχου

14. ποιεῦντες τὰ συνεθήκαστο τ. Ἕλλησι. 'in carrying out their agreement with all the other Greeks.' But the centre, if the Spartans had not known it, had, as already recorded, the guilty of a gross and dastardly breach of faith; the only other Greeks, therefore now worth considering are — as the reader knows — the Athenians.

ἀπόληται ὑπολιφθεὶς αὐτός τε Ἀμομφαρετός καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ. ταῦτα λογιζόμενοι ὑτρέμας εἶχον τὸ στρατοπέδον τὸ Λακωνικόν, καὶ ἐπειρώτο παίδοντές μιν ὡς οὐ χρεὼν εἶη ταῦτα ποιεῖν. καὶ οἱ μὲν παρηγόρεον Ἀμομφαρετον μοῦνον Λακεδαιμονίαν τε καὶ Τεγεατῶν λελεειμμένον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐποίουν τοιοῦδε· εἶχον ὑτρέμας σφέας αὐτοὺς ἵνα ἐτάχθησαν, ἐπιστάμενοι τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων φρονήματα ὡς ἄλλα φρονεοντων

15 ὑπολιφθεὶς RV
χρεὼν CPz, van H.
3 ὑτρέμα α

17 ἐπειρώτων 53 Marc.; ἐπειρόντο van H. 11
54. 1 παρηγορίοντο Bekker, van H. 11 μόνον B

16. ἀτρέμας εἶχον τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Λ. As the order to march had already been issued, the *motus operandi* here is not quite clear. Either the order to march had not yet taken effect, and was countermanded; or the van, or a portion of the line, had indeed started, and was arrested by a message from headquarters. It is, of course, not impossible that the army was falling back on *achala*. Loeb by Loebos; and that the 'Macedon' Loebos, or the Loebos under the command of the Philiste Anompharetos, being at the extremity of the Spartan wing, was the last to retire. The process would be a pretty slow one, carried out, as it was being carried out, in the dark, and daylight might overtake them (c. 58 *infra*) before the whole movement had been fully executed.

ἀτρέμας εἶχον cp. 7. 3.

17. ἐπειρώτο πείδοντες c. 26 *supra*

54. 2 Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ The previous chapter has witnessed the Greek centre in full 'flight'—to the Horation *ae hypothesis* a disgraceful 'breach of contract.' The Spartans have equally broken faith, by not retreating at all so far the commanders being involved in a dispute with a refractory *Loebagos* whose duty would not admit of withdrawal, to fate. *μόνον*. *λελεειμμένον* just here is a rhetorical exaggeration: the participle *passive* and *perfect* in form, must be *middle* and *present*, or *imperfect*, in sense; cp. 7. 155. The reader at least marks his chagrin. Meanwhile what of the Athenians? Were they keeping their compact, were they true to the world? The story goes on to admit it is an Athenian story, that they were forsworn; but, then, they had a good excuse—the notorious duplicity of the *εὐαγγέλιον*

3. εἶχον ἀτρέμας σφέας αὐτοὺς ἵνα ἐτάχθησαν. These moral difficulties are as one pan, and do not require apparently, either, like the Spartans just up above. Or is the story tender to the lamp of Aristides, the commander-in-chief, and so remains from directly implicating him? *Yes, ubi*, cp. *Index*. The actual is practically—a pluperfect.

ἐπιστάμενοι τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων φρονήματα. The participle *επιστάμενοι* is used partly from the Athenian point of view nor does it necessarily involve more than 'belief', c. 8. 182 *supra*. With *φρονήματα* cp. 8. 144, and c. 7 *supra*. It would be unfair to Hdt. to cite him as endorsing or accepting even, as his own, the utterance of Athenian prejudice which follows: to wit, that Lakedaimonians were men who thought one thing and said another men whose words, agreements, promises, pledges, could not be relied on as representing their intentions, much less their conduct when the time for action arrived.

Lakedaimonian perfidy was a popular topic at Athens. Aristarchus who had another axe to grind, satirized the commonplace cp. *Athens* 300 ff., *Index* 1063 ff. Blackley compared the Roman view of *Punicus fides* and continental opinion of 'perfidious Alibon'. It might perhaps add Alibon's opinion of certain continental states. Rawlinson more innocently observed that the soreness caused by recent disappointment (c. 429 ff.) might have produced, at Athens, a distrust of the Spartans, even a observation that Hdt. in this passage stands *quite out of Athenian bias* is more to the point but hardly carries us quite far enough. Hdt. himself is probably as innocent as Rawlinson in the matter but if the Athenian story goes out of its way to charge the Spartans

καὶ ἄλλα λεγόντων. ὥς δὲ ἐκινήθη τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἔπεμπον σφέων ἱππεὶς ὀφάμενόν τε εἰ πορεύεσθαι ἐπιχειροῦναι οἱ Σπαρτιῆται, εἴτε καὶ τὸ παράπαν μὴ διανοεῖνται ὑπαλλάσσειν. 55 σβαί, ἐπειρέσθαι τε Πausanίην το χρεὼν εἶη ποιεῖν. ὥς δὲ ἀπῆκετο ὁ κήρυξ εἰς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ὥρα τε σφείας κατὰ χώραν τεταγμένους καὶ εἰς κείκκα ἀπὸ γιγμένους αὐτῶν τοὺς

δ δ' α β ἐπιχειροῦν α, Holder γ τοπαρίων P γ
χρεὼν CP, van II. 55. 2 τε σφείας R γ σφείας 3 αὐτίως :

with duplicity, it is because the Athenian source has some peevish, or incompetence, or failure on the Athenian side to excuse or to disguise.

5. ὥς δὲ ἐκινήθη τὸ στρατόπεδον refers back to *ὡς ἐκινήθησαν* in c. 52 supra. The movement of the centre had, of course, for the time being, placed the Athenians in isolation on the left wing.

6. *ἐπεῖτα*. The Athenians had no proper cavalry at this time (cp. c. 21 l. 16 supra), but they may have had mounted *aides de camp* or *ἀσπιδωτοὶ*. The Spartan commander has apparently a mounted *aide-de-camp* too; c. 80 infra. The double construction *ἐπεμπον ὀφάμενον* and *(ἐπεμπον) ἐπειρέσθαι* is noticeable. *ἐπειρέσθαι* apparently refers to one only of the two alternatives covered by *ὀφάμενον*, so that *ἐπειρεσόμενος* would have conveyed a different and inappropriate sense. The temptation is strong to read *εἴτε* for *τε* as that would soften the strict co-ordination between participle and verb, cp. a somewhat similar case c. 8 supra. The variation *εἰ πορεύεσθαι ἐπιχειροῦναι* opt. for the *δοσε* *πορεύεσθαι* alternative and *εἴτε* . . . *μὴ διανοεῖνται ὑπαλλάσσειν* (for the move to be expected is observable, cp. c. 105 *δοσε* . . . *ἐχου* . . . *δοσε* *ποιήσει*). The second construction is, of course, different from the *εἰ μὴ* alternative of the parallel passage in c. 6 supra.

8. *ἐπειρέσθαι* *τε* κτλ. and in that case 'to ask Pausanias what they ought to do'—on the whole, these good Athenians are still ready to take their directions from the commander-in-chief; cp. c. 27 supra and *εἰ ἐγγίγασθε ὡς περὶ σφείας*. They must trust the Spartan's word but they are ready to obey the Spartan's orders! It is as though, in some way or other, the Spartans would take a mean advantage of the Athenians, in

getting these to go, while they themselves remained at their post! That is an idea belonging to the Athenian theory of the Persian war, which represented it as a race between Athens and Sparta, which should first crush out the invader—a race in which Marathon for ever secured the prize of valor for Athens' (Cp. Hdt. IV. vi. vol. II p. 194.)

Perhaps this (mounted) man epitome is only a reply to or refutation of, the (Spartan) assertion that in the stress of battle the Spartans had sent to ask for assistance, which the Athenians failed to render c. 40 supra. If there is any truth in it, that truth may underlie the question *τὸ χρεὼν εἶη ποιεῖν*, 'what are we to do'. The Athenians were in difficulties, but not on account of the retreat of the centre, if it be true that a general retreat had been agreed on and ordered; for they could not yet know that the centre had not retreated but fled (even if that was true). But as what difficulties were the Athenians'! Perhaps the message was to the effect that the centre was retreating so slowly that the Athenians had not yet been able to start, and to request Pausanias to hurry the centre's movements. Cp. L 16.

55 2. *ὥρα* *τε* the *τε* is not in its logical place (*τεταγμένους* *τε*, *αὐτῶν* *τε* *τοὺς* were meant to suggest a *τοῖς*, *καὶ* (*τοῖς*, or *αὐτῶν*). The herald *ἐπεμπε* (*εἰσεν*) 'saw' or found them, *εἰσαχθῆναι*, cp. 8. 73, 108. The Spartans were in proper array (*τεταγμένους*). It was, of course, still night. He saw or heard, the first man among them openly quarrelling, *τοὺς πρῶτους* not apparently first in order of march, but first in order of rank, not, however, referring to 'Euryanax and Pausanias,' who appear to be on one side, but to them on the one part and Anompharetas on the other.

56 ποίειεν περὶ τῆς ἀπύδου τὰ περ ἂν καὶ σφεῖς. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀπαλλάσσετο εἰς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους· τοὺς δὲ ἐπεὶ ἀνακρινόμενους πρὸς ἐαυτοὺς ἦως κατελάμβανε, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ κατήμενος ὁ Πανσάνης, οὐ δοκέων τὸν Ἀμομφάρετον λείψεσθαι τῶν ἄλλων Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποστειχόντων, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐγένετο, σημήνας ἀπήγγε διὰ τὸν κολωνῶν τοὺς λοιποὺς πάντας εἰπόντο δὲ καὶ Τεγεῆται. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ταχθέντες ἦσαν τὰ

56. 2 [αὐτο]κρινόμενους van H.

5 ἀποστειχόντων αβ || καὶ οἱ. 8

8 κολων δ

7 ἦσαν AB: ἦσαν C. οἱ. Marc.

no was any modification of the original junction of the Council of War to mean a *βίωμα*, the modification may simply amount to this, that, whereas by the original plan the two wings were to concentrate independently on the island, by this modification they were to effect an earlier junction, the delay in the movement of the centre having altered the conditions unfavorably. But this interpretation is not inevitable. The formula above may simply represent the original plan for concentration back on to the island by the two wings. If that plan had broken down now, its collapse may have been due, not to the insubordinate obstinacy of Amompharetos (which Athenians might regard as heroic) nor to the 'fling it' of the centre, but to the failure of the Athenians to start soon enough, perhaps because prematurely engaged on the left. *περ* 'exactly': *εὐστατος* perhaps as *αὐτος* 'Euryatax and Pausanias' have been mentioned; or *εὐστα* = *Σπάρτης*, and to avoid *σφεας* with *σφες* immediately following. Its use is quite in keeping with this *οὐκ ἀποκρινόμενος* (Bach.).

56. 2. τοὺς δὲ . . . ἦως κατελάμβανε the dawn of the 13th, op. n. 54 supra; the very day of battle, or of the supreme battle ἀνακρινόμενους, 'quarrelling'; the verb is apparently used with this meaning only in this one passage; the subst. *ἀνακρίσις* in 8. 89 may be compared though used in a different sense; but cf. App. Crit. *ἐκαστοὺς ἑαυτοῦ ἀλλήλους*.
3. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ might better be taken of the point of dawn than of the night, ending night now over.

κατήμενος, perhaps not literally 'sitting', op. c. 74 supra, but 'without moving'.

4. οὐ δοκέων . . . λείψεσθαι: nothing has been recorded in the story previously to justify this belief that Amompharetos will not remain behind.

5. ἀποστειχόντων is a rather grand and poetical word, the simple verb is never used in prose.

6. σημήνας πρὶ τῷ σάκκῳ, cf. 3. 11 c. 74 supra, the case is not so clear. The operations at night had doubtless been carried out with all precautions and secrecy; but it was now daylight, and the movement of the centre force no doubt observed; there could be no reason for not employing the usual signals.

ἀπήγγε διὰ τὸν κολωνῶν: the statement is precise to the effect that Pausanias was retiring, what are the *κολωνες* in question? Presumably the *τεταγμέναι* descending from Ilistakon, as is more fully indicated in the next chapter. Unfortunately Hist. does not specify the point of the company towards which Pausanias was moving.

7. εἰπόντο: as the Tegeatae had been standing by the west of the *δυσπύλαι*, if they really 'followed' them now, the Spartans would have moved first, and presumably in an easterly direction, however otherwise qualified, but it is possible that εἰπόντο is not to be pressed, and that the Spartans really being up the rear. The action of Amompharetos looks like that. If so, the retreat was probably in a SW. direction. But see further below.

Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ατλ. Neither is the movement and direction of the Athenians indicated or described so precisely as could be wished.

ταχθέντες points to the movement being in accordance with orders, presumably the orders of Pausanias, *τατάμει* would signify that they were in actual battle array as no doubt they were. Strab. (ca. c. 14) *εἴρω*, and 121, 169 B. 7, 19.

ἦσαν γὰρ ἐμπλην ἢ Λακεδαιμονίων 7. 58 the king's fleet goes from Abydos γὰρ ἐμπλην κρημῶν τοῦ πελάγους

ἔμπροσθεν ἢ Λακεδαιμόνιοι· οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν τε ὄχθων ἀντείχοντο καὶ τῆς ὑπώρεης τοῦ Κιθαιρόνου φοβούμενοι τὴν ἵππον. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ κάτω τραφθέντες ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ. Ἀμομφέρετος δὲ 57

9 ὑπώρεης ἔστι

10 τραφέντες B: στραφθέντες C

(i.e. ὁ δὲ ποταμός), which Hdt. explains as meaning in that case that the host was going west while the army was going east; i.e. he does not there mean that the host went on water while the army went on land, the point of difference is purely one of direction, of orientation. Yet in the present passage Stern maintains that τὰ ἑσπερία denotes not a difference of direction, but simply and solely the difference of the places over which the two bodies were moving; this appears an unjustifiable and inaccurate explanation, not in accordance with the meaning of *ἑσπερία*, with the other clear instances of Hdt. or finally with the context here. For here Hdt. says not merely that the Spartans were moving *διὰ τῶν πεδίων* (τῶν τε ὄχθων καὶ τῆς ὑπώρεης τοῦ Κιθαιρόνου ἀντείχοντο), and the Athenians *ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ* (not by the way *διὰ τοῦ πεδίου*, or *κατὰ τὸ πῆδος*), but also expressly directed the Athenians as *τραφέντες* or *κάτω τραφέντες* (i.e. *πῶς ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ*).

There has, therefore, been a turn, a wheel, in the line, in the orientation of the Athenians. Whether there has also been a turn in the orientation of the Lakedaimonians Hdt. does not say. What amount of wheel would constitute or justify the use of τὰ ἑσπερία may be a question the words obviously might be used of a movement, or double movement, much short of being in contrary directions. In the present case Hdt. need not mean that Athenians and Spartans were moving in diametrically opposite directions, starting as it were back to back; he may mean no more than that 'they were moving in anything but the same direction'. Whether in a right or not is a wholly different question. If Spartans and Athenians were under orders to fill up the gap and concentrate, while at the same time retreating, 'on the island' that movement might have been effected by the wings falling back, *Lochas* by *Lochas*, from the east and the west ends of the previous line to a common point south, or south-west, of the point on which starting; and even such a manoeuvre, with reference to the

terminals of *πύκνω*, might be described as movements *τὰ ἑσπερία*. But the movement here predicated of the Athenians may go far beyond this. By τὸ πῆδος might be understood not merely the trough of Cynaphia and A, but the more genuine plain south of Plataea. If so, the movement of the Athenians was westward, more or less by south and its object may have been to check the approach of the moving *τετακται* on the Persian right, with whom the Athenians are presently engaged. Had the Greeks previously been in a hollow square, or with a *φάλαγγ* *συμπεταμένη* round the church of St. John Andreouktaori, then the Athenians, to the north, might have wheeled round, till they were facing west or even south-west, while the *Σπάρταται* may have either remained, facing south (by west) as they had been all the previous day or may even have turned, have been obliged to turn, until they were facing east, or north-east.

9. τῶν τε ὄχθων ἀντείχοντο. It is not by any means self-evident what actual ground in here denoted by the ὄχθαι, cp. B, 52, 4 203 (not ὄχθαι, 'river banks'), to which the Lakedaimonians were 'holding on,' clinging, keeping close, or anxious to do so. Are they identical with the ὑπώρεϊς of K *ὑπώρεος*? Are the Spartans already thereon, and wishing to stay thereon, or are they striving to pass thence? Are the ὄχθαι generally the ridges running down from Kithairon to the Asopos, as distinct from the τὰ πεδία? Or are they the ridges north of the trough in which Cynaphia was situated—in fact, the 'Asopos Ridge' and 'Long Ridge' of Mr. Grundy's map?

9. φοβούμενοι τὴν ἵππον. the Lakedaimonians are 'afraid of the cavalry' according to this story, and that is given as the reason for the retreat—a genuine *litto* touch. Only enough, when it comes to action, the Lakedaimonians, who are on more or less high ground, are apparently assailed by the cavalry, while the Athenians are not expressly recorded to have encountered any cavalry below (cp. a. 67 *ὑπὸ*).

ἀρχὴν γε οὐδὰμὰ δοκέων Πανσανίην τολμήσειν σφίας ἀπο-
λαττεῖν, περιειχέτο αὐτοῦ μένοντας μὴ ἐκλαττεῖν τὴν τάξιν·
πρῶτερον τῶν δὲ τῶν σὺν Πανσανίῃ, καταδόξας αὐτοῖν εἶναι,
5 τέχνη ἀπολείπειν αὐτόν, ἀναλαβόντα τὸν λόχον τὰ ὄπλα ἔγχε
βύδην πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στίφος· τὰ δὲ ἀπελθὼν ὅσον τε δίκτα
στάδια ἀνέμενε τὸν Ἀμομφαρέτου λόχον, περὶ ποταμὸν Μολόντα

57. 2 γε Schweighauser, Stein, van H.; τε (del. Kruoger) 4
καταδοξάντες B. κύρτω δόξας Marc || θύγῃ B: ἰθείῃς ceteri. ἄλλῃ μὴ τέχνη
coni Madvig, alia Heller 5 ἀπολαττεῖν BP || τὸν λόχον om
C ἄλλο om B | στίφος CR 7 παρὰ Marc || μένοντας B: μελόντες
Marc.

57. 2 ἀρχὴν γε οὐδὰμὰ δοκέων, 'on-
really at least never dreaming (that
Panonias would go so far as to abandon
himself).' Ἀρχήν, 7. 220, 8. 124. οὐδὰμὰ
might more logically have gone with
τολμήσειν. This γε never has a contrast
to προτιρόντων δέ, but cp. App. Crit.

3. περιειχέτο . . . μὴ ἐκλαττεῖν the con-
straint is peculiar, as περιειχέσθαι
(not) naturally takes a genitive, even as
ἀντιχέσθαι just above; cp. 7. 39, 180;
8-69. αὐτοῦ is of course a local adverb,
'in this spot.' περιειχέσθαι as a passive,
and in a strictly physical sense in 8. 10,
24, 80 *αὐτῶν* here is plainly middle, but
is it purely psychological in sense? cp.
the various renderings (a) 'he was urgent
with them that they should stay and not
leave him,' L. & S., 'he stuck to it that
they should stay there and not leave
their post,' Macanay, "siehe sich
davon dass sie (zulo)," Kruoger; "se
harrte darauf hier zu bleiben" Euseb;
th, "convinced from his resolve," Ham-
linson, 'heid sich an den Verstand,
dass er nichter. As the statement is
qualified by ἀρχὴν and the mentality of
Amompharetas is set forth in δοκέων,
and his contrasted action is purely
physical ἔγχε, I do not hesitate to take
περιειχέτο as belonging to the external
order and description of the action, i.e.
attendance of the man: 'he kept on
insisting that they should stay where
they were, and not desert their post' as
in the last group but L. & S. give rather
a paraphrase than a translation.

4. προτιρόντων δὲ τῶν σὺν Παν-
σανίῃ, 'as Panonias and his men were
getting further and further off . . . , ac-
cordingly, καταδόξας, that they were really
abandoning him, he led his *Lochos*, after
the men had taken up their shields, at
a slow step towards the main body.'

προτιρόντων, viz. c. 60 *πηγῶν*, καταδόξας
cp. 8. 69.

ἄλλῃ τέχνη: cp. c. 37 *αὐτῶν*.

5. αὐτόν a remarkable: it is generally
referred to the man—*αὐτῶν* it might
more correctly refer to the *Lochos*.
Kruoger renders it "him and sent to
Lochos."

6. βύδην, contrasted with ὄδον, cp.
c. 59 *πηγῶν* Xenophon *Anas*, 1. 4. 25,
ibid. 5. 4. 55.

στίφος: cp. c. 70 *ἐντα*. This
man built a walling the *Lochos* of
Amompharetas' at a distance of 16
stadia, i.e. exactly the distance given
above, c. 51, as the distance separating
the island to which the command of War
had agreed and determined to retreat
from the position of the Greek forces at
Gargaphia, yet the *Lakedaimonians* are
not at the island, as the next words go
on to say?

7. περὶ ποταμὸν Μολόντα. There is
no third river, besides the Aegaeus and
its tributaries, and the Orontes with its
tributaries, to which the name Molon-
tas can be applied, it follows that the river
must be applied to some stream belong-
ing to one or other of the two systems.
No ancient authority carries the water
identification, modern travel-
lers and commentators are divided on
the subject. Thus the Molon has been
identified with O' (not by Vacher p. 64)
cp. *Baron de Tournay*, p. 216, 217
while Dr. Kennedy who accepted A¹ in
his *Topography of the Battle of Plataea*,
1891, p. 33 in his latest *Baron de Tournay*,
1901, p. 296, now prefers A². These
O¹, A² are respectively the two most
considerable affluents, the one of Orontes,
the other of Aegaeus. Essay 2, forming
the watershed east and west, lies between
them. Thus, as far as the R. Molon is

ἰδρυμένον Ἀργιόπτον τε χώρου καλούμενον, τῇ καὶ Δημήτρος

Ἰ ἀργιόπτον Μαρ.

gore, the geographical indication comes to much the same thing, and might point to Ridge 2 as the halting-place of Pausanias.

Ἰ. Ἀργιόπτον τε χώρον καλούμενον. The Ἀργιόπτιος χώρος, possibly τὸ Ἀργιόπιον, is not elsewhere mentioned. A nymph Argiopia is known to Pausanias (4. 34. 3), but she belongs to Parnassos, not to Kithairon: more in place here were Argospe, wife of Agenor and mother of Hadmon; Phorolydes, *Frag.* 40. This is a water-nymph, for she is a daughter of Neleus: her name should perhaps be Ἀργολυγιάδα rather Ἀργιόπη. (Cp. Hyginus, *Fab.* vi. of Th. Muncker, 1881.) In any case, the Argiopian rather leans towards Oerke. The attempt to connect the 'place' with a 'White Rock' (W. Irving Hall, *Stories of Am. Sch. at Athens*, v. 1892, p. 276) is not satisfactory, cp. Grundy, p. 495, nor need Papo now be cited as authority for that etymological effort. Dr Grundy was divided in 1894, between 'Long Ridge and Plateau': he has now decided for the latter. But Ridge 2, the watershed between Oerke and his own Molossia, has nearly as good a right as either.

Δημήτρος Ἐλευσινίῃ ἱδρύν. One of the indications, which make it difficult to believe that Hitt. has been over the ground, is the fact that there were at least two temples of Eleusinian Demeter within the area of the operations he is describing, viz (1) at Platana, Pausanias 9. 4. 2; (2) at Hyzia, Plutarch, *Aristot.* 11. To assess Dr Grundy would) one at Erythrai, in the strength of the discovery of marked stones on the traditional site of Erythrai. *Topography* (1894), p. 34. The road at Skioia, Pausan. 9. 4. 3, and the δαρός at Poti at Pausan. 9. 9. 1, which would raise the *Demetria* to five in number, may be ignored for present purposes. Of these three temples, the Platana, if it were inside the city, on no possible theory of the battle could be employed to define the position of the Spartans: nor would a site at Platana in any sense accord with the other indications so far as they have been provisionally identified above, viz. the river Molossia and the Argiopian, or Ἀργιόπιος χώρος. But if it were outside

the city, though in Platana territory the case would be altered. See further below.

The third, the Erythraean *Demetria*, was located high up the *σωμα*, considerably more than 11 stades from either Clazomenae, and, what is still more against it, would indicate that the Spartans were making back to Erythrai and to the first position (1*), from which they had advanced originally, and where the *σωμα* has been especially open to attack from the Persian cavalry and also in want of water. These considerations rule out the Erythraean almost at this place.

There remains the Hyzian, which, from the position of Hyzia and its territory, would necessarily in some sense lie between the Demetria of Platana west and that of Erythrai east. Each a position obviously suits the general requirements of the story, as well as the provisions, identifications of the Argiopian and the river Molossia above. The question remains of the exact site of the Hyzian Demetria. Was it actually in the town of Hyzia, or high up on the *σωμα*, in front of the middle pier, on the road from Platana to Athens, where it entered the mountain, or was it lower down the slopes, in Hyzian territory?

Plutarch, *Arist.* 11, describes it as τὸν ἑλευσινίαν, καὶ τὸν Κιθαιρώνα. It was near Hyzia, therefore, not inside Hyzia: it was close under Kithairon—a description which might be applied to any spot south of Aegina, reached by a winter sailing from the north (Thebes or Chalcis). It is not probable that there were two temples of Eleusinian Demeter in the Hyzian. If then, as Dr Grundy has ingeniously suggested (*Topography*, p. 43, *Review* *Har.* pp. 195 f.), the undisturbed site of Demetria marks the site of an ancient temple of Demeter, that would be the Hyzian Demetria, outside and to the north below the city.

But this identification will not suit at all either Plutarch or Herodotus. In Plutarch the Demetria marks the position near Hyzia to which the Athenians advanced in the first instance: a position high up on the *σωμα* and

Ἐλευσινίῃσι ἰκόν ἦσται. ἀνέμενε δὲ τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ἵνα ἦν μὴ
 οὐ ἀπολείπει τὸν χώρον ἐν τῷ ἐπιτάχματι ὁ Ἀμομφάρτος τε καὶ
 ὁ λόχος, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ μέμνησι βοηθεῖν ὀπίσω παρ' ἐκείνου.
 καὶ οἱ τε ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀμομφαρετον παρεγίνοντό σφι καὶ ἡ

9 ἴσται R: ἴσται S (Gaisf.): ἴσται V: ἴσται conl. Krueger. εἵνεκα S
 10 ἀπολείπει: ἀρΜατο. ἀπολείπει ceteri, van H. ὡς αὐ' Μαρ. 11
 βοηθεῖν Μαρ. 12 παρεγίνοντό 2

nowhere near the church of St. Demetrios. In Hdt. the Demetrios here marks the position to which the Spartans retreated 10 stades back, from Gargaphia: that might very well coincide with the original position of the Athenians on the extreme left of the Greek position, which was now become the extreme right of the position; but it is nowhere near the church of St. Demetrios. Thus, if Dr. Grundy is right, Plutarch and Hdt. are wrong in relation to the Demetrios.

Mr. W. Irving Hunt, op. c. p. 276, places the Platæan Demetrios "on high ground south-east of Platæa at a point where are now the foundations of a large Byzantine church. He locates within the position as "about a 1/2 mile east of the spring Vergentium." This position might do for the Platæan Demetrios, but Plutarch professes to be dealing with the Hyestian Demetrios; but that it was the Platæan Demetrios of Mr. Hunt is right in regard to its site, of which Plutarch ought to have spoken, that passage, and Hdt. in this. It is quite obvious that if the church of St. Demetrios marks the site of the Hyestian Demetrios, that site, and that church, can have nothing to say to the former position of the Athenians (Plutarch) nor to the latter position of the Athenians (Hdt.). The wonder recorded by Hdt., c. 62 below, if occurring in the Persian rout, however, must suit with the site of the church. The cause of all the confusion is Hdt.'s ignorance that there could be more than one Demetrios in question. By a somewhat unusual idiom Hdt. here applies ἰδρυμένην to the army (στρατός) and uses the term ἦσται of the temple (ἱερόν, ἡμεῖον, or ναὸς of the army, ἱερόν of the temple) will have been more natural. Fustmann (op. Recht)

even says that ἦσται for ἰδρυμένη was quite usable, op. c. 51 supra (περὶ στρατοῦ). (It ἰδρυμένη was to be used of the man, and ἦσται of the temple, Ἀμομφάρτος, rather than Πάυσανος, would seem to be the proper man. As far as the word goes it might here agree, not with εἶναι (so, τοῦ ἄλλο στρατοῦ) but with τὸν Ἀμομφαρετον λόχον, in which case it would be easier to identify the Demetrios with the church of Demetrios. But the argument demands that Pausanias' position should be the one described, the position of Ἀμομφάρτος is at Argolien near Gargaphia and the word is a curiously late point at which to be describing it; op. c. 51 supra.

9. ἀνέμενε δὲ τοῦδε εἵνεκα: the fact that he waited for Ἀμομφάρτος, or at any rate halted and was afterwards joined by Ἀμομφάρτος is much more likely to be true in accordance with a constant canon of Herodotus than the reason given for the fact, the motivation. The statement here makes that, if only Ἀμομφάρτος had carried his obstinate misanthropism a little further, Pausanias would have yielded and returned to support him, is very little short of absurd. The obvious hypothesis is that Ἀμομφάρτος, like every other good Spartan, was strictly obeying orders; that his λόχος was the last to move because such was the commander's will; that it was really told off to cover the movement backwards. The words ἐν τῷ ἐπιτάχματι ὁ Ἀ. τε καὶ ὁ λόχος unambiguously support that view, but Hdt. unfortunately does not instant define this ἔπειτα ἰδρυμένη above he taken to agree with λόχον).

12. οἱ τε ἀμφὶ . . . καὶ ἡ ἑστὸς a parataxis. Ἀμομφάρτος and his men joined them just as the whole Persian cavalry attacked them. This statement is somewhat puzzling. The Spartans have retired from their previous position 10 stades backwards, to avoid the cavalry (φεβόμενοι τῷ ἔστω) and on to

ἵππος ἢ τῶν βαρβάρων προσέκειτο πάντα. οἱ γὰρ ἱππῶται
ἱπποῦν οἶον καὶ ἐβόησαν ποιεῖν αἰεὶ, ἰδόντες δὲ τὸν χώρον
κεινὸν ἐν τῷ ἐτεταχато οἱ Ἕλληνες τῇσι προτέρησι ἡμέρησι. 15
ἤλυνον τοὺς ἵππους αἰεὶ τὸ πρόσω καὶ ἅμα καταλαβόντες
προσεκιάτ' ὅσφι.

Μαρδόνιος δὲ ὥς ἐπύθετο τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀποικομένους ὑπὸ 58
νύκτα εἶδ' τε τὸν χώρον ἔρημον, καλέσας τὸν Ληρισαῖον
Θώρηκα καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφεοὺς αὐτοῦ Εὐρύπυλον καὶ Θρασυδῆμον
ἔλεγε "ὦ παῖδες Ἀλένσω, ἐτι τί λέξετε τάδε ὁρώντες ἔρημα;
ὑμεῖς γὰρ οἱ πλησιόχωροι ἐλέγχεσθε Λακεδαιμονίους οὐ φεύγειν 5

14 ἐβόησαν S || δέει α, Holder || δέ del. Ktuyger 15 ἐκείνους
Marc 2 || p C Marc 2 18 αὐτὸ α, Holder 58. 2 τε om. B ||
Ληρισαῖον B 3 Θρασυδῆμον B: Θρασυδῆμον Marc. Θρασυδῆμον 4
ἐλέγχεσθε B || ἐτι τε Ktuyger, τί ἐτι van H., τί om. C Marc. | ὁρώντες
Marc. 2, Stein¹, van H.: ὁρώντες C || ἔρημα C Marc - 5 λέγεται C Pz

higher ground. How can the whole
cavalry be attacking them! The vagueness
of the statement is further exhibited
by what immediately follows. Hdt.
says that in this attacking them the
cavalry was only doing what it had been
doing all along on the previous days.
In c. 40 *supra* a similar generalization
occurs; but, if we look for details in
confirmation, none is forthcoming. On
the contrary, it appears that for upwards
of a week the Greeks had enjoyed
immunity from the cavalry (c. 36 *supra*).
This vague generalities in c. 40 and here
look like *a priori* or inferential saving
clauses, while in fact the Greeks in
the past had enjoyed immunity from
the cavalry and it was very much that
position which the Spartans were now
attempting to regain.

15 αἰεὶν var. var. var.

58. 1 ἀποικομένους, to be gone
away, to have departed, this fact he
learnt by report, from his scouts, etc.
(ἐκείνους), and then satisfied himself by
his own eyes (αἰεὶ) that the position
previously occupied by the Greeks had
been vacated. ἔρημον = αἰεὶν previous
α. That Maronius then proceeded to
waste time in summoning (καλέσας) the
Alcibiades to his side, in order to cross
over them and Artabazus is a story of
another colour.

ὕπν' ὑκτα, 'under cover of night,'
is not usually retrospective, cp. 8. 71,
c. 51 *supra*; c. 60 *infra* makes the case
here plain.

2 τὸν Ληρισαῖον Θώρηκα Thora

of Lania has appeared, c. 1 *supra*, but
without his brothers. He was, doubtless,
the most important of the three.

5. Εὐρύπυλον καὶ Θρασυδῆμον
Eurypylos is an eminently heroic and
Homeric name, little used significantly,
in historic times, *Il.* 2. 877 (cf. *Hom.*;
ib. 736, cp. *Plato, Epist.* 4. 156. 408a (cf.
Theocly); *id.* 11. 529 (of Myrto), etc.).
Of this particular one nothing more is
mentioned. Theoclydes, on the contrary,
is a name not found in legend or myth,
but associated with several historic
characters: (1) The Theban, in whose
honour similar companies (the *οὐκὸν*
ἐκρίνον, *Epist.* 11 (the theories which
date this ode to *Puth.* 25-475 B.C.
overlook the improbability of the appearance
of a Theban at that celebration). (2) The son and servant of Theron of
Akragas cp. 7. 164 f. (*Holder* 11. 44,
n. 53. 1) These two were both have
been contemporaries of the Theoclydes.
(3) Xenoph. *Hell.* 3. 2. 25 f. mentions
an Eleian *εὐρύπυλος* καὶ δῆμος of the
name (anno 400 B.C.). Of the Theoclydes
in the text nothing more is known.

6. παῖδες Ἀλένσω: cp. 7. 130 =
Ἀλένσω 7. 6, 172. The name Αλένσω
is very rare in the historic period but
is found in two Boeotian inscriptions, *IG.*
1654, 1660, referring to an *αλένσω* in.

5. πλησιόχωροι: that the speaker
should regard the Theoclydes and
Spartans as 'neighbors' would suggest
to a Greek hearer or reader the large
scale upon which the Persian was wont
to think and operate, cp. 9. 80. No

ἐπαινεόντων τούτους τοῖσιν τε καὶ συνηδέατε· Ἄρταβάζου δὲ
 θάμα καὶ μᾶλλον ἐποιεῖμην τὸ καὶ καταρρωδῆσαι Λακκαί-
 μονίους καταρρωδῆσαντά τε ἀποδέξασθαι γνώμην δειλοτάτην, 15
 ὥς χρεὼν εἴη ἀναξυζήντας τὸ στρατόπεδον ἵναί ἐς τὸ Μηβαίων
 ἄστυ πολιορκησομένους· τὴν ἔτι πρὸς ἐμεῦ βασιλεὺς πεύσεται.
 καὶ τούτων μιν ἐτέρωθι ἔσται λόγος· νῦν δὲ ἐκείνοισι ταῦτα
 ποιέουσι οὐκ ἐπιτρεπτέα ἐστί, ἀλλὰ διωκτέοι εἰσὶ ἐς ὃ κατα-
 λαμβθέντες δώσουσι ἡμῖν τῶν δὴ ἐποίησαν Πέρσας πάντων 20
 δίκας." ταῦτα εἶπας ἤγε τοὺς Πέρσας ἐρύμφ διαβιάνας τὸν 59

13 *συνηδέατε* A²P *eute cori*: *συνηδέαται* αC²cori: *συνηδέαται* B: *συνηδέατε* Marc: *συνηδέατε* Schaefer: *συνηδέατε* van H (*συνηδέατε* typ. error)
 14 *θάμα* αC²Marc, Stein², Holder, van H: *θάμα* B: *θαῖμα*
 | καὶ *van H*, *van H*, || *καταρρωδῆσαι* P 15 *καταρρωδῆ-*
σαντά P || τε: δὲ Krueger 16 *χρεὼν* αB, Stein, Holder: *χρεὼν* 18
τούτων: 20 *ἐποίησαν* 59 1 *τὸν* om.

13, *ἐπαινεόντων τούτους*: the sequence after *οὗν* is not strictly correct; cf. c. 61 *αὖτις*, A. 63. The occasion is not specified; cf. l. 5 above. *τοῖσιν τε καὶ συνηδέατε*, i.e. 'just among yourselves.' The reference is not to Therapsylai, cf. l. 20.

Ἄρταβάζου δὲ: the genitive may be explained as after τὸ καταρρωδῆσαι, *θῶμα* being in apposition to the subject, but in any case the accus. *καταρρωδῆσαντα* occurs in as a grammatical non sequitur. The full report of the opinion of Artabazus, already given c. 61 *αὖτις*, makes its repetition here in *εἰς* even the more remarkable, especially as there is here a direct reference back (*ἐποιεῖμην* imperf.) to that passage. *πολιορκησομένους* here is more explicit than the former report, and the substitution of *ἀστυ* for *πόλιν* increases the point all the more.

17, *τὴν ἔτι πρὸς ἐμεῦ βασιλεὺς πεύσεται*: the irony of this promise, or prediction, in the story is keen: what actually happened was that Artabazus reported to the king the folly and the fate of Marichon. The same tone is maintained in the next sentence, and *τούτων μιν ἐτέρωθι ἔσται λόγος*, i.e. of all that account shall be taken when I go home. *λόγος*, more rather than *σῶμα*.

There is a slight logical confusion in the use of *μιν* and *δὲ* in this connection. The contrast is between *ἐτέρωθι* and *νῦν*, not between *τούτων* and *οὗν* or even *ἐκείνοις*. If that natural antithesis had been observed, it would have been

more logical to contrast *οὗν μιν* with *ἐτέρωθι*, *δὲ*.

18 *ποιέουσι* is strictly present, or imperf., engaged in performing.

ἐπιτρεπτέα does not agree with *ταῦτα* (acc.), and the singular might be clearer. In the plural, need to emphasize the divisions of the Hellespont (*διαβιάνας* imperat.)

καταλαμβάντες: the normal Hellenistic form, cf. A. 21.

20, *δώσουσι* . . *δίκας* is hardly consistent with their having done nothing. And *δὲ* emphasizes their malfeasance. The reference is certainly not to l. 154 ff. but rather to Therapsylai, and inconsistent with the story M. 114, and thus altogether inconsistent with the contempt for the Spartans expressed just above.

59 1 *ἤνι τοὺς Πέρσας*. Here, if anywhere, the battle begins; but the cavalry have, according to c. 67 *αὖτις*, already opened the battle. Marichon himself is mounted, cf. c. 63 *ἵππῳ*, but he is evident leading infantry 'Persians' were used especially, as distinguished from the rest of the barbarians; cf. just below, and cc. 31, 67 *αὖτις*.

ἐρύμφ, 'at the doer', cf. c. 67 *ἐρύμφ* *πάλιν*, and especially A. 112.

διαβιάνας τὸν Ἄστυον, after they had crossed the *Asperion*—words which show every allusion to a narrative by Herodotus can be easily overlooked: that the Persians had been beyond the *Asperion* the river between them and the Greeks, so far as the

Ἀσωπὸν κατὰ στίβον τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὡς δὴ ἀποδιδρῃσκόντων, ἐπείχεται ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους τε καὶ Τεγεάτας μόνους· Ἀθηναίους γὰρ τραπομένους εἰς τὰ πεδία ὑπὸ τῶν ὀχθῶν οὐ

2 τῶν τὸν Kullenberg

main positions, and the *σπαρτομέδαι*, the *arbitra* at rest, were concentric.

How the Persians got across the *Asopos* Hdt. does not specify, it cannot have been all boarded over, there may have been some bridges, or planks, in use, but for all that appears they scrambled across as best they could. The passage of the *Asopos*, which they had steadily gained, so long as the Greeks were in battle array on the other side, is now undertaken apparently under the idea that the Greeks are in full retreat, perhaps for their several homes, the extreme left wing is available to Mardonius. He may even believe that it has made good its escape; at least he may easily leave it to the tender mercies of the Thesians and his own right. He sights easily enough the glint of Greek weapons at the Heraclea, and up beyond, in the gap of the road to Megara, in the gap of the road to Athens; while in the nearer foreground are the Spartans with their commander, apparently in full retreat, and isolated from the other Greek divisions. His cavalry is being opposed up the road to Erithra, as it has been free to do ever since the Greek deployment from that position.

2. κατὰ στίβον cp. 4. 122, 140, 5. 132. Not to be taken here as implying that the Lakedaemonians were available to their pursuers, the whole context implies the reverse.

ὡς δὴ ἀποδιδρῃσκόντων such was the idea in the mind of the Persians, but it has no justification in fact.

The motivation is here to be accepted not so much on the ground that Greeks in the Persian ranks, or Persian scouts themselves might afterwards have reported Mardonius in error to that effect; but rather on the ground that to obtain a satisfactory theory of the battle, we must suppose that the object, or a part of the object of the Greeks, in retreating, was to entice Mardonius across the river, in effecting which object the Greek commanders will have given their movement as much as possible the appearance of a 'flight'.

3 ἀπείχεται cp. διέδιδαν τε c. 58.

The verb projected with this copula appears to be emphatic. ἀπείχεται is verbally taken (a) as psychical, *emmanuatiōnem*, *non dimittere*, cp. 6. 93, 104, 117, (b) as physical, *non transire*, i.e. *dimittere*; (c) *transire* *mittere*, which is really — *Basileus esse dimittere*. In any case Marston with his Persians, followed by the whole mass of the Lakedaemonian infantry, made after the Greek right wing, which was apparently in complete isolation.

Ἀθηναίους γὰρ the *arbitra* explains the *μονοὺς* just before. The movement of the Athenians appears here less fully developed than in c. 56 *ἐντροπὴν τραπομένους* as against *τραπόμενοι* . . . (i.e. *retreating*); but the last three words there may rather be taken with the verb *ἀπείχεται*, or understood from the context. We are there however on the Greek side, here with the Persians, and it by no means follows that the action of the Persians, as here recorded, was not antecedent to the position now reached in the description of the manoeuvres of the Greeks.

4. ἐπὶ τῶν ὀχθῶν ἐκ καταρῶν, he could not see the Athenians on their way down on to the plain by reason of the ridges *ὀχθαί*; there is the same ambiguity here as in c. 56 *οὐρα*. Are the *ὀχθαί* in error came the river? Are not the *ὀχθαί* here the ridges close to the river almost in fact *ὀχθαί*? To adduce (with Ross and others) this statement, perhaps in itself true enough, as evidence that Hdt. had with his own eyes inspected the battle field is a fair instance of half-measures. The statement is a clear example of the dialectal production or evolution of *ἐπὶ τῶν ὀχθῶν*. Why did not Marston attend to the Athenians? Because he could not see them. Why could he not see them? By reason of the *ὀχθαί*—and so it is. The statement may of course, have come to Hdt. ready made in his source. Though perhaps true, it is not an adequate explanation of the Persian general's action, for he was bound to acquaint himself at once with the proceedings of the Greek left wing, and what were the Athenians about to receive

ῥα. Περσας δὲ ὄραντες ὀρμημένους διώκειν τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὅλοιποι τῶν βαρβαρικῶν τελείων ἄρχοντες αὐτίκα πάντες ἀντὰ σιγήν, καὶ ἰδῶσιν ὡς ποδῶν ἕκαστοι εἶχαν, οὔτε ἀφ' οὐδενὶ κοσμηθέντες οἷτε τάξι. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν βοῶντες 60 καὶ ὁμίλῳ ἐπήσαν ὡς ἀναρπασόμενοι τοὺς Ἕλληνας· ἰσάντης δέ, ὡς προσέκειτο ἡ ἵππος, πέμψας πρὸς τοὺς

ὁριοντες Stein¹, van H. ὁρημῖνοις α. ὁρημῖνοις β ὁπατες β
 Holder: sed autem πάντες in S, 7 ἡραυ Stein, van H ἡραυ α.
 reliqui, Holder ἡραυος BMarc. 7, Holder van H. ἡραυ β 8
 1 β 60, 2 ἐρησαν BMarc. ὁρημασμενοι RS¹ V

lacked so weakly in a 38 caliber, or were the Thobans, the Make-
gists had no orders to his
right wing.

οργανισμός διέσωσε, 'in fact permanent
distance is treated as a 'to be' infinitive,
but the 'purpose' is really fully
formed, or supplied by the verb
φύλαξε. ἵνα ὁργανοὶ ἐπαρκεσθῶσι
ἔλ' ἵνα ὁργανοὶ φύλαξιν, and the
first might be regarded not as
a true infinitive but purposive force.
as being an indirect loving or
living: 'in other words, as being
not to the 'subjective' but to the
passive' order. There may equally
be, even if ὁργανοὶ be taken in a
passive sense, of the active notion

ὅτι λοιποὶ τῶν βαρβαρικῶν τειλόντες If the army of Manlius really numbered 30,000 men, the officers here designated I have been to thirty myrmarchai in the army set in ? 61 ff., with dues for death-promotions, etc.; if they are the myrmarchai of the α βακτριαν, Indians, Sakai, the remaining ἑθνη wait, with his 'Persians,' who comprised in the former; esp. c. 31 supra. The rest of the other corps d'armée under him is ready on its way to Thracia' 68 infra.

Xenophon, *Kyros* II, 5 13, may be describing rather Greek than Persian organization, but the differences in this respect were probably not great.

[illegible]

Other examples . . other things: *enamor* is the general expression of the whole results of *amor*; *raña* is the particular position in the hattie array, ep. 8, ed. The statement here of the chimera and the concept of the Porrian parent is perhaps exaggerated: the crossing of the river and river banks would tend to bring about a certain amount of confusion.

80. 1. ποῦ το αὐτὸ φῶς, ὡς ἐν ἑνὶ
ἀσθενεῖ μακρὸν ὅσον ἐν τῷ ὑγιεινῷ
ἄνθρωπῳ; ὅμοιον ἐν Ἡσίοτῳ τῷ "πικρῷ"
ἀντιπαραβ. μετὰ τῷ ἰσχυρῷ. In Tit.
2, 12. 2 τοῦ φῶτος ὅμοιον ἀντιπαραβ.
μετὰ τῷ σὺν ἁλίω, cp. 1, 112 3. full
Theophrast. eg. 2, 65 4 κοιναῖται
οὐκ ἐστὶν, Hist. E. 23 and 3 81 con-
temporaneity) and if without reference
to fighting (cp. 1, 87), and so too
Homer etc.

2. ἀναπαύμενος. c. 2. 75.

3. Howavine &c. The narrative, in many chapters to the west side the time of or at least the start on, also goes back to a point touched or anticipated, p. 57 Howavine &c. Howavine &c. This point was there put early in the morning. If the Howavine cavalry was really attacking the Howavine and in any point on a Howavine to cavalry, Howavine and his men were likely to be having a Howavine, but the Howavine

Ἀθηναίους ἰππεία λέγει ταδε. "ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖσι, ἄγανος
5 μεγίστου προκειμένου ελευθέρην εἶναι ἢ δεδουλωμένην τὴν
Ἑλλάδα, προδεδόμεθα ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων ἡμεῖς τε οἱ
Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ὑμεῖς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὑπὸ τὴν παροισχόμενην
νύκτα διαδράντων. νῦν ὧν δέδοκται τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν τὸδε ποιητέον
ἡμῖν, ἀμυνομένους [γὰρ] τῇ δυνάμεθα ἄριστα περιστᾶλιν

4 ἰππεία ἀνὴρ Marc. 5 ελευθέρην id. 6, 7 οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι
et οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι adesse mult. van H. 8 δίδεσται (παλαιά est, Celsi,
van H. || ποσινθεῖται Pz || τοδε δεῖναι: τὸ & sic, Stein: om. B. Hoiler,
van H. 9 ἡμῖν δεῖναι: ἡμῖν | γὰρ καὶ, Stein."

were now 10 stades up the νωγῆ, above the Mælon, on the Agropion. I wonder if the cavalry come by then? Is the cavalry attack on the Lakedaemonians in this place anything more than a transfer of the sufferings of the previous day, c. 42 *supra*? If more, did any *Lochos* suffer except perhaps that of Anompharetum? Was not the bulk of the Persian cavalry engaged elsewhere?

4. ἰππεία. Its doubtful, at best, whether the Spartans had any mounted men or *αἰσέδα-σπες*; he is perhaps only the author of *ἰππεία* in c. 64 *supra*. This man might have been one of τῶν αἰσέδων *ισπίων*, cp. 8, 124, but he would have had a good deal of ground to cover a foot, if he had really been despatched in the circumstances here supposed.

ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι. Is this the proper formula from Pausanias to Aristides or has the story-teller for source the fear of the Boeotians before him eyes? Cp. c. 45 *supra*. This is not the only or the greatest improbability in the message.

ἄγανος μεγίστου προκειμένου. Pausanias knows that the supreme hour is come.

5. ἢ δεδουλωμένην (the permanent state rather than the single act) seems to add the less likely alternative cp. 7, 164 *ἐπαρτέον ἢ ἀπαλλοθῆναι*. A perfect *ἔομαι* question has co-ordinate ἢ, ἢ cp. 7, 11.

6. προδεδόμεθα διαδράντων: Pausanias (a) wastes time by telling the Athenians what they knew on y too well already of the story in c. 30 *supra* (cc. 32-3) had been true, as later related (b) repeats the very words of Marathon above, addressed to the Athenians ὑπὸ τῶν παροισχόντων & αὐτῶν καὶ πάντες ὁρῶντες δαδόντες. There is, however, some ratio in the word

διαδράντων here for it supports the hypothesis that the Greek centre had not all retired on precisely the same point, but that at this moment the Greek forces are at four distinct positions: the Lakedaemonians on the Agropion, the right centre at the Island, or thereabouts, the left centre at the Mælon, and the Athenians apparently on the plain.

9 νῦν ὧν comes to the point cp. c. 48 *supra*.

δέδοκται perhaps only means it is justly clear, without reference to any antecedent agreement, or formal resolution, yet none of the passages quoted by Stein, in support of a *δημιουργία*, is quite convincing. 4. 66 δέδοκται τοῖς πρώτοις τῶν μαχόμενων ἀποδοῖν ἀνάλισθαι πομπῇ τῇ αὐτῇ or enactment, c. 109 δέδοκται τὰ πρῶτονται παραδεδόσθαι τῇ αὐτῇ or resolution, 5. 110 πρότερον δέδοκται εἶναι σφοδρὸν is perhaps more *synchroonistic* cp. 8, 124: c. 37 *supra* δέδοκται τοῖς κληροῖς is a decision, an actual resolution taken. Cp. also c. 4, *supra*. Even in this case there seems to be adequate reason for weakening the force of the term and the tense, c. 66 *supra*. Pausanias has actually weakened the Athenians to his side. That arrangement was probably part of the *ἄσπας* imperfectly recorded c. 51 *supra* *δεδωμένοι δὲ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἐξείησαν*. The eventuality of the Lakedaemonians and the Athenians holding themselves isolated by the retirement of the centre had been foreseen and provided for daily and tomorrow only this fact is here involved in the formula. The γὰρ in the next sentence is *synchroonistic*.

9 περιστᾶλιν. 2 40 περιστᾶλται (c. 10 *supra* *ἀφαιρῶν αὐτῶν*), cp. 6, 30 *παύσασθαι ἐκπύοντες* a more justifying use of the verb than the present one

ἀλλήλους. εἰ μὲν νῦν ἐς ἡμέας ὁρμησε ἀρχὴν ἢ ἵππος, χρόν 10
 δὲ ἡμέας τε καὶ τοὺς μετ' ἡμέων τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὐ προδιδόντας
 Τεγεάτας βοηθεῖν ὑμῖν· νῦν δέ, ἐς ἡμέας γὰρ ἅπαντα
 κεχώρηκε, δίκαιοι ἵστε ὑμεῖς πρὸς τὴν πιεζομένην μάλιστα
 τῶν μοιρέων ἀμνύοντες ἵεναι. εἰ δ' ἄρα αὐτοὺς ὑμέας κατα-
 λελάβηκε ἀδύνατόν τι βοηθεῖν, ὑμεῖς δ' ἡμῖν τοὺς τοξότας 15

10 ἡμέας Marc. | ὥρμησε (CP), Stein! || χρόν AB 11 μετ' ἡμέας 3
 15 βυβαῖν van H. | τοὺς - γε - Naber, von H

immediately with action of the person. With neuter or inanimate objects it is common. εὐσεύεσθαι 2. 147, εἰ. του ἡμέων 3. 51, τὸ τοῖσδε περιστάλλει 3. 82, πάλαια 1. 98. Theocritus 15. 75 ἀμνὸς περιστάλλων (in callor sense) seems to be the nearest parallel to the present case.

10 εἰ μὲν νῦν . . ἢ ἵππος. This statement, or appeal, admits that the Athenians, though apparently 'on the plain' were not attacked by the cavalry — while the Lakedaemonians, who were on the ὄρεσι, βοηθῶντο τὴν ἵππον 6. 56, were being attacked, καὶ ἀμυνόμενοι, by the cavalry. This ἐνιστάμενος seems absurd. It is no use saying that Lacedaemonia is merely speaking of the 'Persian' cavalry; he makes no distinction and cavalry is cavalry. What was the Theban, the Thebanian, the Makedonian — cavalry about all this time, even if there were no Persian, Median, Bactrian, Indian, or Scythian on 'the plain'? Either the Athenians were in a position where they could not be attacked by cavalry or the cavalry on the right wing had arranged not to attack them.

ὥρμησε the active, intransitive, of action, or physical motion.

The exclamation made in favour of the Tegeata, is probably more Attic than Lacedaemonian. All the rest of the Greek are 'traitors,' have betrayed the cause of Hellas, τὴν Ἑλλάδα, i.e. γῆν, ἀμυνόμενοι. The Athenians recognize only themselves, the Spartans and Tegeata, as having had any hand in this victory, and they deprecate the services even of the Spartans and Tegeata as much as possible. Just here they are on the defensive.

ἀρχὴν cp. 3. 128.

χρόν δὲ for τὸν emphatic is the opposite to that of, denoting a lute unconstitutionally; cp. Diadmag. § 112.

12 ἅπαντα κεχώρηκε ἀμνὸν ad a intension that the Athenians were free

from cavalry assaults. Strictly speaking, 'the whole cavalry would include that of the medizing Greeks.)

13 δίκαιοι δέ, the personal and idiomatic construction; cp. c. 27, Athenian speech.

τὴν πιεζομένην μάλιστα τῶν μοιρέων seems to suggest that the Lakedaemonians were, at this moment, the division of the Greek forces that was being most hard pressed. The plural genitive μοίραις emphasizes the fact of this division, a fact that is an accidental result. The word μοῖρα, however, cannot be pressed as a technical term in the mouth of a Spartan, even if the word μοῖρα was already in use at Sparta which is doubtful; cp. above c. 63 supra, this story is not a Spartan story, and the word is of frequent occurrence in Pind. For a parallel to the present case cp. 4. 120. With πιεζέω cp. 3. 142.

14 εἰ δ' ἄρα εὖν. ὑμ. καταλεβήκε ἀδύνατόν τι βοηθεῖν 'if (as we hardly suppose anything has occurred to you making it impossible to assist us) ἀδύνατόν τι ἴδεναι καὶ ἀδύνατον εἶναι, Schweighauser, so van Stein (who will cp. 1. 61, 6. 138 δεῖναι τι εἶναι 7. 104 γὰρ εἰ - φθόνη) ἀρα, c. 16 supra.

15 ὑμεῖς δ' — the resumed subject (actually) with the δὲ in apposition, cp. 7. 51, etc.

τοὺς τοξότας ἀποτίμψαντες χάριν δίδοι: a polite request, not in any command: the arrows had not been sent yet 'owing to the helplessness of your Archers. The Athenian corps of Archers has just been mentioned incidentally in c. 22, but not included in the army list, or numbering of the forces, cp. notes to c. 22 supra, it was apparently 800 strong. The request for the loan of them all sorts with the suggestion that the Spartans had 10,000 βόλοι μέγιστοι οὐκ εἰς παρηρησμένοις were useless (c. 12) it is so true of assistance that the Athenians themselves were not

ἀποπέμψαντες χάριν θέσθε. συνοίδαμεν δὲ ὑμῖν ἵπο τοῦ
 παρόντα τῶνδε πολέμου ἐοῦσι πολλοὺς προθυμοτάτοις, ὥστε
 61 καὶ ταῦτα ἰσακούειν." ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὡς ἐπίβαν-ο.
 ὁρμέατο βοηθεῖν καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐπαμύνειν· καὶ σφί ἦν
 στείχουσι ἐπιτίθενται οἱ ἀντιταχθέντες Ἑλλήνων τῶν μετὰ
 βασιλῆος γενομένων. ὥστε μηκέτι δύνασθαι βοηθῆσαι· τὸ γὰρ
 5 προσκείμενον σφίς ἐλύπεε. οὕτω δὲ μουνωθέντες Λακεδαί-
 μοιοι καὶ Τεγεῆται, εἶντες σὺν ψιλοῖσι ἀριθμὸν οἱ μὲν
 πεντακισμῦριοι Τεγεῆται δὲ τρισχῆλιοι (οὗτοι γὰρ οὐδ' αὖτα

15 ἱμῶν χάριν Parg. 1634 || θέσθαι B C cum e κηρατ. e σίνδρις
 Mohler, Cohet, van H. ἱμῶν χάριν Marc. 61 2 ὁρμέατο α
 ὁρμέατο || βοηθεῖν O: βοθεῖν van H. 3 στείχουσι α K 4
 βασιλῆος s || ὥστε καὶ B 5 προσκείμενον K: προσκειμένον σφίς
 (OP), Stein¹, Holder, van H. 7 τρισχῆλιοι van H

in want of the Archers at this crisis or
 should not have been. χάριν θέσθαι, cp.
 c. 107 *infra*.

14 συνοίδαμεν δὲ ὑμῖν κελ. This
 intertextual testimonial to the unparalleled
 trial of Athens was hardly made in
 Sparta, though it is put into the mouth
 of a Spartan. The phraseology again
 reproduces the speech of Mardonius:
 ἐπαινεύων ταῦτοι τοιοῦτα καὶ εὐχόμενοι
 c. 18.

ὅτι τὸν π. τ. πόλεμον· cp. ὅτι
 τὴν παροχόμεν ἔντα αὐτῶν.

17. ὥστε . . . ἰσακούειν, 'so as to give
 heed to this our position,' i.e. ὅτω
 πολλοὺς προθυμοτάτοις ὥστε expecting
 a result, not an intention or purpose.
 For the present infinitive we might have
 expected the so-called infinitive, or (with a
 different sense) the future infinitive.
 The construction preferred suggests
 perhaps a more continuous and immediate
 action (though not, of course, the
 actual fact, as present infinitive might
 do, the sequence remains an idea only,
 εὐνοοῦν α ὁ αἶμα, Bzkt here suggests
 ἡμῶν Bzkt ἡμῶν. The nat. form is
 expressed l. 214 for might be taken
 as 'plainly as 'eternal' the gen. is
 found, e.g. Soph. At. 780 τοῦ εὐδαίμονος
 πατρὸς.

61. 1. οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι. They act as
 ἡμῶν as above addressed, δίδου Ἀθ.

2 ὁρμέατο βοηθεῖν. cp. ὁρμησθαι
 δίδου c. 59. The πρ. ὁρμέατο marks
 the depth, or intensity of their emotion,
 or the instantaneous rapidity of their
 action. The position of τὰτα emphatic.
 τὰ μάλιστα, s. 67. ἦδη στείχουσι. the

Athenians are actually on the way to
 the support of the Lakedaemonians, or
 to effect a junction with them, but
 fail to carry out their intention or
 purpose in consequence of being
 attacked, or interpreted, by the enemy
 (cp. Bzkt), or some of them, στείχου-
 σι, α δὲ ἡμῶν.

3. οἱ ἀντιταχθέντες = οἱ ἀντιταχθέντες
 c. 31 *supra*. The description of
 ἀντιταχθέντες as a part of (the) ἡμῶν
 τῶν μετὰ βασιλῆος γενομένων, is
 common at this point, in c. 31 they are
 described as τοῦ μετ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Μαρ-
 δονίου εὐνοῦν Ἑλλήνων.

4. τὸ προσκείμενον: collective for
 προσκειμένα, cp. τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ c. 4.

5. οὕτω δὲ, not of time as usual
 as of occasion. μουνωθέντες without
 support: the Athenians could not fall
 back on Marathon where, not on Plataea
 δὲ = πρὸς τὴν μάχην τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, they
 had defeated the Persian army at
 Plataea, whereas at Plataea there was but
 one, the Persian, opposed to the Spartans
 and Tegeans, c. 31 *supra*.

7. πεντακισμῦριοι: i.e. 5000 Spartans
 besides, 5000 Lakedaemonian hoplites,
 25,000 helms in attendance on the
 Spartans, 5000 in attendance on the
 Lakedaemonians, in accordance with
 the custom as c. 57, 60 *supra*.
 But the calculation for the ἵπτοι at
 Plataea has been disallowed; cp. notes to c. 5,
 and perhaps the total number of ἵπποι
 ought to be reduced by a quarter of
 one, by a half.

τρισχῆλιοι. i.e. 1500 hoplites,
 1500 ἵπποι, 1500. The translation of

ἀπεσχίζοντο ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων), ἐσφαγιάζοντο ὡς συμ-
βαλέοντες Μαρδονίῳ καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ τῇ παρούσῃ. καὶ οὐ
γὰρ σφί ἐγένετο τὰ σφάγια χρηστά, ἐπιπτόν τε αὐτῶν ἐν
τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ πολλοὶ καὶ πολλῷ πλείους ἐτρωματίζοντο·
φράξαντες γὰρ τὰ γέρεα οἱ Πέρσαι ἀπίεσαν τοὺν τοξενμάτων

10 ἐπιπτόν τε Σχάσιον, τὰν Π., Σίτων' ἐπιπτον δὲ (δ' α: δ' Ο)
12 γέρεα Αἰγ. θ τῶν ΠΗ. :

these numbers at this point is remark-
able: no allowance is made for losses
previous. There was little or no excuse
for the retreat to the Athenians for this
reason. And what a host the right
wing was compared with the Athenians,
here or at Marathon!

8. ἀπεσχίζοντο. nulla, 'separated
from': if the Athenians owed anything
to the Plataians e.g. at Marathon, the
Spartans owed still more to the Tegeatans
at Plataea.

ἐσφαγιάζοντο ὡς συμβαλέοντες
Μαρδονίῳ. This statement comes
stumpily and with a shock: it proves
that the Spartans were contemplating
not merely battle, and self defence, but
the assumption of the offensive (σφί
βαλέοντες = μάχη δοχεῖν, cp. c. 41, 43
supra). It indicates that the retirement
of the Lakedaemonians was purely a
tactical point *interius* under. It shows that
everything was proceeding *en règle* to
the Spartan position, Tadmorion (c.
33, 36 supra) inspecting the succubous in
order to retirement by their aid, and
possibly on a sign from Korymbos, or
Ismenios, the right moment for the
charge. On the verb σφαγιάζεσθαι cp.
c. 1, 2 infra.

9. καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ τῇ παρούσῃ
These words refer presumably to the
Persian force with Mardonius, and
imply that only a portion of his army
was in action. The corps of Arta-
banus was not there, c. 66 infra. 1
The Median, Baktrian, Indian, Saka
corps were apparently coming on *post-
erius* anyhow c. 56 supra. (c) The
Ionian Greeks, so far as they were
taking any part in the action at all cp.
c. 67 infra, were fully engaged with
the Athenians just above and perhaps
with other Greek corps. d) The Tegean
cavalry, which has been reported above,
c. 40 as engaged with the Lakedaemo-
nians, but which now seems to be
doing nothing against them, was perhaps
engaged *alio* *modo*, possibly against the

Greek centre, or right centre, upon the
Plataea-Athens road, cp. note to c. 62 7)
The army of Mardonius appears to be far
less in being than the Greek force them-
selves, each division of which, at least,
is still a compact unit.

οὐ γὰρ σφί ἐγένετο τὰ σφάγια
χρηστά. *no* μάχη ἄρχοντι, συμπολεῖ
τοιοῦμένοι, or such like. *χρηστά* is
perhaps superfluous: cp. c. 36 supra.

10. ἐπιπτόν, 'were being killed,' as
distinguished from those who were
merely wounded they were all at once
sitting on the ground cp. c. 72 infra
and probably crouching under their
shields (cp. c. 48 supra), as they had,
no doubt, been doing the greater part
of the previous day.

ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ *homo* at least
covers some time in duration; cp. c.
36 supra. The proportion of wounded
to killed is unfortunately not stated. In
an ordinary conflict between two heavy-
armed Greek forces it was probably not
great; but in the present case no doubt
it was unusually large (possibly *thrice* as
only 31 Spartans at most were killed,
cp. c. 70 infra).

12. φράξαντες γὰρ τὰ γέρεα οἱ
Πέρσαι. The use of the *γέρεα* (p. 7
6), proves that the Persians here in
action are infantry. The exact nature
of the contrivance here described is in
some doubt. Buxton supposed that
each Persian fixed his long light wicker
shield in the ground by means of a
point below: each a wall of shields
ward, of course, offer but a slight pro-
tection against the push of the heli-
ces. Others (p. Buxton *ad l.*, and esp. Stein
ad l., suppose that the Persians had
divided a new plan against the Greeks
συναρπάξαντες τὰ γέρεα ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλσιν
c. 24 infra. You are lost at Mykale,
where the Persians were acting through-
out on the defensive, but not here at
Plataea (or rather, in front of Mykale)
where they were advancing to the attack.
In this case, at most, the individual

[πολλά] ἀφειδύας, οὕτω ὥστε πιεχομένοι τῶν Σπαρτιητέων καὶ τῶν σφαγίων οὐ γινομένων ἀποβλεψάντα τὸν Πανσανίην πρὸς 15 τὸ Ἡραῖον τὸ Πλαταιέων ἐπικαλίσασθαι τὴν θεόν, χρηρίζοντα 62 μηδαμῶς σφείας ψευσθῆναι τῆς ἐλπίδος. ταῦτα δ' ἔτι τούτου

13 πολλά 'interpolatum videtur' van H.: *occlusi* 15 Ἡραῖον II. Guizot, Palm || *χρηρίζοντα* A: *χρήζοντα* C. Marc.: *χρηρίζοντα* s σφείας :

soldier fixed his shield in the ground, in line with his neighbours, so that there was a front, a centre, a fence of shields (φάλαγξ 8, 82, φραγὰς 2, 36, 112), *Λοῦκος φράσσεται* here. (The helots may have been throwing stones.)

13 ἀφειδύας: cp. c. 34 *κέρτα*; *harm* is a somewhat different sense, *inexpert*, *unwise*, cp. 1 163, 207 (8 *harm* *glaucois*).

πιεχομένων: cp. *πιεζόμενοι* c. 60 *supra* the Spartans are acting still strictly on the defensive—they are, in fact, apparently doing nothing, still unable *χρησασθαι τῇ χειρὶ* c. 72 *infra*).

14 τῶν σφαγίων οὐ γινομένων. *Bachis* *αὐτα, χρῆσται ἢ οὐκ οὐκὲν οὐκὲν οὐκὲν*. Why, then, not everywhere? Cp. 7, 136, and cc. 41 *supra* 62 *infra*. The sign they are awaiting is the sign in favour of their rising up and going for the Persians.

ἀποβλεψάντα τὸν Πανσανίην Did Panzanias 'raise his eyes' (*ἵκω* *hinc* *sonit*)? Did he look 'up' to the Heræion? Was he on lower ground? Or did he do more than 'look away to,' 'like a eye upon' the Heræion? The upward look is not essential to ἀποβλεψάντα 7 136

μ. ἀναβλέπων, though not as in 2 14). For what reason did Panzanias 'raise his gaze on the Heræion? An hypothesis in order the better to invoke the goddess. What did he see? Could he see the Greek left, or left centre, in front of the temple, c. 52 *supra*? Could he see any signal? If there was such a signal given, what intimation did it convey? Or was he detecting a signal, to that quarter? (Cp. c. 62, 4 *inf* a.)

15, τὸ Ἡραῖον τὸ Πλαταιέων. Was it really the Heræion as looked to? Was there more than one Heræion in the neighbourhood? There were at least three temples of Eleusinian Demeter, though H. only mentions one of them (cp. c. 67 *supra*); there was (so far as known) only one temple of Hera, though not so carefully specified its Platæan possessive. It was doubtless the principal temple of the district; but strategical y

more may have been going on at the temple of Demeter the Platæian one, at this moment, just as later at the Mycon; cp. c. 67 *supra*. (There was an Heræion at Karoneis, Pausan. 8, 34 3, apparently the only other one in Boeotia.)

ἐπικαλίσασθαι to invoke assistance to his aid cp. 8, 64, here, probably, in such tones.

16, μηδαμῶς σφείας ψευσθῆναι τῆς ἀπείδος. This is the very essence of *harm*. What was the *harm*, for the fulfilment of which he prayed? Was it merely victory as such? Or not rather such a 'sign' as would justify his assuming the offensive? In either case the commander is fully in favour of doing battle; for he is surely not hoping simply to make good his retreat! For the intimate connexion between the *εἰχὴ* and the *ἀμύ*, between the *αὐγὴ* and the *σφαγία* *χρῆστα*, and the announcement of those with the transition from 'passive resistance' to active and offensive tactics, compel us to believe that at this point the situation on the field of battle was such that gods and men, on the Greek side, believed the hour was come to deliver the attack, to charge upon the foe, behind his fence of shields.

Perhaps two or three things had happened, e.g. (a) the Persian infantry had been drawn across the Asopos in disorder, and were now massed, at short range, behind the feeble barrier of the γέρρα, the abutment for the *αλαστήριον* before the Argipeion, and the Platæian temple of Demeter; (b) the Persian cavalry was perhaps, far off, or quite out of fighting range, and held in check, so far as the road in the rear was concerned, by the right centre in the Platæia-Ateneis Pass, or Thracaboute; (c) from the *εἰς αὐτὸν* word, or sign, that there was nothing to fear in that quarter, the Thebæe, one of the king's Greek allies, swooping upon it.

(Bakewell long ago (1824) wisely said that the hope of Pausanias was to bring

ἐπικαλεσμένον προξεναστάντες πρίτεροι οἱ Τεγεῖται ἰχώρουν
 ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους, καὶ τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι αὐτίκα μετὰ
 τὴν εὐχὴν τὴν Πausanίῳ ἐγένετο θυομένοισι τὰ σφάγια
 χρησάτω· ὥς δὲ χρόνῳ κοτὲ ἐγένετο, ἰχώρουν καὶ οὗτοι ἐπὶ
 τοὺς Πέρσας, καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ἀντίοι τὰ τόξα μετέντες. ἐγένετο
 δὲ πρῶτον περὶ τὰ γέρρα μίχη. ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ἐπεπτώκεε,
 ἦδη ἐγένετο ἡ μίχη ἰσχυρὴ παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ Δημήτριον καὶ
 χρόνῳ ἐπὶ πολλόν, ἐς δ' ἀπίκοντο ἐς ὠθισμόν . . . τὰ γὰρ

62. 2 ἐπικαλεσμένον a || πρίτερον B 4 ἐγένετο a | Holder, AB,
 Ste ad., (van H.) minus recte, ut vocatur δ' ἐγένετο Schaefer, Gaisford,
 Stein² AB, Stein³ - ἐγένετο Stein¹ (S pr. Gaisf.) 6 ἀντίοι ἔπασσαν?
 Stein² 7 γέρα S 8 ἡ οὐκ. B, Holder 9 ἐσθ' AB | ὠθισμόν
 + PP lacunam indic. Stein³

the whole army of the enemy to a lion at close quarters "the prophets for Pausanias was to keep his troops perfectly in hand . . . until the onset of the enemy became so general that they could no longer have it in their power to avoid a pitched battle," i.e. upon Pausanias' own terms.)

62. 1. προξεναστάντες πρίτεροι οἱ Τεγεῖται. The source, or sources, followed by Hill¹ for the battle itself are not too favourable to the Spartans and attentively prefer to give the Tegeatai what credit is going; cp. c. 70 infra. It may of course be that the men of Tegea were first on the move; if so, it was by order of Pausanias, for some tactical reason of the moment; but it is more probable that the Spartans advanced together.

πρίτεροι is redundant, cp. d. 146. προξεναστῆναι, cp. d. 69, indicates that they were sitting or lying down; cp. c. 72 infra.

ἰχώρουν ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους. Like the Athenians at Marathon but the *δραγὶς* force of d. 112 q1 to surpasses this advance. The *ἰχώρουν* ἐς and the *ἰχώρουν* ἐς just below mark a distinction without much difference. χρόνῳ κοτὲ marks, perhaps, the imprecision of the writers rather than the actual length of time. contr. *χρ. δὲ πολλόν* just below.

οἱ Πέρσαι ἀντίοι τὰ τόξα μετέντες. The Persians put away their bows and stood their ground to meet them, having recourse to their other weapons, short swords, daggers 7. 61. What exactly they did with the bows is not clear; perhaps they actually flung them away μετέντες πολλά τὰς ἀσπίδας c. 14 supra, is to let them drop. Cp. d. 128

μετέναι οἱ τὰς ἀσπίδας, after which the doruφόροι had recourse to the *εὐκαρδαίαι*. The *μίχη περὶ τὰ γέρρα* which now ensues is really *πρῶτος* in relation to what follows, but the preceding episode, while the Persians are showing shots on the Spartans from behind the fence of shields is an essential part of the battle piece. ἦδη just below practically - *δεύτερον*.

7 ἐπεπτώκεε more literally than *ἐπίσταν* above, but still a small way of putting it. Stein renders *under-pressure* *fallen*.

8 ἰσχυρὴ is of course predicative. παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ Δημήτριον Hill knows only of one Demetrium in the region, cp. c. 67 supra. There were two, if not three, that might come into the account. It is here a problem not merely which Demetrium is in question, but what place, what change of place, if any, here intervenes between the *μίχη περὶ τὰ γέρρα* and the *μίχη ἰσχυρὴ παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ Δημήτριον*. The shields have been overthrown, their owners probably perished or fled. There may be a considerable amount of ground traversed between the *γέρρα* and the *Δημήτριον* here in question and the work of the men who struggled with the Spartans, under the temple walls, may not be the same man who had stood their ground, hinging up the bows behind the *γέρρα*. The Demetrium here in question may be the 'Hysianan,' and its site may still be marked by the church of St. Demetrios, though the Spartan position up by the Moloce may have been about, or in front of, the Platæan Demetrium.

9 ὠθισμόν. One might have thought that there would have been 'pushing'

10 δόρατα ἐπιλαμβάνόμενοι κατέκλων οἱ βάρβαροι. λήματι μὲν
 νυν καὶ ῥώμῃ οὐκ ἦσαν οἱ Πέρσαι· ἀντοπλοὶ δὲ εἶντες
 καὶ πρὸς ἀνεπιστήμονες [ἦσαν] καὶ οὐκ ὅμοιοι τοῖσι ἐναντίοις
 σφίην προεξαισούντες [δὲ] κατ' ἓνα καὶ δέκα καὶ πλεονέ-
 τε καὶ ἑλάσσονες συστρεφόμενοι, ἐπέπιπτον ἐς τοὺς Σπαρτιητας
 63 καὶ διεφθείροντο. τῇ δὲ ἐτύγγανε αὐτὸς εἷον Μαρδόνιος, ἀπ'
 ἵππου τε μαχομένου λευκοῦ ἔχων τε περὶ εἰνότην λογάδας

10 λήματι FMar. λήματι 11 ἔπεσαν ἔσαν : || οἱ πέρι. B.
 om. a (Hölscher) 12 πρὸς ecl. Krueger ἦσαν ecl. van H., Kallenberg,
 Holder, Stein ἦσαν οἱ Πέρσαι. R (Stein¹¹) || ὅμοιοι. CPMar. : || αἰσούντες B.
 Schnefer ("male" van H.) 12, 13 καὶ ἐπὶ σφίην del. Sätzler || δὲ exl.
 Stein⁹ (virgula pro puncto post σφίην posita) || καὶ ante πλεονέτες. B
 14 ἑλάσσονες CMar. 63. 1 μαρδόνιος εἷον Mar.

before the *γέρου* were overthrown. No
 doubt there had been: Hdt. seems to
 use *ἀντοπλοὶ* for fighting at the closest
 quarters (without special reference to its
 etymological sense, cp. 7. 226, 3 78).

In this particular case, if the battle
 had whirled down the ridge, and he now
 going forward beside the Demetrian (as
 above located), the fugitive Persians
 would probably be met by swarms all
 vowing to the assault, or support, none
 too regularly, and escape would be
 doubly difficult. But we cannot be
 sure that the words which follow do not
 describe the scene immediately on the
 overthrow of the *γέρου*. Stein⁹, indeed,
 marks a lacuna after *ἀντοπλοὶ* on the
 ground that the next sentence is not in
 logical or natural sequence of the argu-
 ment or narrative, the now-exposed
 barbarians seized on and tried to break
 the large heavy spears of the Spartans—
 no doubt in vain.

10 λήματι μὲν νυν κτλ. This generous
 tribute to the valour or spirit (*ἀνὰ* 2
 89) and bodily strength (*ῥώμη* 1 31) of
 the Persians is rather out of place in the
 very midst of a description of the actual
 engagement, at any rate it interrupts a
 narrative which has already become
 involved in some obscurity and when
 resumed just below, grows still more
 involved.

11 ἀντοπλοὶ, without *ὄπλο*, i.e. the
 shields (and other heavy arms associated
 therewith). There was a great inferiority
 of armature on the Persian side for
 fighting at close quarters: nothing
 could have compensated for that other-
 thing, strength and courage, being
 equal; but superior tactics, skill, and

drum; but *ἐπιστήμη* but *σοφία* were
 also on the side of the Greeks, cp. 7
 211.

12. *προεξαισούντες*, the *εἶον* is here
 local, not temporal. The tactics de-
 scribed are almost identical with those of a
 estimating force. Sing a combatant, or
 small group, separate themselves from
 the main body and rush forward, out of
 the ranks, form or rally in bands—
ἐπὶ σφίην, cp. a 18 supra) some larger
 some smaller charge the Spartans, and
 are annihilated.

Perhaps the obscurity arises from Hdt.
 not distinguishing clearly between those
 Persians who were in retreat and the
 various forces harrying up to their
 support.

63. 1 τῇ δὲ ἐτύγγανε αὐτὸς εἷον
 Μαρδόνιος: a more explicit local indica-
 tion of the exact position of Mar-
 donius in the battle would be worth a good
 deal for the reconstruction of the piece.
 Was he *ἐπὶ αὐτῷ τῷ Σπάρτην* and, if
 so, what Demetrian? Was he ready
 at the head of his troops, and himself
 leading the assault, cp. c. 58 supra? Or
 was he, where he should have been,
 in a position to co-ordinate and direct
 his whole forces?

ἀπ' ἵππου τε μαχομένου λευκοῦ
 the expression is a summary of the
 fact that Mar-
 donius was mounted on a
 white horse might seem to imply that
 those about him were unmounted or at
 least not mounted on white horses.
 (His mount was perhaps a *Νεαῖον*, cp.
 a. 40.)

2. *λογάδας* *ἑπείων* τοῖς *ὀπίσθεν*
χάλους the reference to 8. 113 is not
 quite direct or obvious, but is generally

Περσῶν τοὺς ἀρίστους χιλιούς, ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς
ἐναντίους ἐπίσταν. ὅσων μὲν νῦν χρόνον Μαρδόνιος περιῆν,
οἱ δὲ ἀντείχον καὶ ἀμυνόμενοι κατέβαλλον πολλοὺς τῶν
Λακεδαιμονίων· ὥς δὲ Μαρδόνιος ἀπέθανε καὶ το περὶ ἐκείνον
τεταγμένοι ἐόν ἰσχυρότατον ἐπεσε, οὕτω δὴ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι
ἐτράποντο καὶ εἶξαν τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι. πλείστον γὰρ
σφίεας ἐδηλέετο ἡ ἰσθμὸς Ἰρρημος εἰδύσα ὄπλων· πρὸς γὰρ
ὀπλίτας ἔοντες γυμνῆτες ἀγῶνα ἐποιεῖντο. ἐμβαῦτα ἢ τε δίκη 64

3 δὲ + 5 οἱ δὲ C, Stein¹, Holder. οἱ δὲ α, Stein¹, van H. οἱ δὲ
RV | κατεβαλλόντο add. vett. (Gund.) || τῶν τοῖς R 7 ἰσὺν Apr B
om. Marc. || οἱ ἄλλοι om. C 8 ἀφ' ἑμοῦ CPMarc = 10 ἄφ' ἑμοῦ B
(Gund.) | γινώσκας Ask. γινώσκας B || ἀγνοῖς B. τὸν ἀγνοῖς Jacobitz

taken to signify the lower $\tau\eta\varsigma\ \chi\lambda\eta\varsigma$ where specified, though not described as $\lambda\eta\gamma\alpha\delta\alpha\varsigma$. In 7 4 $\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\tau\alpha\ \chi\lambda\eta\varsigma\ \epsilon\lambda\lambda\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\tau\alpha\ \mu\alpha\tau\alpha\ \epsilon\pi\lambda\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ form the head of the matching column; and a second column of cavalry, similarly described, provides the intermediate (apparently), besides these two chieftains of elite cavalry there are two $\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota$ of select infantry, $\alpha\gamma\chi\mu\alpha\sigma\iota\sigma\alpha\iota$. The chieftain was mentioned might be any one of these four chieftains, and the mere fact that Menelaos himself is mentioned hardly dispels the question.

3. ταῦτ' ἐστὶ καὶ πόλις αὐτοῖς ἐν ἁπλοῦς
 inferior. no, or inferior. The statement
 is something for two reasons: (a) the
 correct evidence instead of the im-
 proper, especially after the number of
 antecedents is perfect, is a puzzle; (b)
 he states it ascribes to a action of an
 advancing, an attacking party, not the
 action of a retreating party, and the
 Persians were already in retreat
 in the previous chapter. But the sequence
 of events in the narrative may be an
 accurately chronologize. The sentence
 ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐκείνῃ ἐκείνῃ emphasizes the
 role of Xerxes in the battle, and
 may hark back to a point already pass-
 ing the general narrative in the previous
 chapter. This suggestion might account
 perhaps, for the occurrence of the
 various nouns: it is virtually equi-
 valent to a player's foot in time.

δ. 6000 μὲν οὖν χρόνον Μ. περιῆν
the actual time may be synchronous
with the chronos ἐπὶ πολλῶν of v. 82
[time when] ἐγένετο ἡ ἀρχὴ ἰσχυρῶν πα-
ρὰ τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς. The attention is
naturally begun by St. Markos ἐπὶ τῷ
[when] Μαρδονίῳ had been killed.

of *δὲ δυνίτων* & the apoloia with *δὲ*, the action described is that of men without time to assault rather than attacking. The difficulty may be solved by the supposition above, that there was a temporary rally of the Boeotian *καὶ τὸ δυνίτων* when Marathon turned out on horseback, surrounded and thus by its staff and bodyguard, which is here distinctly acting on the defensive *δυνίτων, δυνίτων*.

ὁ δὲ νεφὶ δεικνὺν παραγινῶν: neut.
not for concrete = νεφὶ καὶ οὐ παραγινῶν
cp. α. 61 supra. There is nothing to
suggest that the body is cavity rather
the reverse. Iwona was cut to pieces,
or fell mortally wounded each in his
place: cp. δεικνὺν c. 61 supra.

Yours &c the narrative, having started afresh with Manioun, now at once again at the point previously reached, in general terms, in 1822 &c. The story here explanatory must be in immediate sequence to the wherefore there and the observation on the whereas wherefore here in exactly parallel to the relation there upon their safety as men and skill.

to 'destroy', 'contributed to their destruction': the effect is, however, not positive, but negative, privative. *μυσθίς*, 'light-sentence' (not 'sentence'), a word not elsewhere used by Plu., but cf. Tertianus 11.35 quoted in 68 supra.

62. I. 4. in Story of America. At this point Hist. treats the battle as over the victory as won, and goes off on a number of side issues, among particular, biographic, anecdotes, & with the fullness of a Dufferin utterance the providential preservation of the Dominion from desecration; the fate of Mardianus.

τοῦ φόνου τοῦ Λεωνίδου κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον τοῖσι Σπαρτι-
τησι ἐκ Μαρδονίου ἐπετελέετο, καὶ νίκην ἀναίρεται καλλίστην
ὑπασίων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν Πausanias ὁ Κλεισμβρότου τοῦ
5 Ἀναξανδριδου· τῶν δὲ κατ' ὑπερθε οἱ προγόνων τὰ οὐνόματα
εἴρηται ἐκ Λεωνίδου· οὗτοί γάρ σφι τυγχάνουσι ἔσστες.
ἀποθνήσκει δὲ Μαρδόνιος ὑπὸ Ἀιμυύστου ἀνδρὸς ἐν Σπάρτῃ
λογίμου, ὃς χρόνῳ ὕστερον μετὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ ἔχων ἀνδρας

64. 2 τὸ τοῖσι 8

τελέετο 8, Schaefer, Gaisford

οἷτοι αἰ Mare.

Holder, von H. cf. c. 72 infra

3 γινόμενοι ἐκείδισσε σαρ. Kallenberg

5 τῶν . ἔσστες κιαρετα haseo

6

7 ἀιμυύστοι 8 ἀιμυύστου 8, Pataki, Friend

Holder, von H. cf. c. 72 infra

ἀνδρὸς ἐστος ἐν Mare.

8 χρόνῳ 11

and that of the man who slew him the
glory of Pausanias.

2. κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον· the reference
is clear, though not explicit, to the
anecdote 8. 114 *supra*, which of course
was an anachronism, given the death of
Mardonius at Plataea by the hands of a
Spartan (7), and the 'prediction' was in
avoidable. This whole chapter (with the
possible exception of a couple of sentences)
reads like an insertion by Hdt. into the
first draft of his history, and may
perhaps be put down to his 'second
hand', cf. Introduction § 9.

3. νίκην ἀναίρεται κτλ. Hdt. treats
the victory as a *fait accompli*, as though
the whole battle had been simply
between Mardonius with his Persians on
the one side and Pausanias with his
Spartans or Lakodaimonians on the
other; the centre, the left wing are
treated here as negligible quantities.
This treatment can hardly be Attic, or
phil Attic tradition, or Imitary, but it
might very well be 'Despotic' cf.
Thucyd. 1. 102, 2, or picked up at Delphi
by Hdt. himself, or his authorities. On
the former a *καλλίστην* τὴν νίκην
ἴδμεν *op. cit.* 105. 3. Is it not a material
tag? (τὴν νίκην ἴδμεν).

4. οὗτοί γάρ σφι τυγχάνουσι ἔσστες
6. 103, *op. cit.* 33 *supra* (ἀγῶνας), Ὀλέμ
ταῖσα 6. 70 etc. The obvious recognition
of the personal motif or *epitaph* of
Pausanias to the exclusion of Eurystachos
in this passage is rather odd. Plataea is
his victory, the most ideal (καλλίστην)
victory (in regard Mardonius, Spartans
not excepted). The use of the patronymic,
here raised to the third power, *αἰμυύστου*,
is a no remarkable 'plainly un-
doubtedly for rhetorical effect.

5. τῶν δὲ . . . ἔσστες is, however, an
addition with somewhat an unfortunate

effect, if genuine, it is a very clear
reference back to 7. 114 such a *ditto*
can hardly belong to the first draft of
the description of the great battle; the
language is rude, however, the sentence
Hdt. κατ' ὑπερθε, 1. 5. 28 *op. cit.* 105, 3
or perhaps ethical' dat. ἐν Λεωνίδῃ
either 'down to Leonidas,' or 'with
reference to Leonidas' a *prophet* of
Leonidas (As Leonidas could not be
included, the latter seems the preferable
rendering.)

6. οὗτοί . . . ἔσστες, not *ταῖσα* .
ταῖσα. Rowlinson, doubtless forcing the
literary and stylistic flow of this passage
translates it very loosely: 'I must to
recount his other ancestors, since they
are the same with those of Leonidas.'

7. ἀποθνήσκει . . . ὑπὸ, *op. cit.* 57
supra.

8. ἀιμυύστου ἀνδρὸς ἐν Σπάρτῃ
λογίμου. It is unfortunate that there is
any uncertainty in the exact form of the
proper name, though 'Aimylotes' and
Aimylotos' come to much the same
thing; *op. cit.* 72 *infra*. (Some persons
with an inability to give names to the
real world pronounce the two forms to
differ essentially.) But very very acute &
sagacious that this *ἀνδρὸς ἐν Σπάρτῃ*
λογίμου was not himself a Spartan, for
1) Hestrich *de or. del* 2, *Mem.* 41
says Mardonius was killed by a stone
and a Spartan would not be throwing
stones (but *op. cit.* 55 *supra*); 2)
Thucydides (3. 52, 5) has a Spartan
one *ἄλλος* son of Aimylotos, and
an *ἀνδρὸς ἐν Σπάρτῃ* *λογίμου* would be
very likely to have a son named *Λόγος*.
But what, then, of his service in the
Messenian war? (see below.)

8. ὃς χρόνῳ ὕστερον κτλ. is certainly
a reference to events in the *Peisakonian*
era, and appears to be a reference to the

τριηκόσιους συνέβαλε ἐν Στενυκλήρῳ πολέμου ἔοντες Μεσση-
νίαισι πᾶσι, καὶ αὐτὸς τε ἀπέθανε καὶ οἱ τριηκόσιοι. ἐν δὲ 65
Πλαταιῆσι οἱ Πέρσαι ὡς ἐτράποντο ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων,
ἔφευγον οὐδένα κόσμον ἐξ <τε> τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ ἐώντων

8 συνέβαλε C ■ μεσσηνίοι. BC. Μεσσηνίαι τε :: 10 πᾶσι;
ἀποστάσι Naber 65. 2 πλαταιῆσι o πλαταιῆσιν V B | ἐτρα-
πησαν :: 3 <τε> conl. Stein¹, adm. van H., Stein² | ἐώντων B

'Cher' Messenian war (464-464 B.C.). The reference is obscure. Hdt. does not say it is between the Spartans and Messenians; he does not dwell on the character or nature of the war of 460 men under Alcibiades; he does not say on which side Alcibiades was fighting; he gives no details or circumstances in regard to the engagement. This is, in short, one of the clearest references to contemporary events in the whole work. Hdt., however, does not say that Alcibiades was a Spartan, nor that the men under his command were Spartans. Blackley says: "no doubt Alcibiades commanded the garrison which was sent to man the military possession of the country," but that seems to me very doubtful. How came a Platæan by such an appointment? Either we might suppose that the Platæan, with a contingent of his fellow-citizens 100 strong was sent to the fortress with the Athenian contingent in the Messenian war, cf. Thuc. 3. 54. 5 καὶ οὖν, ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος, ἰδὼς, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος φοβεῖται περισσὴν εἶναι Σπάρτην μετὰ τὸν σκευὸν τῶν ἐκ Ἰθάκης Ἑλλήνων ἀποστάντων τὸ πρῶτον μέρος ἧσαν αὐτὸν ἐπενέμαρξεν ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος· ὃν οὐκ ἐπὶ δατημονίῳ Ἀχαιὸν οὐκ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐκπράττειν, 427 B.C. | ἴδων. 'contemplating'.

8. τριηκόσιοι: if this was the exact number of Platæans at that time would be 400. In 460 B.C. there are 600 with the Athenians on the Pel., that may be 4 and 4 may be with the Spartans, cf. c. 22 below, or the number of Platæans in 464 B.C. may somewhat have risen. In 464 B.C. it had fallen again, cf. c. 1.

συνέβαλε. i.e. συνέβαλεν ἐκείνης, cf. c. 41 supra.

Στενυκλήρῳ the old Dorian, or quasi Dorian, capital of Messenia, cf. Strabo 381, where Arcephontes had built his palace and established a residence (cf. Pausan. 4. 3. 7), situated on a plain

(Pausan. 4. 33. 4) in the midst of the land a natural meeting place for the Messenians (Paus. 4. 8. 6); in fact, the centre of the upper of the two plains is to which the low Messenian is usually divided; cf. Curtius, *Delosmessenica* 1241. It was an unwarlike place, however, and has left no remains to this day.

65. 1. ἐν δὲ Πλαταιῆσι. "on return to Platæa," the name of the city for the land; cf. c. 15 supra. Even so, there may be an inaccuracy. The actual scene of the Persian siege was perhaps rather in the confines of Hydruntum in the land of Patra proper, though the position occupied at the Androkratonion and Gargaphia had no doubt been in τὸ Πλαταιῆσι, cf. c. 25 supra.

2. ἐτράποντο back taken as unwarlike passage, but rendered as *sursum conversi sunt*; Stein (more accurately) as *sursum vertebantur*.

3. οὐδένα κόσμον: cf. c. 217. The Persians may have advanced originally in good order; not so, however, the rest of the barbarians ἐλθόν, cf. c. 64 supra.

τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ ἐώντων appears to be distinguished from τὰ τοῖχος τὸ τοῖχος to this extent, that the στρατόπεδον was considerably larger than the τοῖχος, cf. c. 15 supra. But Stein's theory that the τοῖχος was on the south side of the Ampoi and the στρατόπεδον on the north side of the Ampoi, and apparently quite distinct and separate is hardly satisfactory. The distance between the στρατόπεδον and the τοῖχος is perfectly sound and intelligible, even if both were on the same side of the river and hardly continuous with each other; it is a distinction in position to that between ἡ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως Δαμῆς the addition of the words ἐπὶ τοῖσιν οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν δὲ ἐκείνῳ πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν that the τοῖχος was on Thasian territory where the στρατόπεδον was not. And if that were the meaning, when the στρατόπεδον would have to be placed

καὶ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος τὸ ξυλινὸν τὸ ἐποίησαντο ἐν μίρῃ τῇ
 5 Θηβαίδι. θῶμα δέ μοι ὅπως παρὰ τῆς Δημήτρος το ἄλσος
 μαχομένων οὐδέ εἰς ἐφάνη τῶν Περσέων οὔτε ἐσελθὼν ἐς τὸ
 τέμενος αὔτε ἐναποθιγῶν, περὶ τε τὸ ἶρὸν οἱ πλείστοι ἐν τῷ
 βεβήλῳ ἔπεσον. δοκέω δέ, εἴ τι περὶ τῶν θείων πραγμάτων

5 *thōma* Pa. Stein¹ | περὶ τῆς 2 7 περὶ τὸ ἶρον· οἱ δὲ πλείστοι B1
 'fortasse teitima ei π. τ. ε. ut glossaria delevimus' van H. | τῷ fortasse
 delend. cens. Kallenberg

mouth of the river, and the τεῖχος north,
 whereas Stein places the τεῖχος south
 and the στρατοπέδον north

In my opinion the camp (στρατοπέδον)
 and the fort (τεῖχος) were continuous,
 the camp was on the left north bank
 of the Anagros, along the road from
 Mytilene to Thebes; the fortified portion
 of the camp may have been projected
 across the river or to the south bank,
 so that a part of the river flowed right
 through the fortification, or at least a
 side channel may have been fastened to
 the south of the river on the mud road.
 This τεῖχος was an *island* to the στρατοί
 in any case, at a κρησφικτον in case
 of disaster. cp. c. 15 *supra*. It probably
 contained the quarters of all the com-
 batants, and naturally of the Persians
 and picked troops.

4 ἐν μίρῃ τῇ Θηβαίδι· *miris* *miris* is
 as strictly topical as it ever can be; cp.
 8. 23 τῇ ἑλλομένη μίρῃ τῇ δὲ τῇ
 Ἰωνικῇ τῇ τῇ παραθαλάσσιαι χώρῃ
 πάλαι ἐπιδόμας, 5. 67 ἄλσος δὲ τῇ
 χώρῃ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ
 ἐλλομένη ἀποδοχόντι τῇ τῇ τῇ τῇ
 μίρῃ. There is no time to resist the
 word here to one side of the Anagros, least
 of all the south side. ἡ Θηβαία μίρῃ is
 all the portion of Boeotia—the dominion
 of Thebes; it cannot be distinguished
 from ἡ Θηβαία γῆ nor from αὐτῶν Θηβαίων
 χώροι cp. c. 15 *supra*. But, at least
 according to Ptolemy and Hecataeus, the Anagros
 was the boundary. 6. 108.

5. θῶμα δέ μοι the cause of this
 miracle Hdt. explains just now as a
 direct divine intervention to bring about
 the given result. On the assumption
 that the Demetrian question is marked
 by the church of St. Demetrios Dr.
 strongly explains the fact by the loss
 of the ground—the Persians in rushing back
 to their лагер and camp would naturally
 avoid the way of climbing up the hill,
 on the top of which the Demetrian was
 situated, and would naturally run along

the lower slopes and stream valleys. A.
 A² either side the 'Long Ridge'. The
 passage suggestion remains equally
 valid whether the noted fugitives were
 mounted or on foot. But it is possible
 that Maronides himself had supposed
 this hill during the battle, in order to
 survey the action; and Hdt. (or his
 source) would have had some excuse
 for wonder if the area had not been
 within the field of battle. At an earlier
 stage in the proceedings the Persians
 may have been held by the Spartans
 (Amompharetoi cp. c. 68 *supra*). Hdt.
 does not say that no Greeks fought or
 fell within the enclosure. See also next
 note.

τῆς Δημήτρος το ἄλσος: this grove
 (cp. 7. 107) is a new feature in the
 Herodotean landscape and may very
 suitably be imagined growing round the
 church of St. Demetrios, upon the hill-
 top, which is of distinctly conical forma-
 tion. Hdt. apparently conceives the
 point as the very centre and centre of
 the plot, as *ἐκ κέντρου*, so *τῇς* Hecataeus,
 fell in the immediate vicinity of the
 Holy Place, though upon unexcavated
 ground (ἐν τῷ βεβήλῳ cp. Thuc. 4. 67.
 3). As the Persians are here in flight
 the slaughter among them may well
 have been great, but we can scarcely
 feel quite sure that the cause of the
 Persians was quite as Hdt. reports. It
 doubt *bona fide*, the statement is as
 exactly what would a foreigner have
 been believed and could have seen *bona*
fide.

4 δοκέω δέ· an expression of un-
 certainty, cp. c. δοκέω 7. 106 and
δοκέω δὲ δὲ, 4. 170 7 145—proceeding
 and followed by purely human matters,
 such as the numbers of the Persian forces,
 but perhaps not applicable *per se* to divine
 πραγμάτων. This *δοκέω* is not an ex-
 pression of hesitating or Hdt.'s own,
 but see us to arise rather from a belief
 in the exclusive nature of the gods, and

δοκεῖν δέ, ἡ θεὸς αὐτῇ σφας οὐκ εἶδεκετο ἐμπρήσαντας τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Ἐλευσίνῃ ἀνάκτορον.

Αὕτη μὲν νυν ἡ μάχη ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο ἰγίνετο. Ἀρτάβαζος δὲ ὁ Φαρνάκος αὐτίκα τε οὐκ ᾔρσκετο κατ' ἀρχὰς λιπομύην Μαρδονίου ἀπὸ βασιλέως, καὶ τότε πολλὰ ἀπαγορεύων

Ὁ δοκεῖν A, van II. εἶδεκετο CPMace. : || τὸ ἱρὸν del. Valkenaer, Holzer, van II. 10 ἡλεσίνου B | ἀνακτόρου BPaet. : del. Breasow 66. 1 τοσοῦτον B. 2 ᾔρσκετο : || καταρχας ABPa. | λιπομύην : 3 ἐν van II. || βασιλῆος :

an apprehension, that such speculations might be visited with a punishment: οὐ γὰρ το σφαιδὲν μέγα, ὁ θεὸς ἄλλον ἢ αὐτὸν 7. 10.

Ὁ σφας οὐκ εἶδεκετο, 'rejected them,' refused them entrance. *δοκεῖν*, *no. xi. λέγειν*, or *δοκίμειν*. Would the Greeks have spared the lives of any Persians found in the Holy Place, or simply have taken them out and *καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ*? Hitt does not go so far as to say that Demeter interfered directly to preserve the victory of the Greeks, any more than Hera, c. 6 *supra*. The story of the war is certainly very free from the miracle manifest, apart from the Delphic apology (8. 36 ff.). Cp. Introduction, § 11.

ἐμπρήσαντας τὸ ἐν Ἐλευσί-
The outrage has not been expressly recorded before, cp. cc. 13, 14 *supra*. Mardonius has put the matter on the wrong horse, c. 42 *supra*. It is not clear whether the destruction at Eleusis was in 480 B.C. 8. 30, or in the present year (c. 4 *supra*). Hitt defends both ἱρὸν and ἀνάκτορον in this passage. Valmieser had commented τὸ ἱρὸν, *ἱερὸν ἀνάκτορον*. Hitt nowhere else uses the word. Euripides applies it to 1. Delphic temple of Apollo, *Andr.* 1157, 1215; 2. Laconic temple of Artemis, *Iph.* 7. 41, 66. (3) Trojan temples. *Iand.* 17. *Κυανεῖα*, 2. 14. 4, of. part of the Domesticon at Kerkira, near Patmos. In Athenaeus first apparently, we get the word used with a special or restricted reference to Eleusis. *Εἰς τὸ σφαιδὲν ἀνάκτορον τὸν θεοῦ*, cp. 107. Dr Fraser has suggested that it designated the Great Hall of Eleusis τὸ ἐν Ἐλευσίνῃ, cp. n. to Pausan. l.c. But Pollux l. v. still has ἀνάκτορον (*μεγαλὴν καὶ ἀνελὴν*) for the *ἀδελφὸν* or *αἰὶν χαλκὸν ὁ ἵερὸν τοῦ θεοῦ*, i.e. of any temple. ἀνάκτορον is, of course, the house of the *ἀνα* or *ἀνασσα*,

66. 1. αὕτη ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο ἰγίνετο
'in this battle nothing further took place'. i.e. the battle between the Spartans and the Persians, which is here treated as though it were whole and complete in itself. To the Persian combatants must be added the other non-Hellene divisions, which have also been represented as taking part in 'this battle,' cp. c. 50 *supra*. Hitt's method of treating the conflict between the Persians and Spartans as one battle, and the conflict between the Athenians and Thebans as another, overestimates probably more or less the differences in his sources; while some failure in his sources may help to account for his inadequate treatment of the fortunes of the centre. Moreover, Hitt here makes an effort to mark the exact point in the struggle at which Artabazus took his departure (when the battle had reached this point, Artabazus—*εὐφυὲς* reader. With his departure, departed the Macedonians and others in the Persian right wing, when he probably accompanied).

Ἀρτάβαζος, ὁ Φαρνάκος the patronymic is so little used for by the occasion, that it may better be supposed a repetition from the source of the romantic story which ensues.

2 αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχάς, from the very first'. cp. for the expression 7. 66, and for the situation referred to 3. 16, 126. The use of *ἀπὸ* instead of *κατ'* is remarkable, cp. 7. 102, 6. 2, etc.

3 καὶ τότε not the point reached in the narrative in the immediate context, but a much earlier one, viz. in c. 41 *supra* (a backward reference).

πολλὰ ἀπαγορεύων οὕτω φωνὴν ἔειπε τὸν λόγονον put into the mouth of a Persian in the story of Themistocles, c. 19 *supra*. πολλὰ φωνάτω ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος

οὐδὲν ἦννε, συμβάλλειν οὐκ ἔδω· ἐποίησέ τε αὐτὸς τοιαύτῃ
 5 οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενος τοῖσι πρηγμασι τοῖσι ἐκ Μαρδονίου ποιε-
 μένοισι. τῶν ἐστρατήγεω ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος (εἶχε δὲ δύναμιν οὐκ
 ὀλίγην ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τέσσαρας μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων περὶ ἑωυτόν).
 τούτους, ὅπως ἢ συμβολὴ ἐγίνετο, εὖ ἐξεπιστάμενος τὰ ἐμελλε
 ἀποβήσεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης, ἦγε κατηρτημένους, παραγγέλλων

εἰ δὲ om. αἰ', Holder 7 τέσσαρας A (K V) αὐτὸν B
 ἐγίνετο B 9 συμβήσεσθαι S ἀπὸ τῆς μεχης αἰσένδῃ Kullen-
 berg ἦγε BF. 2. ἦγε κατηρτημένους α, Stein, Holder. κατηρτημένους B.
 van H. κατηρτημένους (F. Marc. κατηρτισμένοις, Krüger, Naehr. κατηρτη-
 μένους? Blakeley: κατηρτισμένους) van H.

4. συμβάλλειν οὐκ ἔδω *prohibere*,
 arguing against, 'trying to prevent a
 general engagement, cp. c. 41 *παρε-
 κέει ἀναμειδυνόντων συμβάλλοντας*.

ἐποίησέ τε: this τε marks the
 climax after the two items marked by
 the previous τε and καί, cp. c. 28 *εὐρεῖται*.

5. ἀρεσκόμενος: passive not used,
 as in 4. 128. The active is used with
 accusative of the person, as well as with the
 dative 3. 142), so 3. 34, 4. 73, and
 7. 140.

ἦγε, instead of ἐπὶ, cp. 7. 175; cp.
 α. 64 *supra*.

The *anecdote* which follows may
 help to mark the laboured character of
 the apology for Artabazus, which is far
 from coherent or sane in its argument.
 As Stein points out, H. II. (or rather,
 perhaps, his source) is at pains to explain
 and justify the treacherous conduct of
 Artabazus, while Blakeley regards the
 difficulty as arising from an "Hellenic
 interpretation" of a proceeding which
 the Greeks did not understand, he even
 accepts the suggestion of 8. 126 that the
 reputation of Artabazus was raised by
 his conduct at Paltum, that is, the skill
 with which he brought off his division.
 It is quite possible that the action,
 position, and proceedings of Artabazus
 have not been correctly envisaged by
 Greek tradition and that, imperfect
 information having created a problem,
 apologetics were added in to reconcile
 the facts of the subsequent career of
 Artabazus with his supposed conduct at
 Paltum. But if Artabazus was really at
 Paltum with 40,000 men, no amount of
 insight or foresight, of wit or wisdom,
 could conceal or excuse his shameful
 treachery to Mardonius, and thereby to
 the Persian cause. However the Greek
 idea that he was in Boiotia, or within

reach of Marathon at the time of the
 battle may be erroneous. It is this idea
 which creates the problem.

6. εἶχε, 'was in command of
 δύναμιν, cp. 4. 185. The 40,000 men of
 this passage may be reconciled with the
 60,000 of 8. 126 by the supposition
 that Artabazus had lost 20,000 in the
 siege of Poladara and his other opera-
 tions; but his harmony is our own
 doing. We are in the presence of more
 or less independent stories and, it can-
 be of independent estimates of the
 numbers under Artabazus' command.
 Each figure represents a division of
 60,000, or one sixth of the Grand Army;
 but, perhaps, in the case of a number
 of cavalry has been added, and in the
 other case subtracted, or not included.
 The position assigned to Artabazus in
 tradition makes him only a lieutenant
 to Mardonius and discounts the larger
 estimate of the latter's army. More-
 over, 40,000 is just about the figure
 for the Makedonians and Hellespon-
 tian, minus the Thracians (cp. next),
 a number which suggests that in
 present to the battle of Plataea he
 was in command of the right wing,
 including the Makedonians, most of the
 Greeks, etc. Their attitude and conduct
 may help to explain his.

7. ἀνθρώπων, as frequently; cp. index.
 8. εὖ ἐξεπιστάμενος: the verb is
 fairly common and denotes rea-
 soning, knowledge. Artabazus was the speaker
 εὖ ἐπὶ c. 41 *supra*, and his conduct
 itself according to the story *εὖ ἐπὶ* the
 actions of a previous and present
 time. *εὖ ἐπὶ* c. 41, *εὖ ἐπὶ* c. 41.

9. κατηρτημένους. *κατὰ* is the
 participial suffix and
 meaning 'well ordered'
εὖ ἐπὶ c. 41, *εὖ ἐπὶ* c. 41.

κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ἵναί πάντας τῇ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐξηγήται <καί> ὅπως 10
 ἂν αὐτὸν ὁρώσι σπουδῆς ἔχοντα. ταῦτα παραγγέλους ὡς ἐς
 μάχην ἦγε δῆθεν τὸν στρατόν. προτερίων δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ ὄρῃ
 καὶ δὴ φεύγοντας τοὺς Πέρσας· οὗτοι δὲ οὐκέτι τὸν αὐτοῦ
 κύσμον κατηγέτο, ἀλλὰ τὴν ταχίστην ἐτρόχαζε φεύγων οὔτε
 ἐς τὸ ξύλινον οὔτε ἐς τὸ Θηβαίων τεῖχος ἀλλ' ἐς Φωκίαν, 15
 ἐβόλων ὡς τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλησποντον ἀπικισθαι, καὶ 67
 δὴ οὗτοι μὲν ταύτῃ ἐτράποντο· τὸν δὲ ἄλλον Ἑλλήνων τῶν

10 κατὰ τοῦτο B. κατ' αὐτὸ Pz | ἐξηγήται Bz: ἐξηγήται τελευτῇ,
 Holzer, van H. | <καί> Stein² 11 ἂν οὐκ B ὁρώσι z, Stein¹,
 van H. 12 προτερίων I' προτερίων z | ὄρῃ Stein² ὄρῃ σ'· ὄρῃ B,
 Stein¹; Holzer, van H. 15 ἐς R ξιλινον τε χος S, Holzer, Palen
 et al. ἔξω post Θηβαίων τελευτῇ | ἀλλὰ a 67 2 ἄλλων exel.
 van H.

lion and rebellion as his part, delib-
 erately, of not purpose. But the words
 οὗτοι δὲ οὐκέτι τὸν αὐτοῦ κύσμον κατηγέτο
 far as point to the meaning of the word
 here, whatever its form, as having a
 finite material reference to the order and
 arrangement of the men being led. 'well
 being, well adjusted, well ordered.' The
 verb καταγω as virtual γ-καταγω
 is common, and in any case τῶν ep. 3
 M. and App. Gr. t. Krüger has κατα-
 γέτοισι with accus. or transit. voice,
 'marched or in general led', 'after
 putting them in battle array' or march-
 ing array; καταγεσμένους ἑστηπὶ βασιλῆς,
 S. 1121 is of course to be taken as
 passive.

13 κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ἵναί . . τῇ ἂν αὐτὸς
 ἐξηγήται exel. S. ch. directions might be
 given by the leader of a company but
 are absurd as the general orders of the
 commander of a corps d'armée. κατὰ
 τὸ αὐτὸ may mean 'in the same way'
 (nearly misinterpreting Stein . . σπουδῆς),
 or as 'marched direction' (nearly anti-
 cipating τῇ . . ἐξηγήται, or it might be
 taken to cover both, or possibly it might
 have the sense of keeping together not
 breaking ranks (ep. παύσαι = They are
 to march, all together, they are to follow
 him, and not to exceed or fall short of
 his pace or speed σπουδῇ ep. c. 59
 infra). Marcellus had led his men
 δρομῶ, c. 53 supra; Artabazus probably
 was leading his μάχη and they all
 do all that by keeping their eyes on him
 (ὁρώσι). Hdt. takes the march of
 60,000 men as though it were the
 excursion of a small mountaineering

party. The apostroph may say that the
 general's orders were issued to his
 officers martialis, strategici; even so,
 they are irrational.

11. ὅς ἐς μάχην . . ὅθεν: appar-
 ently he led them at first in battle-array,
 and, presumably in the direction of
 Plataeae, but what was his starting point?
 Was he on the Δεσποί, in command of
 the right? Or was he at Thebes in
 command of the right? Or was he even
 further away? He had been marching
 some four days on the route of the Persians
 since to his knowledge (ὄρῃ).

12. προτερίων, ep. c. 67 supra καὶ
 δὴ ἦτορ c. 64 supra

13. οὐκέτι τὸν αὐτοῦ κύσμον κατηγέτο
 He apparently changed from battle-
 array into marching order, substituting
 the ἄσπετος for the αἶμα, and ἐτρόχαζε,
 'wheeled' round or revolved only
 'wheeled along, he ran up Acrophi.
 Anab. 7. 3. 40, first to Plataeae, with a
 view to reaching the 'Hellespont'. He
 had previously succeeded their falling
 back on τὸ τεῖχος τοῦ Θηβαίων, c. 17.
 Hellespont may here be used in the
 latest sense; he made for Byzantium
 c. 25.

67. 2. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων . . ἐβόλων
 κούρων. 'The other Greeks' are in
 contrast to the Boeotians, and must be
 taken to cover the Makedonians, and to
 number, on Hdt.'s own showing, at least
 40,000 (ep. c. 32 supra).

τῶν μετὰ βασιλέως: ep. c. 61
 supra. The action, or inaction, of these
 'H-hens' is most remarkable and
 Hdt. seems to make curiously little of

μετὰ βασιλέως ἐβηλοκακευτων, Βοιωτοὶ Ἀθηναίοισι ἐμαχίσαντο χρόνον ἐπὶ συκίων· οἱ γὰρ μηδίζοντες τῶν Θηβαίων, οἵτις εἶχον προθυμίην οὐκ ὀλίγην μαχόμενοι τε καὶ οὐκ ἐβηλοκακευτες, οὕτω ὥστε τριηκόσιοι αὐτῶν οἱ πρότεροι καὶ ἀριστοὶ ἐνθαῦτα ἔπεσον ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων. ὡς δὲ ἐτράποντο καὶ οὗτοι, ἔφευγον εἰς τὰς Θήβας, οὐ τῇ περ οἱ Πέρσαι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ὁ πᾶς ὄμιλος, οὔτε διαμαχεσόμενος οὐδεὶς οὔτε τι 68 ἀποδεξιόμενος, ἔφεινον. δηλοῖ τέ μοι ὅτι πάντα τὰ πρῆγμα-

3 βασιλέως R βασιλῆος z 4 ἐπὶ σικίων οιο. R 5 ἔχον : μαχόμενοι BP μαχόμενοι 6 αὐτῶν c 8 οὐ τῇ περ R, c. r. Holder: οὐ τῇ περ Bekker, van H: οὐκ ὅ post Πέρσαι in c. r. H. Holder, van H, pterique 9 διαμαχεσόμενος Krueger | οὐδεὶς R 10 ἀποδεξιόμενος τι P: ἀποδεξιόμενοι Krueger 68. 1 τε ἐμοὶ B

it. On his own showing some 60,000 of Marathon's allies are taken, of whom then useless, in the morning hour. None of the Greeks on the Persian side, with the exception of the Thebans, showed any spirit: the whole right wing, with that one exception, was *hors de combat*. This arrangement left a very easy field for the Athenians. Was there not already an understanding to this effect? The omission of any explicit notice of the Macedonians at this point is remarkable. The action of Artabazus and his section of the army can hardly be divorced from the action, or inaction, of these meddling Greeks.

3. Βοιωτοὶ Ἀθηναίοισι ἐμαχίσαντο. This situation is apparently treated almost as a separate *adyn*. Βοιωτοὶ might cover more than Θηβαῖοι. The golden abilis indicated by the Athenians at Delphi ἀπὸ Μήδων καὶ Ὀψάμων (Aeschylus in *Septem* 117), if genuine, may represent the political position of the Thebans as invaders of Boeotia at the time, but perhaps rather expresses the intensity of anti-Theban feeling at Athens. The very next words leave a row that even in Thebes the Thebans were divided.

4 οἱ μηδίζοντες τῶν Θηβαίων imply the presence of others, as too Thucyd. 3. 68, 3 f. in a Theban speech.

6. τριηκόσιοι αὐτῶν a favorite, perhaps a conventional figure of ἄριστοι καὶ ἀριστοὶ has a strong political flavour about it, though this is a delicate question in one of these words.

7. ἔφεινον ὑπὸ· cp. c. 37 *supra*. καὶ οὕτω, 'as well, as the Persians'. Can we be quite sure that the fight between the Athenians and the Thebans

out lasted the fight between the Spartans and the Persians? The latter part of the Athenians at the battle of Marathon is hardly possible to be easily accounted for, but otherwise, by a greater distance to cover, by an inferior force, how far to retreat and when. Yet it is possible that the retreat, or flight, of the Thebans in Persians' right wing was hastened not so much by the valor of the Athenians, as by the victory of the Spartans over the other wing. That conclusion is suggested by the way in which Herodotus has isolated the operations upon the right from those upon the left, to say nothing of the retreat of Artabazus and his myriads.

8 οὐ τῇ περ οἱ Πέρσαι by a different road to that taken by the Persians. No doubt the Thebans retreated along the direct road from Plataea to Thebes, while the Persians retreated to Thebes as far as possible by the bridge on the other road, from Eleuthera to Thebes.

τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων can hardly mean the ordinary Greeks, who have been already accounted for, nor yet the numerous contingents of Artabazus, but rather refers to the nations, other than the Persians proper, included in the forces of Marathon, c. c. 31 *supra*. The βαρβάρων πλὴν οἱ οὐκ ἴσμεν ἄλλων is idiomatic, for her the Persians nor the Thebans are here referred to as *συνμαχοί*.

8 διόλου cp. c. 60 *supra*. διαμαχεσθαι imply to mean 'to fight to a finish', cp. c. 4^o *supra*. ἀποδεξασθαι (N B. middle τι, cp. c. 27 *supra*).

68. 1. ὅλοι Schweighauser, followed

τῶν βαρβάρων ἤρτητο ἐκ Περσίων, εἰ καὶ τότε οὗτοι πρὶν ἢ καὶ συμμίζει τοῖσι πολέμοισι ἔφευγον, ὅτι καὶ τοῖς Πέρσαις ὄρων. οὕτω τε πάντες ἔφευγον πλὴν τῆς Ἰππου τῆς τε ἄλλης καὶ τῆς Βοιωτῆς· αὕτη δὲ τοσαῦτα προσηφέει τοὺς 5 φεύγοντας, αἰεὶ τε πρὸς τῶν πολέμιων ἀγχιστα εὐδσα ἀπέρ. γουσα τε τοὺς φίλους φεύγοντας ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ νικῶντες εἶποντο τοὺς Ξέρξει διώκοντές τε καὶ 69 φανεύοντες. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ γινομένῳ φόβῳ ἀγγέλλεται τοῖσι

2 ἤρτητο B 3 συμμίζει van H., Stein⁵ || ὅτι σοσι. Stein¹
4 ὄρων B. εὐρων 6 ἀπέρ. γουσα libri corr. Stein 69 1 τε
om Pz 3 φόνει A⁹· πάμπ Wesseling, 'fortasse recte' van H.

by Stein taken as impersonal, cp. 2 117. Baskley objects to its impersonality and translates 'it proves to me that . . .', a translation not commensurate with impersonality. In fact ὅλοι should be more significant than ἄλλοι *etc.*, but there is no expressed support for it. τε seems to have a enumerative force, cp. c. 66 supra.

2 ἤρτητο ἐκ, 'derived as'. The pluralist can hardly be pressed as meaning that all that is now a thing of the past, cp. 8. 109 ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ἐκ ἐκείνου καὶ ἐκ αὐτοῦ ἤρτηται, l. 135, 2. 15 ταῦτα πάντα, l. 10 311 supra.

οὗτοι cannot refer to the same body of men as the οὗτοι just above, but whether it refers to αἱ ἄλλαι Ἑλλήνες or merely βασιλεὺς or to τῶν ἄλλων στρατῶν δὲ οὗτοι βασιλεὺς, or into vaguely in Latin *etc.*, is not quite clear. The first reference is rather remote, the second rather positive, inasmuch as Hist. is concerned with the action on the right wing of Mardonius' army. The nearest point would be made by the omission of c. 67, in which case οὗτοι would refer to Artabazus and the men under his command as do the words καὶ δὲ οὗτοι μὲν εὐρὺν δεινύοντο. Possibly c. 67 is an insertion by the author, and was not in the original draft of the battle-piece: it is intended to recall the Athenians to mind. If that is the case, the next sentence too is probably an addition (ὅσον τε . . . τῶν Ἑλλήνων). Cp. Introduction, § 9.

3 συμμίζει, cf. Loutchoulogues, c. 48 supra.

4 ὄρων μὲν φανεύοντες.

πάντες ἔφευγον. In c. 69 supra

the Persians have been routed, and in c. 68 have fled as far as they could. In c. 68 Artabazus and his men have fled to Thebes. In c. 67 the Thebans have fled to the Othos, and ὁ πᾶς δαίμων have followed the Persians.

πλὴν τῆς Ἰππου, the cavalry generally on both wings, may have covered the retreat, or 'fled' to some extent, but the Persian left wing does not appear to profit much by its cavalry while the Boeotian cavalry does appear as active and effectively engaged. The Persian camp is reached and captured while the Thebans make good their retreat to Thebes. τῆς τε ἄλλης καὶ ὁὗτοι may be rather justifiable. The appearance of the Persian cavalry on the left wing is something of a problem, did it ride off with Artabazus?

5 τοσούτοις refers to what follows (παράδει), viz. the cavalry kept close to the enemy and screened the men who were in flight. ἀπέρ. γουσα τοῖς φίλοις ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων might rather have been ἀπέρ. γουσα τοῖς Ἑλλήνων ἀπὸ τῶν φίλων. With πρὸς τῶν π. cp. K 27.

69 1 οἱ . . . νικῶντες, 'the victors' primarily the Lakedaemonians; cp. the passage reported just below.

τοὺς Ξέρξαι· i.e. the barbarians; the term usually includes τοὺς μὲν βασιλεὺς Ἑλλήνων. Mardonius is no more, but the phrase is perhaps merely conventional, and hardly chosen as primarily with that reference.

2 ἐν δὲ τούτῳ . . . φόβῳ, 'at the beginning of this event' ἐν, temporal cp. c. 60 supra.

φόβος=φίλος, 'the only name in Homer' (L. & S.).

ἄλλοις Ἕλλησι τοῖσι τεταγμένοις περὶ τὸ Ἥραιον καὶ ἀπογενομένοις τῆς μάχης. ὅτι μύχῃ τε γέγονε καὶ νικήσεν οἱ μετὰ Πausanίῳ· οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα, οὐδένα κόσμον ταχθέντες οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ Κορινθίους ἐτίρπουντο διὰ τῆς ὑπάρξεως

3 ἄλλοις οἱ R || περὶ τὸ Ἥραιον (ῥαῖον F) τεταγμένοις B
τε οἱ Macc. 6 παυσανίῳ B 6 ὑπάρξει B

3. τοῖσι . . περὶ τὸ Ἥραιον: cp. c. 52 *supra*; it is admitted here too that they were τεταγμένοι. The whole centre, both right and left, is here apparently involved, see below.

4 ἀπογενομένοις τῆς μάχης: qui pugnare non interfuerunt (Bosch). In 2. 45, 128, 3, 111, 3, 4 ἀπογίνεσθαι means 'to die.'

μάχῃ τε γέγονε καὶ νικήσεν οἱ μετὰ Πausanίῳ, 'a battle has taken place Pausanias and his men being victorious.' The combination of mood- and tenses in this message is remarkable, the indicative and optative in a new but similar fashion 3. 100 δῶκε. διῆναι, καὶ οἱ ἐπείκουσιν εἰς, 3. 111 ἔσαν ἀπὸ αἱ Ἀθηναίη μορφαὶ τε καὶ εὐδαίμονες, αἱ οὐ θῶκε χοροὶ καὶ ἥκουσιν εἰς. The present optative here is remarkable—even in this context, with the antecedent perfect, it could hardly be imperfect (γέγονε can hardly mean merely 'has begun'). Just about the same moment, or a little later in the day, *ex hypothesi*, substantially the same power was spread through the army on the strand at Mykaia, c. 100 *infra*; but here οἱ μετὰ Π is emphatic, and does not include the Athenians.

5. οὐδένα κόσμον ταχθέντες: a suspicious assertion, reducing them almost to the level of the barbarians in c. 59 *supra*.

6. οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ Κορινθίους: Schweighauser, Krueger, Buchz. and others, have interpreted this merely of the Corinthians, and so the corresponding phrase below merely of the Megarians and Phliasians. This interpretation is neither grammatically nor historically tenable. The phrase means 'the Corinthians and those with them,' and partly covers 'the right centre' as announced in c. 28 *supra*, comprising some 11,300 hoplites, in six (or eight) divisions, from the Corinthians on the extreme left (next the Lakedaimonians and Thespians) to the Mykenians and Corinthians on the right, i.e. just at the very middle of the Greek line.

This body, the right centre, is here dimly reported as detaching itself from the Heraion, where it had been duly disposed and drawn up in order (of battle), through, or over the skirts of the mountain and the ringland, by the way leading up to the temple of Demeter.

This notice at first sight suggests that they are going to the help of Pausanias in the position of the Lakedaimones as described in cc. 56, 67 *supra*. But Pausanias is *ex hypothesi* already victorious, and does not need their assistance; and in fact nothing more is heard of this body of men and ~~the~~ it started movement, οὐδένα κόσμον ταχθέντες, started without waiting for any orders.

There is the same ambiguity here as elsewhere in regard to the exact extent of the *ὄπισθεν*, as regard to the identity of the *κόσμοι* in regard to the precise one of three Demetrias which may have been involved in the movement, perhaps also as to the exact point of time at which this movement of the right centre took place. It is curious, too, that no message reaches this body of men summoning them like the Athenians c. 60 *supra* to the aid of Pausanias.

But cp. note to c. 61 13 *supra*! The precise manner and chronology of the orders, messages, movements in various parts of the field of battle are not exactly presented by Hdt. Perhaps the division of the Greek army forming the right centre had been detached and deployed on to the road from Patara to Athens (Ὀρεστιάδα), for the purpose of blocking it against the Persian cavalry and was actually so engaged, when the Lakedaimonians were reaching the coast of the Persian infantry lower down the slope or had even already put the Persians to flight. In any case the line of march here indicated for the right centre is uphill from Histiae, and its objective cannot be marked by the present centre of St Demetrios, the site of which is far below the Heraion.

καὶ τῶν κολωνῶν τὴν φερούσαν ἄνω ἰθὺ τοῦ ἱραὶ τῆς
Δήμητρος, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Μεγαρίας τε καὶ Φλειασίους διὰ τοῦ
πεδίου τὴν λειοτάτην τῶν ὁδῶν. ἰπείτε δὲ ἀγχοῦ τῶν πολεμίων
ἐγίνοντο οἱ Μεγαρίες καὶ Φλειάσιαι, ὑπιδόντες σφίρας οἱ τῶν
θηβαίων ἱππῶται ἐπείγομένους οὐδένα κόσμον ἤλαινον ἐπ’
αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἵππους, τῶν ἱππάρχες Ἀσπυδάωρος ὁ Τιμάνδρου,
ἐσπεσόντες δὲ κατεστόρεσαν αὐτῶν ἑξακοσίους, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς
κατήραξαν διώκοντες ἐς τὸν Κεθαίρωνα.

Οὔτοι μὲν δὴ ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἀπώλοντο· οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι 70
καὶ ὁ ἄλλος ὄμιλος, ὥς κατέφυγον ἐς τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος.

7 τὸν κολωνὸν Marc. | ἄνω σμ. B 10 ὑπιδόντες. || τῶν σμ. B,
Hollzer 11 ἐπείγομένους Marc. 12 τοὺς ἵππους σμ. van II
13 κατεστόρεσαν B || αὐτῶν : 14 κατήραξαν Marc. : 70. 1
prol. λόγῳ ἐκείδωσ ὄντες vel γενόμενοι αἰμαρ, van II.

8 οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Μεγαρίας τε καὶ
Φλειασίους. The left centre, comprising
the Megarians, Phleians, and others
in their division, a force of 7400
hoplites, op. c. 78 *σμετα*. Of them it
might have been said that they *ἦσαν τὰ
ἐμπλὴν ἢ οἱ ἀμφὶ Κορωνοίης* (cp. c. 56
σμετα). As the right centre has moved,
apparently E., or S.E., to support, or
cover, the right wing, so the left centre
moves W., or N.W., to support the left
wing: διὰ τοῦ πεδίου τὴν λειοτάτην
τῶν ὁδῶν, words which seem to carry a
disparaging reference with them. Of
course for the left centre to advance
down hill, on to the plain, over which
the road from Plataea to Thebes ran, to
the support of the Athenians, who were
evidently in difficulties (cp. c. 81 *σμετα*),
was a gallant enough proceeding; but
the Athenians do not appear to have
been very grateful therefor.

10 ὑπιδόντες op. 8, 27

12 τῶν ἱππάρχων op. c. 20 *σμετα*;
the τῶν should be referred to ἱππῶτας.

Ἀσπυδάωρος ὁ Τιμάνδρου. Of
Timandros the father nothing more is
known, but this Aspodorus may well
be the father of that Herodotus, of
Thebes, in whose honour Plutarch com-
missioned an Epitaphion. *lith.* 1. The family,
which was, of course, aristocratic and
military, had some connexion with
Orchomenos (op. c. 35); op. c. 16 *σμετα*.
To these circumstances may be due the
remembrance of the exploit here re-
corded.

13 κατεστόρεσαν αὐτῶν ἑξακοσίους.
The heavy loss, and the consequent

flight of the left centre ἐς τὸν Κεθαίρωνα,
can hardly have taken place after the
victory of the Athenians over the
Boeotians already mentioned in c. 67
σμετα; it was more probably its ante-
cedent, or concomitant, at least in part;
in other words the support afforded to
the Athenians, on the extreme left, by
the left centre, enabled them to obtain a
success over the Thebans.

70-1 ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ, (as) of no
account, op. 7 14, 57 ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ
τοῖς σμ. Hdt. cannot have seen the
monument at Megara, erected in honour
of those who had fallen in the Persian
war, with an epigram, in whole or part
ascribable to Simonides (through of
doubtful authenticity) containing a
distich especially referable to the courage
of the Megarians in facing the cavalry
at Plataea, op. c. 21 *σμετα*; Hantvoet,
de Pseudothetide etc. [p. 73, 22-24
(176) 1141. The silence or rather
the explicit statement of Hdt. might be
added to the *passim* evidence against
the authenticity of the epigram, or even
against its existence in the time of Hdt.
But such an argument supplies too
scarcely a standard to Hdt.'s methods,
and though the inscription is certainly
late, the verses are certainly early.

οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι καὶ ὁ ἄλλος ὄμιλος.
The narrative returns to the fortunes of
the Persians left the Greek right, op.
c. 65 *σμετα*. The ἄλλος is certainly
‘the other,’ as well as even in their
flight the Persians proper are not to be
mixed with ὁ ὄμιλος ὁ πᾶς ὄμιλος of
c. 67 *σμετα*.

ἔφθησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πύργους ἀναβάντες πρὶν ἢ τοὺς Λακεδαι-
μονίους ἀπικέσθαι, ἀναβάντες δὲ ἐφράξαντο ὡς ἡδυνάτο ἀριστα
5 τὸ τείχος· προσελθόντων δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων κατεστήκει σφι
τειχομαχίῃ ἔρρωμενέστῃ. ἕως μὲν γὰρ ἀπῆσαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι
οἱ δ' ἡμύνοντο καὶ πολλῷ πλεον εἶχον τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων
ὥστε οὐκ ἐπισταμένουν τειχομαχεῖν· ὧν δὲ σφι Ἀθηναῖοι

4 ἐφράξαντο B δ' Ἀθηναίων Stein²3, van H., cfr. comment.
6 ἐπῆσαν B 7 οἷδε B | ἔχον 2 | τῶν Ἀθηναίων Stein² | σφι cfr.
B οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι: Maass.

3 ἐφθησαν ἐπὶ τοῖς πύργοις ἀνα-
βάντες, for the gramm. construction cp.
7 142, c. 113 *infra*. This is the first
(and last) appearance of the πύργος on
the *ἐκείνων* τείχος. The defenders, at
least the combatants among them, took
their stand apparently not upon or below
the wall, but above on these towers,
from which they hurled weapons, stones
etc., against the assailants, no doubt.

4 ἐφράξαντο· φράξαι φραγέσθαι
means properly 'to fence,' fortify cp. B.
31 *supra*, 7 142 ἡ γὰρ ἀσπίς τοις πόλε-
ων Ἀθηναίων ὅλως ἐφράξατο. (φρά-
ξαντες, κ. 7, 'blooded'.) But the exact
nature of the operation here recorded
is obscure. The line was put for
'strengthening' their wall by additional
fortifications, nor would the ascent of
the towers be the natural preliminary
to such work. φράσσειν can hardly be
watered down now merely to = φυλάσσειν,
but might perhaps be translated, put
into a posture of defence.

5 προσελθόντων δὲ τῶν Λακεδαι-
μονίων. There is a certain clumsiness
and obscurity in the way the τειχομαχίη
is described. First, the Persians and
the rest of the barbarian host made good
their escape into τὸ ἐξώτερον τείχος, and
before the arrival of the 'Lakedaemonians'
ascended the towers, and put the fort
into a posture of defence. (It is not a
case where pursuers and pursued entered
together: either their lighter equipment
or the intervention of the cavalry, c. 68
infra, entitles the barbarian minority to
outstrip its pursuers, but were not a
good many of the barbarians sent out
of the fortification.) And the pursuers
were soon rewarded by the slaughter,
c. 69 *supra*. Next, the Lakedaemonians
arrived at the fortification, and for a
while were unable to effect an entrance,
and there took place a τειχομαχίη. But
cp. App. Crit. and next note.

6, ἔρρωμενέστῃ. If the vulgar
reading above maintained the compara-
tive can only be a rhetorical elegance,
unless indeed it means that the fighting
was too much for the Lakedaemonians,
'more than they could cope with.'
Stein takes σφι to refer not to the
Persians only, but to both sides, Persians
and Greeks. He also has substituted
'Αθηναῖον for Λακεδαιμονίων. The
emendation is not convincing. If
adopted, the next sentence will have
back to explain the situation as relevant
to the arrival of the Athenians' already
recorded cp. c. 61 *supra* φράσσας γὰρ
καὶ, following ἐπιστοι καὶ καὶ, ἐπεί-
σθησαν in of course, not simply = ἐπεί
ἐπείσθη, but ἔρρωμενέστῃ may be part
of the predicate.

7, οἱ δὲ, i.e. δὲ in τείχεσσι (p. 7
51), the ἕως μὲν just before being
answered by ὡς δὲ below = of *ἡσσαν*.

πολλῷ πλεον εἶχον, 'were getting
the better of'; cp. πλεον ἔχων 4 1 and
οὐδὲν ἔλασσον εἶχον c. 102 *infra*.

8, ὥστε = ὥστε, cp. c. 37 *supra*. Herodotus
mentions instances of the failure of the Spartans
to subdue Eira, Ithome, Pylos; the story
of the siege of Epitauria (624-23 B.C.) is no
less pertinent a case. But the Athenians
were not so very much better; the siege
of Poterieia lasted two years (422-20
B.C.), no account on Syracuse occurred
during the Athenian siege (414-13 B.C.).
The failure of stone walls had always
the advantage, in the absence of heavy
machines and engines; fire or storm-
tax were the chief hopes of the besieged
(cp. Thucydides, his essay in Peloponnesus
2. 75-78). The Athenian reputation
was more or less established at the time
of the third Messenian war (743-724
B.C.), and they have not enhanced in
the narrative on Sardinia (413 B.C.)
where some engines were perhaps em-
ployed, without much success (I. March).

προσῆλθον, οὕτω δὲ ἰσχυρὴ ἐγίνετο <ῆ> τειχομαχίη καὶ χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν. τέλος δὲ ἀρετῇ τε καὶ λιπαρίῃ ἐπεβήσαν 10 Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦ τείχεος καὶ ἤρπον· τῇ δὲ ἰσείχοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες. πρῶτοι δὲ ἐσῆλθον Τεγεῆται ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν τὴν Μαρδονίου οἵτοι ἦσαν οἱ διαρπάσαντες, τί τε ἅλλα ἐξ αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν φάτνην τῶν ἵππων εἰδύσαν χαλκῆν πᾶσαν καὶ θεῆς ἀξίνην. τὴν μὲν νυν φάτνην ταύτην τὴν Μαρδονίου 15 ἀνέθεσαν ἐς τὸν υἱὸν τῆς Ἀλέης Ἀθηναίης Τεγεῆται, τὰ δὲ

9 <ῆ> *Stein*²
12 τὴν: τοῦ *B*:

11 ἤρπον *Mar.* s

12 ἐσῆλθον *Mar.*

Forster 27, op. *Diodor.* 12. 23. 8; the authority was *πορὸς Ἑβήκος*, and it is clear that the city was not captured by force, but it looks as if their reputation was based rather on the defensive aptitude of their own city, long walls, and fortified harbour than on the successes of their record in assaulting others. The Lakemonians not having any walls of their own of course could not *τειχομαχεῖν*. Cp. *Thucyd.* 1. 40. 2. The case of 'wooden walls' was vastly different; cp. *A.* 52 *supra*.

ὡς δὲ σφί. Ἀθηναῖοι προσῆλθον. A fresh stage is reached on the arrival of the Athenians; the *ἰσχυρὴ τειχομαχίη* now set up heavily enforces the *τειχομαχίη* *προμνηστικῶς* recorded just above. The sequel shows that the claim made for the Athenians is untenable: it is the Tegeatai who effected a breach (perhaps even before the arrival of the Athenians).

10. ἀρετῇ τε καὶ λιπαρίῃ; op. c. 11 *supra*, where the Megarians claim credit for this combination in a defensive position, a case to which the first term would more naturally apply. The question here is of scaling the wall *ἐπεβήσαν τοῦ τείχεος*; and effecting a breach.

11 ἤρπον: no *αὐτοῖς*, or even *αὐτοῦ*. In either case the use of the dual agrees with transitive verbs in remarkable; cp. *App. Crit.* *Hdt.* has the 1st not *ἤρπον* as 1. 131 but cp. 1. 28 *οὐκ ἔ.*

12. *πρῶτοι δὲ ἐσῆλθον Τεγεῆται* the statement is hardly reconcilable with the immediately preceding context, those who first scaled the wall and effected a breach must also have been the first to enter the fort, and vice versa; if the Tegeatai were the first to enter, the Tegeatai doubtless effected a breach for themselves. The latter is the more probable alternative; the former is

discounted by the Attic bias in *Hdt.* a source or sources for the story of Plataea, and by the obvious anomaly in this record.

τὴν σκηνὴν τὴν Μαρδονίου: the tent, or pavilion, of Mardonios was probably in or near the centre of the fortified camp, and the fact that the Tegeatai pilaged it would not seem to throw any light upon their place of entrance. The tent was perhaps, the same tent as Xerxes had used; cp. c. 82 *infra*.

13. ἔθης ἀξίνην: *the* *bird*, *he* himself seen this bronze panger *φάτνη* cannot be inferred from this description or phrase; cp. c. 25 *supra*; but he might have added this sentence or two upon the panger and its destination after his visit to the Peloponnesos. It has a somewhat parenthetical *α*, and might very well be 'second hand.' Cp. introduction, § 9.

16. τῆς Ἀλέης Ἀθηναίης. This goddess and her temple at Tegea are mentioned elsewhere, 1. 66, and in such a way as intent to suggest autopsy (more directly than anything in the present passage). The temple as it existed in *Hdt.* a day was burnt down in the year 316, 4 B.C., and the splendid temple was built by Pausanias 8. 65 B. was a later edifice; but, though it at it contained the fetters of the Spartans (8. 47 & Pausanias makes no mention of the nature of Mardonios. If the Tegeatai really found the *φάτνη* τῶς *ἵππων* in the camp of Mardonios, the white charger (*c.* 53 *supra*) must have been stable, in rather close proximity to his rider's quarters. On the further contents of the pavilion cp. c. 82 *infra*.

ἄλφα as a title of Athens is perhaps to be connected with the Arkadian town of the same name mentioned by Pausanias

ἀλλὰ ἐς τὸντὸ, ὅσα περ ἔλαδον, ἐσθρέικαν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι. οἱ δὲ βίβραροι οὐδὲν ἔτι στίφος ἐποίησαντο πεσόντας τοῦ τείχεως, οὐδὲ τις αὐτῶν ἀλκῆς ἐμέμνητο, ἀλύκταζόν τε οἷα ἐν ὀλίγῳ χώρῳ πεφραγμένοι τε καὶ πολλὰ μυριάδες κατειλημένοι ἀνθρώπων. παρὲν τε τοῖσι Ἕλλησι φανεύειν οὕτω ὥστε

17 ἀπηλκιστο B 18 στίφος R Marc. 19 οὐδὲ Stein: οὐτε
 ρις: τῆς B || αὐτῶν B 20 χάρω: χρωι B¹ pr¹, ¹ed. Krueger, van H
 || κατελθόντας P, Schwengliensis. κατελλημενοι R: κατελλημεναι V
 κατελλημέται B eis.

8-23) 1), containing a sanctuary of Athena Alea, a goddess worshipped also in Mantinea (ib. v. 0, 6). The cult was not confined actually to historic Argolis; the ruins saw a wooden image of Athena Alea on the road from Sparta to Thermopylae (ib. 19-7) and Xenophon (*Hell.* 6. 5. 27) mentions a *temple* of Alea apparently in the same place at the time of the first Theban invasion of Lakonia (393 B.C.). Tegen was undoubtedly the most important centre of the cult in historic times; 'Alea' was common to the city's former (Pausan. v. 15. 1), but Pausanias seems to distinguish clearly between the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegen and that of Alea Alea (ib. 4. 4. 9-5).

17. *de tawro . . . doxanav roiroi*
 ἔλλατοι *ec.* they brought into the
 common stock, it is not quite clear
 whether *roiroi* ἔλλατοι is an ethical aorist
pro haec pathos or loquax constructed
 with *tawro*, into the same place or the
 common lair, to which all the rest of
 the deerkins bring at their apex. There
 seems to be some little feeling of enmity
 over the possession by the Tegestae of the
 heron manger, and a hint that they
 had sacrificed it. The probability is that
 they were allowed to regard it as a special
 reward for having been first into the
 Porcan cave.

18. στείφος: cp. a 57 *στεύφος*
 πειρόντες τοῦ τεύχους: the fort.
 breasting "ind." as shown as a breast-land
 open made in the wall.

18. ἄλπη ἐμμένητο, αὐτὴ ἡμερῶν
τοπογραφία, εἰς τὴν 112. Εἰς.
ἐκείνη.

ἀλκταίον· an *ἀλκταίον* (an apparent connection with *ἀλκω* poetic), 'to be estranged', *fratricide*. (In *ἀλκταίον* *fl.* 10 94 an *if* *fratricide* *ἀλκταίον*.)

20. καταληγμέναι: a part. of καταλήγω
 λήσσω, "undoubtedly & to the end."

I take it, it is in that the reading of
Prop. App. 1st.

21. Ευθύστης: γλ. σ. 44 σημει.

apply to: the classic of, p. 6
 86 & supra. apply p. 87, the
 6, 187, 9, 23 etc. It was in
 power. The many women are
 immediately preceded an 30 & 260 0 0
 units of whom less than 30000
 history is practically & economically
 able. If we accept 3000 as about the
 number of the survivors, the force of
 Maribama's force would have to be in-
 definitely reduced but the extreme
 is fairly sure to be limited than the
 other. It is conceivable that the
 female under Artabanus in turn again
 included activity in the original
 of Maribama's army, consistently with
 8, 126 but this involves HLL in an
 inconsistency, for no here seems to
 account of the fact that Artabanus
 but started with 40,000. He also seems
 to show nothing for the losses in previous
 activities. In a statement is taken
 account to saying that 29 per cent
 were sent for of 300,000 40,000 men
 300000 escaped. The estimate might
 be introduced down to meaning that
 of the 300 000 men, taken by him as
 the estimate of the forces left with
 Maribama and still acceptable as an
 estimate for the total land forces of
 forces (see below p. 69 supra), on a
 300000 introduced to Asia from the
 campaign of 49 BC. If that was
 less than half the forces entrusted to
 Maribama and Artabanus the force
 would still have been enormous and
 might justly have as and the loss
 of corpses. See 80 supra p. 82
 Indorum 11 32 p. 82 the Persian force
 in the battle of Plataea at upwards
 of 120 000 probably only 30000
 rationalism: Helles 28 the
 losses from Salamis to Plataea at 120 000

τρήκοντα μυριάδων στρατοῦ, καταδουσεῖον τισσέρων τὰς ἔχων Ἀρτάβαζος ἔφυγε, τῶν λοιπῶν μὴδὲ τρεῖς χιλιάδας περιγινίσθαι. Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ τῶν ἐκ Σπάρτης ἀπέθανον οἱ πάντες ἐν τῇ συμβολῇ εἰς καὶ ἐνεμήκοντα, Τεγεατῶν δὲ 25 ἑκατάδεκα, Ἀθηναίων δὲ δύο καὶ πενήκοντα.

Ἡρίστευσε δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων πεζὸς μὲν ὁ Περσίων, ἵππος 71

22 μυριάδων C Marc.

23 ἔφυγε Marc

25 συμβολῇ C

καὶ om. B

The one tolerably certain fact in the whole story is the escape of Artabazus with not less than 40,000 men.

24. Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ τῶν ἐκ Σπάρτης ἀπέθανον οἱ πάντες ἐν τῇ συμβολῇ εἰς καὶ ἐνεμήκοντα. No account is taken apparently of the Persian, much less of their helots, c. 86 *supra*. The figures which follow have a precise and an authentic air but apparently refer merely to those who fell in the final and decisive engagement (or τῇ συμβολῇ) of the thirtieth day. In c. 61 *supra* πολλοὶ have been killed, and in c. 63 the Persian ἀνέσθαι πολλοὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων—here only 91 Spartans are accounted for in all (of πάντες). The proportionate losses are interesting: the Spartans lost not quite 2 per cent (91 out of 6000), the Tegeates just over 1 per cent (16 out of 1500); the Athenians considerably under 1 per cent (22 out of 2000); the totals, however, are on a nominal, especially for the last engagement. No account at all is taken of the right and left centre, to say nothing of the pike, such as they were. Plutarch (*Aristot.* 19) gives the sum total of deaths of those who fell upon this occasion as 126, whereas the figures here amount to 121 only. Plutarch adds on the authority of Kleonides, the curious statement that the 52 Athenians were all of one tribe, the Aiantes. If 52 Athenians of one tribe had been slain, we might have to multiply roughly by ten to reach the sum total though one or other tribe of course might have been unusually hard hit on the occasion. At Marathon—92 Athenians were admitted to have fallen (c. 117) considerably more than the total loss here reported for Plataea. There is something radically wrong in these figures, though doubtless they represent an honest misapprehension, or misinterpretation carelessly copied, or misapprehension.

71. 1. Ἡρίστευσε δὲ ἀντ. There should

follow here the record of the formal *ἀριστεία*, or awards of valour; as in 8, 11, 17 for Artabazus, in 4, 93, 123 for Dolanes etc., and in c. 116 *supra* for Mykare. But the record here is not of any formal award, especially as (a) the merits of the Lakedaemonians are included (cp. however 8, 17), (b) Hdt. himself expressly indicates that he has no official authority for his awards. There is in fact here a *casus omnis*, which yet creates a problem, for assuredly *τοῖς τε* failed not in the case of Plataea to discuss and award the *ἀριστεία*, as for the other battles of the war; nor is it credible that lists should unwittingly have passed over the record or tradition of the formal award; he must have either deliberately Plutarch (*Aristot.* 20 and *de morum vitis* 42, 10—*Mor.* 523) makes good the omission. The Athenians and Spartans nearly came to blows over the question of the award (*τὸ ἀριστεῖον*): the question was referred to the confederates. Theogenes of Megara suggested the award of the prize to some third city. Kerkiras of Korinth proposed that Plataea should be that city, Aristodemus at once accepted the suggestion on behalf of Athens, and Phormion on behalf of Lakedaemon. Eight talents were assigned to the Plataeans, out of which they built the temple of Athena, which was still up-standing in the days of Plutarch (cp. note to c. 70 *supra*); the Lakedaemonians, however, erected a temple on their own account and the Athenians one likewise separately. This story has intrinsic probability and the chief argument against it is the silence of Hdt. here, and the silence of Thucydides in the Plataean Apology, 3, 53-54. But the *argumentum e silentio* seldom is conclusive. The story in question was little to the credit either of Sparta or of Athens and was probably a sore subject at both places. The Athenian Theogenes may have ignored it from patriotism, or

δὲ ἡ Σακίων, ἀνὴρ δὲ λέγεται Μαρδόνιος· Ἑλλήνων δὲ, ἰσχυρῶν γενομένων καὶ Τεγεαטיῶν καὶ Ἀθηναίων, ὑπερβάλλοντο ἀρετῇ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ἄλλῃ μὲν οὐδενὶ ἔχω ἀποσημειῖσθαι (ἅπαντες γὰρ οὗτοι τοὺς κατ' ἰωυτοὺς ἐνίκων), ὅτι δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρότερον προσηνεύθησαν καὶ τούτων ἐκράτησαν. καὶ ἄριστος ἐγένετο μακρῷ Ἀριστόδημος κατὰ γυνάμας τὰς ἡμετέρας, ὃς ἐκ Θερμοπυλίων μόνος τῶν τριηκοσίων σωθεὶς εἶχε οὐκ εὖδους <τε> καὶ ἀτιμῆν. μετὰ δὲ τούτου ἡρώστευσαν Ποσειδάωνος

71. 2 ἡ. δ B || λέγεται del. C. ubi. vii. H 3 ὑπερβάλλον Μαρδ.
4 <τὸ> ἄλλῃ? van H 5 πάντες B 6 ἰσχυρότερον B.
Holder || προσηνεύθησαν B τούτων γ K ἔχω: 9 <τε> καὶ
conu. Stein¹, recep. van H., Stein² || τούτων α

much his dramatic misanthropy ignore it from fact. It is harder to explain the silence or the ignorance of Hdt.: he takes part definitely with the Lakelaidmonians: can he deliberately suppressed the story in the Lakelaidmonian interest? It does not help us in this connexion to infer with Grote and Rawlinson that no formal decision was made; their inference evades the Thucydidean problem, but not the Herodotean: our author was bound to have told the story of the dispute, even if there was no formal award. He prefers to divide the honour of the day between the Korinthians (6. 98, for Plutarch to Lakelaidmon, for Mykale to Athens. Pindar, *Pyth.* 1. 77 hints that Plutarch was a Spartan victory; *Archologia*, *l'ers.* 3. 81, ought seem to recognize the claims of the Δωρὶς κορυφή, and Diodorus 11. 33. 1 mentions a definite award to Sparta and to Pausanias (cp. c. 64 *supra*); but Attic prejudice is most fully represented in the *Menekleas* 240 f. where τὰ ἀριστεία τῶ λόγῳ are awarded to the Μαρδωνομάχαι, τὰ δευτερεία to τὸν περὶ Σαλαμῶνα καὶ ἐπ' Ἀργεμῶν μαμαχῶσιν, while τὸ ἐν Πλαταιαῖς ἔργον, κοινὸν ἦν τοῖς Λακεδαιμόνις καὶ Ἀθηναίων, holds but the third place, and of the nearest rival of the two states the speaker's discreetly silent. This may represent an early, the earliest, Attic tendency. Not only other states might do should ever be admitted to have elapsed 'the trophies of Miltiades'. The legend of Marathon had ten years' start of the story of Plataea, and doubtless received a strong stimulus from the idealized 'victory of Pausanias' (cp. c. 27 *supra*).

δ Περίων; i.e. the Persian infantry, as distinguished from Mace-

dontians, Indians, Sakians, which was directly opposed to the Spartans; c. 31. 47, 58 *supra*.

2. ἡ Σακίων: the Σακίαι or Σακίαι (cp. 7. 84) oddly enough are not counted at all among the nations furnishing cavalry to the army of Xerxes 7. 84 *supra*; since they are mentioned there as Κασσιῶι.

ἀνὴρ δὲ. the word here is peculiar: sense. ἀνὴρ looks a little superfluous, but perhaps is intended to emphasize a doing it; in any case the λόγος must be a Greek one.

3. ὑπερβάλλοντο ἀρετῇ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. This is a very delicate award by the historian himself, as against the Athenians and Tegeatians, and a fortiori against all the rest (περιβάλλοντα, cp. 8. 123). The award further stimulates the story told c. 46 *supra*, and the reason given for the award confirms the importance of the *ἐκδοκασία* on the part of the medizing Greeks admitted in c. 47 *supra*. The *ἀριστεία* in giving the reason makes it look almost like an argument inserted to answer a challenge or criticism: the δὲ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ, cp. 7. 84, in opposition to ἄλλῃ μὲν is obvious.

4. προσφύρεσθαι is primarily of attacking, cp. c. 47 *supra*.

τούτων: αὐτοὶ τοὶ ἰσχυρότεροι, i.e. τῶν Περσῶν.

7. ἐγένετο, 'proved himself': this is the historian's own private judgment (κατὰ γυνάμας τὰς ἡμετέρας cp. 4 *supra*) in opposition to Spartan opinion. The absence of a formal reference back to 7. 232, and the full and sufficient description of Aristodemus here, are observed in 8. 4. ἀτιμῆν is rather glossed like; cp. c. 2 Ποσειδάωνος καὶ Φιδωνίων.

ἔποιεν· οὗτοι δὲ τοὺς κατέλεξα πάντες, πλὴν Ἀριστοδήμου, τῶν ἀποθανόντων ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ τίμιοι ἐγίνοντο· Ἀριστοδῆμος δὲ βουλομένου ἀποθανεῖν διὰ τὴν προειρημένην αἰτίην οὐκ ἐτιμήθη.

- 72 Οἵτοι μὲν τῶν ἐν Πλαταιῇσι ὀνομαστότατοι ἐγένοντο. Καλλικράτης γὰρ ἔξω τῆς μάχης ἀπέθανε, ἔλθων ἀπὸ τοῦ κάλλιστος ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν τότε Ἑλλήνων, οὐ μοῖνον αὐτῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων· ὅς, 5 ἐπεὶ ἐσφαγιάζετο Πανσανίης, κατήμενος ἐν τῇ τάξιν ἐτρο-

17 εἶποιεν αἱ Marc || καίτες 8 : καίτας 18 τῶν ἀποθανόντων· ἐν Πλαταιῇσι ut glossama tollenda suad. Krueger : μήτις ἡ μὲν ταῦτα βουλόμενος ἀποθανεῖν νix genuina videntur 72. 1 πλαταιῇσι 8 πλαταιῇσιν 8 3 τότε om. Marc || οὐ . . Ἑλλήνων υπ. B || μοῖνον RSVerat : μόνον Vre. 4 αὐτίων 2 || Ἑλλήνων del Gouharatz, υπ. H 5 τάξιν Pa : τάξει

Probably the Spartans put aside the case of Aristodemus altogether, with them the only candidates for honour were the others: Epiklidemos, Philokyon, Anomiasaretos. Hdt. has not made this quite clear, his own γνῶμαι running counter.

17. τοῖς κατέλεξα a reference back to the immediately context, cp. 7. 99.

18. Krueger suspected the words τῶν ἀποθανόντων ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ as a gloss on the words τῶν ἐν Πλαταιῇσι below. cp. App. Crit.

τίμιοι ἐγίνοντο were made 'honourable', were ennobled' or given titles a strictly official act, or process of glorification, canonization, but only perhaps performed for the departed, and involving (1) a public funeral, (2) a monument, (3) offerings at the tomb ὥστε ἔργα (So too Steu, who cp. 3. 54 which is hardly to the point, and 3. 67.) A lower form of the same act, or process, was the *epitaphia*, which was conferred upon the living; cp. Thuc. 2. 36, 2 πρώτος τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πόλεως ἐσφαγμένων ἐν Σπάρτῃ (sc. ὁ Βρασίδης).

19 διὰ τὴν προειρημένην αἰτίην· i.e. for the official reason for the reason I have given; αἰτία being used in a somewhat different sense to that above ἐκ τῆς παρασκευῆς αἰτίας. βουλόμενος ἀποθανεῖν is like a gloss, and you find on Hdt.'s part an admission weakening his own verdict.

72. 1. ὀνομαστότατοι in the positive 8. 89, 6. 114, in the comparative 6. 128 τῶν ἐν Πλαταιῇσι ποῖος τῶν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἀποθανόντων. cp. note above.

2. Καλλικράτης γὰρ gives the reason for his not being one of the ὀνομαστότατοι he died, therefore, a passive death ἐκ τῆς μάχης, without having been able to strike a blow. It seems a restricted idea of his μάχη which regards kallikratēs as *hero* the context, yet as was not actually slain in the ranks but apparently carried to the rear, and he was unable to strike a blow *concerning* the passive virtues, and even the passive states of act or virtues (e.g. courage) were less highly esteemed in Sparta than with us. The name kallikratēs is not an uncommon one. Plutarch, *Alexander* 35 mentions a Spartan of his own time by name, a descendant of the man, Antikrates, who has doubtless introduced this story here. Who would not have believed that Kallikratides, the typical Spartan of the old school (Xenophon, *Hell.* 1. 6. 1. 33 towards the end of the fifth century was a rival of the Platæan hero, who was remembered for his good looks and his last son not?

3. ἀλλήστος, τῶν τότε Ἑλλήνων· like *Alone* to *Isos*, H. 2. 6. 3, like Philippos of Kroton to *Sopatra*, P. 17. Size was an element in the Hdt. conception of *κἀλλος*, whatever made a female (cp. 3. 1 *ἄσπερα μεγάλη τε καὶ εὐδμή*, 5. 12 *μεγάλη τε καὶ εὐδμή*, 1. 60 *Phya*); cp. the description of *Λαέρτις* 7. 181, *ἀλλήτε τε εὐνοια καὶ μεγαλοπρέπεια*, Plutarch, *Alexander* 17, *εὐνοια καὶ μεγαλοπρέπεια*.

5. ἐπεὶ ἐσφαγιάζετο Πανσανίης cp. 6. 61 *εἰς*; ἐν is used with the

ἐκ δῆμον Δεκελῆθεν. Δεκελέων δὲ τῶν κοτε ἔργασαμένων
ἔργον χρήσιμον ἐς τὸν πάντα χρόνον, ὡς αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖαι
λέγουσι. ὡς γὰρ δὴ τὸ πάλαι κατὰ Ἑλένης κομιδὴν Τιδαῖσθαι

73 2 ἐκ: ἐκ Κοτῆ, Holzer, van H. | δεκελῆθεν BP Marc. 1: δεκελῆθεν
C || κοτε Bekker: ποτε lili | 4 τοπάλαι Ps

acquaintance, as the work of Hdt. now stands; cp. 6 W2, where his name is not as patronymic is given; cp. farther a. 24 *μητρῶν*, where his biography is enlarged. The father's name, Eukleides, is commoner at Athens and elsewhere than the son's (cp. Pape Bensoer, *vid. sup.*) but nothing more appears to be recorded of this particular man. Greek onomatopoeia raises a score of changes of the significant compounds εὐτυχ. The wish was father to the nation.

2. ἐκ δῆμον Δεκελῆθεν. The first two words were superfluous in official Attic. The *denotation* a *gignous* Δεκελῆς here and in B. 92 Δεκελῆος ap. S. q. h. B. *sup. v.*, *sup. Δεκελῆθεν* and Δεκελῆθεν. On the position of Dekelaia cp. 6 15 *μητρῶν*. It belonged to the (VI 1) Hippiasistia (p. 12); and was perhaps the chief town in the Messagis or Land-Trackers of that tribe though this point has not appear to have been as yet established epigraphically (cp. Juckel and Puly Wiesner II 222 L; Miloh Holzer, *ib. iv* 242-3).

Δεκελέων δὲ τῶν κοτε κτλ. The genitive may be in *loaga* apposition to Δεκελῆθεν or to δῆμον, or constructed with *Σωφρονῆ*, or even regarded as a correction or limitation of Ἀθηναίων, or in fine of no very strict construction at all. The expression of exonyms into the mythical history of Attica is rather forced, and looks like an insertion, but how far the insertion extends is not obvious. Insertions may even have been made here at more than one time; thus the last sentence of the chapter *ὅτι μὲν ἔστιν ἀνέχουσαι* is manifestly to be dated after the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war, but may be a separate addition. There are, in fact, traces in this passage of all three drafts, or stages, in the composition of Hdt.'s work - viz. the original book, which would naturally record the *ἀνέχουσαι* of the Athenians and the addition of a note on the mythical antecedents of Dekelaia; and, finally, the little appendix upon the sacking of Dekelaia by the Spartans.

The first would belong to the earliest draft, the second might have resulted from Hdt.'s first visit to Athens; the third is plainly an addition to be dated after 481 B.C. Cp. Introduction, § 9.

3. ἐς τὸν πάντα χρόνον, 'for ever', 'to all time'; contrast a. 13 6 *μητρῶν*.

ὡς αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι, 'as even Athenians (writers themselves) say.' The mythic origin of the privileges enjoyed by the Dekelismat at Sparta had doubtless been made the subject of research and investigation by native writers before Hdt. penned this passage cp. Introduction § 10.

4. τὸ πάλαι here goes back to a time before the Trojan war.

κατὰ Ἑλένης κομιδῇ *κατὰ τὴν περὶ Ἑλένης κομιδῇ*, *κατὰ Ἑλένης*, of course, Homeric Helen, Ἀργυρὴ *Ἑλένη* II 2 163 sister of Kastor and Polydeukes II 3 257 f., daughter of Tyndareos and Leda, *Od.* 11 299 ff., unless indeed Zena herself was her name *ib.* 1, 219, 257, cp. 569. The adventure here involved is not recorded in Homer, but it was perhaps represented on the shield of Kypselos, Pausan. 5 19 7. The Chryseid, *Or.* 11, 320 ff., Diodotus Tennyson i. 179) and was familiar to the Lyric poets, cp. *Alkman*, Fr. 13 = Pausan. 1 41, 4, *Stesichoros* 27 = Pausan. 2 22, 6, Pindar, *Fr.* 208 = Pausan. 1 41, 4, and the story is told by Diodor 4 62, *Plutarch*, *Thes.* 31-34, *Pausan.* 1 17 5 (in part). Theseus and Periklesos were Helen, a lovely girl of ten years, who danced before the altar of Artemis Orthia in Sparta; they drew lots for her, Theseus won and put her to slavery in Aphidia with his mother Athra. During his absence to help Periklesos to carry off Ieraphone's the sons of Lyndareos invaded Attica, and recovered their sister Athra, who was carried off by them into captivity, which may account for her figuring as attendant in Helen's in the *Iliad*.

Τιδαῖσθαι. This patronymic does not occur in *Iliad* or *Odyssey*, but makes its appearance like *Διδοῖσθαι* in the *Hymns*, e.g. 17, 33, (Does the name

ἐσέβαλον ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἀττικὴν σὺν στρατοῦ πλῆθει καὶ ἔν-
 ἵστασαν τοὺς δῆμους, οὐκ εἰδότες ἵνα ὑπεξέκιντο ἡ Ἐλευσίς,
 τότε λέγουσι τοὺς Δεκελίας, οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν Δέκελον ἀχθόμενον
 τε τῇ ἡγεσίᾳ ὕβρι καὶ δειμαίνοντα περὶ πάσῃ τῇ Ἀθηναίων
 χώρῃ. ἐξηγησάμενόν σφι τὸ πᾶν πρῆγμα καταγρησάσθαι ἐπὶ
 τὰς Ἀφιδνας, τὰς δὲ Τίτακος ἰὼν αὐτόχθων καταπροδιδῶν 13

5 πλῆθει ΑΒ 6 ἡ οὖα C 7 καὶ τοῖς 11 δεκελὸν Β 8 ὕβρι
 C Marc. δειμαίνοντα C 10 ἀφιδνας Β 11 τὰς δὲ τοὶ κακὸς Marc.

contrast that conjunction of *σδ*, the supposed minor Asiatic equivalent for *αδ*, with *κινεῖσθαι*, 280.11¹ (L & S. appear to connect it with (Lut) *κινεῖσθαι*).

6 *ἐνίστασαν τοὺς δῆμους*, 'were upsetting, deroprinting, rousing, the demoi. There is no material addition in the assumption that the *Demoi* were in existence in the days of Theseus, for the *Demoi* are the oldest institutions in historic Attica; yet the phraseology here as elsewhere in Hdt (cp. 1.60.4, 1.91.1, 1.92.1, 1.93.1, 1.94.1, 1.95.1, 1.96.1, 1.97.1, 1.98.1, 1.99.1, 1.100.1, 1.101.1, 1.102.1, 1.103.1, 1.104.1, 1.105.1, 1.106.1, 1.107.1, 1.108.1, 1.109.1, 1.110.1, 1.111.1, 1.112.1, 1.113.1, 1.114.1, 1.115.1, 1.116.1, 1.117.1, 1.118.1, 1.119.1, 1.120.1, 1.121.1, 1.122.1, 1.123.1, 1.124.1, 1.125.1, 1.126.1, 1.127.1, 1.128.1, 1.129.1, 1.130.1, 1.131.1, 1.132.1, 1.133.1, 1.134.1, 1.135.1, 1.136.1, 1.137.1, 1.138.1, 1.139.1, 1.140.1, 1.141.1, 1.142.1, 1.143.1, 1.144.1, 1.145.1, 1.146.1, 1.147.1, 1.148.1, 1.149.1, 1.150.1, 1.151.1, 1.152.1, 1.153.1, 1.154.1, 1.155.1, 1.156.1, 1.157.1, 1.158.1, 1.159.1, 1.160.1, 1.161.1, 1.162.1, 1.163.1, 1.164.1, 1.165.1, 1.166.1, 1.167.1, 1.168.1, 1.169.1, 1.170.1, 1.171.1, 1.172.1, 1.173.1, 1.174.1, 1.175.1, 1.176.1, 1.177.1, 1.178.1, 1.179.1, 1.180.1, 1.181.1, 1.182.1, 1.183.1, 1.184.1, 1.185.1, 1.186.1, 1.187.1, 1.188.1, 1.189.1, 1.190.1, 1.191.1, 1.192.1, 1.193.1, 1.194.1, 1.195.1, 1.196.1, 1.197.1, 1.198.1, 1.199.1, 1.200.1, 1.201.1, 1.202.1, 1.203.1, 1.204.1, 1.205.1, 1.206.1, 1.207.1, 1.208.1, 1.209.1, 1.210.1, 1.211.1, 1.212.1, 1.213.1, 1.214.1, 1.215.1, 1.216.1, 1.217.1, 1.218.1, 1.219.1, 1.220.1, 1.221.1, 1.222.1, 1.223.1, 1.224.1, 1.225.1, 1.226.1, 1.227.1, 1.228.1, 1.229.1, 1.230.1, 1.231.1, 1.232.1, 1.233.1, 1.234.1, 1.235.1, 1.236.1, 1.237.1, 1.238.1, 1.239.1, 1.240.1, 1.241.1, 1.242.1, 1.243.1, 1.244.1, 1.245.1, 1.246.1, 1.247.1, 1.248.1, 1.249.1, 1.250.1, 1.251.1, 1.252.1, 1.253.1, 1.254.1, 1.255.1, 1.256.1, 1.257.1, 1.258.1, 1.259.1, 1.260.1, 1.261.1, 1.262.1, 1.263.1, 1.264.1, 1.265.1, 1.266.1, 1.267.1, 1.268.1, 1.269.1, 1.270.1, 1.271.1, 1.272.1, 1.273.1, 1.274.1, 1.275.1, 1.276.1, 1.277.1, 1.278.1, 1.279.1, 1.280.1, 1.281.1, 1.282.1, 1.283.1, 1.284.1, 1.285.1, 1.286.1, 1.287.1, 1.288.1, 1.289.1, 1.290.1, 1.291.1, 1.292.1, 1.293.1, 1.294.1, 1.295.1, 1.296.1, 1.297.1, 1.298.1, 1.299.1, 1.300.1, 1.301.1, 1.302.1, 1.303.1, 1.304.1, 1.305.1, 1.306.1, 1.307.1, 1.308.1, 1.309.1, 1.310.1, 1.311.1, 1.312.1, 1.313.1, 1.314.1, 1.315.1, 1.316.1, 1.317.1, 1.318.1, 1.319.1, 1.320.1, 1.321.1, 1.322.1, 1.323.1, 1.324.1, 1.325.1, 1.326.1, 1.327.1, 1.328.1, 1.329.1, 1.330.1, 1.331.1, 1.332.1, 1.333.1, 1.334.1, 1.335.1, 1.336.1, 1.337.1, 1.338.1, 1.339.1, 1.340.1, 1.341.1, 1.342.1, 1.343.1, 1.344.1, 1.345.1, 1.346.1, 1.347.1, 1.348.1, 1.349.1, 1.350.1, 1.351.1, 1.352.1, 1.353.1, 1.354.1, 1.355.1, 1.356.1, 1.357.1, 1.358.1, 1.359.1, 1.360.1, 1.361.1, 1.362.1, 1.363.1, 1.364.1, 1.365.1, 1.366.1, 1.367.1, 1.368.1, 1.369.1, 1.370.1, 1.371.1, 1.372.1, 1.373.1, 1.374.1, 1.375.1, 1.376.1, 1.377.1, 1.378.1, 1.379.1, 1.380.1, 1.381.1, 1.382.1, 1.383.1, 1.384.1, 1.385.1, 1.386.1, 1.387.1, 1.388.1, 1.389.1, 1.390.1, 1.391.1, 1.392.1, 1.393.1, 1.394.1, 1.395.1, 1.396.1, 1.397.1, 1.398.1, 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1.621.1, 1.622.1, 1.623.1, 1.624.1, 1.625.1, 1.626.1, 1.627.1, 1.628.1, 1.629.1, 1.630.1, 1.631.1, 1.632.1, 1.633.1, 1.634.1, 1.635.1, 1.636.1, 1.637.1, 1.638.1, 1.639.1, 1.640.1, 1.641.1, 1.642.1, 1.643.1, 1.644.1, 1.645.1, 1.646.1, 1.647.1, 1.648.1, 1.649.1, 1.650.1, 1.651.1, 1.652.1, 1.653.1, 1.654.1, 1.655.1, 1.656.1, 1.657.1, 1.658.1, 1.659.1, 1.660.1, 1.661.1, 1.662.1, 1.663.1, 1.664.1, 1.665.1, 1.666.1, 1.667.1, 1.668.1, 1.669.1, 1.670.1, 1.671.1, 1.672.1, 1.673.1, 1.674.1, 1.675.1, 1.676.1, 1.677.1, 1.678.1, 1.679.1, 1.680.1, 1.681.1, 1.682.1, 1.683.1, 1.684.1, 1.685.1, 1.686.1, 1.687.1, 1.688.1, 1.689.1, 1.690.1, 1.691.1, 1.692.1, 1.693.1, 1.694.1, 1.695.1, 1.696.1, 1.697.1, 1.698.1, 1.699.1, 1.700.1, 1.701.1, 1.702.1, 1.703.1, 1.704.1, 1.705.1, 1.706.1, 1.707.1, 1.708.1, 1.709.1, 1.710.1, 1.711.1, 1.712.1, 1.713.1, 1.714.1, 1.715.1, 1.716.1, 1.717.1, 1.718.1, 1.719.1, 1.720.1, 1.721.1, 1.722.1, 1.723.1, 1.724.1, 1.725.1, 1.726.1, 1.727.1, 1.728.1, 1.729.1, 1.730.1, 1.731.1, 1.732.1, 1.733.1, 1.734.1, 1.735.1, 1.736.1, 1.737.1, 1.738.1, 1.739.1, 1.740.1, 1.741.1, 1.742.1, 1.743.1, 1.744.1, 1.745.1, 1.746.1, 1.747.1, 1.748.1, 1.749.1, 1.750.1, 1.751.1, 1.752.1, 1.753.1, 1.754.1, 1.755.1, 1.756.1, 1.757.1, 1.758.1, 1.759.1, 1.760.1, 1.761.1, 1.762.1, 1.763.1, 1.764.1, 1.765.1, 1.766.1, 1.767.1, 1.768.1, 1.769.1, 1.770.1, 1.771.1, 1.772.1, 1.773.1, 1.774.1, 1.775.1, 1.776.1, 1.777.1, 1.778.1, 1.779.1, 1.780.1, 1.781.1, 1.782.1, 1.783.1, 1.784.1, 1.785.1, 1.786.1, 1.787.1, 1.788.1, 1.789.1, 1.790.1, 1.791.1, 1.792.1, 1.793.1, 1.794.1, 1.795.1, 1.796.1, 1.797.1, 1.798.1, 1.799.1, 1.800.1, 1.801.1, 1.802.1, 1.803.1, 1.804.1, 1.805.1, 1.806.1, 1.807.1, 1.808.1, 1.809.1, 1.810.1, 1.811.1, 1.812.1, 1.813.1, 1.814.1, 1.815.1, 1.816.1, 1.817.1, 1.818.1, 1.819.1, 1.820.1, 1.821.1, 1.822.1, 1.823.1, 1.824.1, 1.825.1, 1.826.1, 1.827.1, 1.828.1, 1.829.1, 1.830.1, 1.831.1, 1.832.1, 1.833.1, 1.834.1, 1.835.1, 1.836.1, 1.837.1, 1.838.1, 1.839.1, 1.840.1, 1.841.1, 1.842.1, 1.843.1, 1.844.1, 1.845.1, 1.846.1, 1.847.1, 1.848.1, 1.849.1, 1.850.1, 1.851.1, 1.852.1, 1.853.1, 1.854.1, 1.855.1, 1.856.1, 1.857.1, 1.858.1, 1.859.1, 1.860.1, 1.861.1, 1.862.1, 1.863.1, 1.864.1, 1.865.1, 1.866.1, 1.867.1, 1.868.1, 1.869.1, 1.870.1, 1.871.1, 1.872.1, 1.873.1, 1.874.1, 1.875.1, 1.876.1, 1.877.1, 1.878.1, 1.879.1, 1.880.1, 1.881.1, 1.882.1, 1.883.1, 1.884.1, 1.885.1, 1.886.1, 1.887.1, 1.888.1, 1.889.1, 1.890.1, 1.891.1, 1.892.1, 1.893.1, 1.894.1, 1.895.1, 1.896.1, 1.897.1, 1.898.1, 1.899.1, 1.900.1, 1.901.1, 1.902.1, 1.903.1, 1.904.1, 1.905.1, 1.906.1, 1.907.1, 1.908.1, 1.909.1, 1.910.1, 1.911.1, 1.912.1, 1.913.1, 1.914.1, 1.915.1, 1.916.1, 1.917.1, 1.918.1, 1.919.1, 1.920.1, 1.921.1, 1.922.1, 1.923.1, 1.924.1, 1.925.1, 1.926.1, 1.927.1, 1.928.1, 1.929.1, 1.930.1, 1.931.1, 1.932.1, 1.933.1, 1.934.1, 1.935.1, 1.936.1, 1.937.1, 1.938.1, 1.939.1, 1.940.1, 1.941.1, 1.942.1, 1.943.1, 1.944.1, 1.945.1, 1.946.1, 1.947.1, 1.948.1, 1.949.1, 1.950.1, 1.951.1, 1.952.1, 1.953.1, 1.954.1, 1.955.1, 1.956.1, 1.957.1, 1.958.1, 1.959.1, 1.960.1, 1.961.1, 1.962.1, 1.963.1, 1.964.1, 1.965.1, 1.966.1, 1.967.1, 1.968.1, 1.969.1, 1.970.1, 1.971.1, 1.972.1, 1.973.1, 1.974.1, 1.975.1, 1.976.1, 1.977.1, 1.978.1, 1.979.1, 1.980.1, 1.981.1, 1.982.1, 1.983.1, 1.984.1, 1.985.1, 1.986.1, 1.987.1, 1.988.1, 1.989.1, 1.990.1, 1.991.1, 1.992.1, 1.993.1, 1.994.1, 1.995.1, 1.996.1, 1.997.1, 1.998.1, 1.999.1, 2.000.1, 2.001.1, 2.002.1, 2.003.1, 2.004.1, 2.005.1, 2.006.1, 2.007.1, 2.008.1, 2.009.1, 2.010.1, 2.011.1, 2.012.1, 2.013.1, 2.014.1, 2.015.1, 2.016.1, 2.017.1, 2.018.1, 2.019.1, 2.020.1, 2.021.1, 2.022.1, 2.023.1, 2.024.1, 2.025.1, 2.026.1, 2.027.1, 2.028.1, 2.029.1, 2.030.1, 2.031.1, 2.032.1, 2.033.1, 2.034.1, 2.035.1, 2.036.1, 2.037.1, 2.038.1, 2.039.1, 2.040.1, 2.041.1, 2.042.1, 2.043.1, 2.044.1, 2.045.1, 2.046.1, 2.047.1, 2.048.1, 2.049.1, 2.050.1, 2.051.1, 2.052.1, 2.053.1, 2.054.1, 2.055.1, 2.056.1, 2.057.1, 2.058.1, 2.059.1, 2.060.1, 2.061.1, 2.062.1, 2.063.1, 2.064.1, 2.065.1, 2.066.1, 2.067.1, 2.068.1, 2.069.1, 2.070.1, 2.071.1, 2.072.1, 2.073.1, 2.074.1, 2.075.1, 2.076.1, 2.077.1, 2.078.1, 2.079.1, 2.080.1, 2.081.1, 2.082.1, 2.083.1, 2.084.1, 2.085.1, 2.086.1, 2.087.1, 2.088.1, 2.089.1, 2.090.1, 2.091.1, 2.092.1, 2.093.1, 2.094.1, 2.095.1, 2.096.1, 2.097.1, 2.098.1, 2.099.1, 2.100.1, 2.101.1, 2.102.1, 2.103.1, 2.104.1, 2.105.1, 2.106.1, 2.107.1, 2.108.1, 2.109.1, 2.110.1, 2.111.1, 2.112.1, 2.113.1, 2.114.1, 2.115.1, 2.116.1, 2.117.1, 2.118.1, 2.119.1, 2.120.1, 2.121.1, 2.122.1, 2.123.1, 2.124.1, 2.125.1, 2.126.1, 2.127.1, 2.128.1, 2.129.1, 2.130.1, 2.131.1, 2.132.1, 2.133.1, 2.134.1, 2.135.1, 2.136.1, 2.137.1, 2.138.1, 2.139.1, 2.140.1, 2.141.1, 2.142.1, 2.143.1, 2.144.1, 2.145.1, 2.146.1, 2.147.1, 2.148.1, 2.149.1, 2.150.1, 2.151.1, 2.152.1, 2.153.1, 2.154.1, 2.155.1, 2.156.1, 2.157.1, 2.158.1, 2.159.1, 2.160.1, 2.161.1, 2.162.1, 2.163.1, 2.164.1, 2.165.1, 2.166.1, 2.167.1, 2.168.1, 2.169.1, 2.170.1, 2.171.1, 2.172.1, 2.173.1, 2.174.1, 2.175.1, 2.176.1, 2.177.1, 2.178.1, 2.179.1, 2.180.1, 2.181.1, 2.182.1, 2.183.1, 2.184.1, 2.185.1, 2.186.1, 2.187.1, 2.188.1, 2.189.1, 2.190.1, 2.191.1, 2.192.1, 2.193.1, 2.194.1, 2.195.1, 2.196.1, 2.197.1, 2.198.1, 2.199.1, 2.200.1, 2.201.1, 2.202.1, 2.203.1, 2.204.1, 2.205.1, 2.206.1, 2.207.1, 2.208.1, 2.209.1, 2.210.1, 2.211.1, 2.212.1, 2.213.1, 2.214.1, 2.215.1, 2.216.1, 2.217.1, 2.218.1, 2.219.1, 2.220.1, 2.221.1, 2.222.1, 2.223.1, 2.224.1, 2.225.1, 2.226.1, 2.227.1, 2.228.1, 2.229.1, 2.230.1, 2.231.1, 2.232.1, 2.233.1, 2.234.1, 2.235.1, 2.236.1, 2.237.1, 2.238.1, 2.239.1, 2.240.1, 2.241.1, 2.242.1, 2.243.1, 2.244.1, 2.245.1, 2.246.1, 2.247.1, 2.248.1, 2.249.1, 2.250.1, 2.251.1, 2.252.1, 2.253.1, 2.254.1, 2.255.1, 2.256.1, 2.257.1, 2.258.1, 2.259.1, 2.260.1, 2.261.1, 2.262.1, 2.263.1, 2.264.1, 2.265.1, 2.266.1, 2.267.1, 2.268.1, 2.269.1, 2.270.1, 2.271.1, 2.272.1, 2.273.1, 2.274.1, 2.275.1, 2.276.1, 2.277.1, 2.278.1, 2.279.1, 2.280.1, 2.281.1, 2.282.1, 2.283.1, 2.284.1, 2.285.1, 2.286.1, 2.287.1, 2.288.1, 2.289.1, 2.290.1, 2.291.1, 2.292.1, 2.293.1, 2.294.1, 2.295.1, 2.296.1, 2.297.1, 2.298.1, 2.299.1, 2.300.1, 2.301.1, 2.302.1, 2.303.1, 2.304.1, 2.305.1, 2.306.1, 2.307.1, 2.308.1, 2.309.1, 2.310.1, 2.311.1, 2.312.1, 2.313.1, 2.314.1, 2.315.1, 2.316.1, 2.317.1, 2.318.1, 2.319.1, 2.320.1, 2.321.1, 2.322.1, 2.323.1, 2.324.1, 2.325.1, 2.326.1, 2.327.1, 2.328.1, 2.329.1, 2.330.1, 2.331.1, 2.332.1, 2.333.1, 2.334.1, 2.335.1, 2.336.1, 2.337.1, 2.338.1, 2.339.1, 2.340.1, 2.341.1, 2.342.1, 2.343.1, 2.344.1, 2.345.1, 2.346.1, 2.347.1, 2.348.1, 2.349.1, 2.350.1, 2.351.1, 2.352.1, 2.353.1, 2.354.1, 2.355.1, 2.356.1, 2.357.1, 2.358.1, 2.359.1, 2.360.1, 2.361.1, 2.362.1, 2.363.1, 2.364.1, 2.365.1, 2.366.1, 2.367.1, 2.368.1, 2.369.1, 2.370.1, 2.371.1, 2.372.1, 2.373.1, 2.374.1, 2.375.1, 2.376.1, 2.377.1, 2

Τυνδαρίδῃσι. τοῖσι δὲ Δεκελεύσι ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ ἔργου ἀτελεῖν τε καὶ προεδρίῃ διατελεῖν ἐς τότε αἰεὶ ἐπὶ εὐδῆα, οὕτω ὥστε καὶ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν ὕστερον πολλοὶ τε ἔτεσι τούτων γενόμενον Ἀθηναίοισι τε καὶ Πελοποννησίοισι, ¹⁵ σινευόμενον τὴν ἄλλην Ἀττικὴν Λακεδαιμονίων, Δεκελῆς ἀπ-
74 ἔχουσαι. ταύτου τοῦ δήμου ἔων ὁ Σωφάνης καὶ ἀριστέϊσας τότε Ἀθηναίων διζόντες λόγους λεγομένους ἔχει, τὸν μὲν ὡς ἐκ

11 ἐν Σπάρτῃ post ἔργον =
15 σινευόμενον B

12 προεδρίῃ B προεδρία Marc
74. 1 τοῦ om. A¹

Demonst takes (de For 34, and probably from some misreading). It appears again in Hist. as the deme of Kallias who the poet-satirist at Marathon, G. 199, and of the comic poet Timodemus, 8. 135.

Τυνάκος is undoubtedly the eponymous hero of the neighbouring deme Τυνάκεια, and in this story of his betrayal of Aphidnai Melinoëtes (*Archaeologia* p. 34 sees and states 1) of local jealousy, (2 of the former in relation of Τυνάκεια in Aphidnai. The little deme, together with Thyrgonidai and Periknai and members of the Aphidnai-Τυνάκεια, may have occupied the modern villages of Καρναρόφι, Μασσι and Τεμενάκι.

11. τοῖσι δὲ Δεκελεύσι ἐν Σπάρτῃ: doubtless the Dekelians really held privileges in Sparta, which had originated in legendary days, before the coming of the Dorians, and were continuously maintained, though perhaps not very often exercised, in historic Sparta. ἀπὸ, 'from the date of . . . rather temporal than causal.

12. ἀτελεῖν τε καὶ προεδρίῃ two privileges frequently connected (cp. 1. 61), the former term denotes financial, economic, freedom from taxation, taxes, etc., which might be complete or partial (cp. 3. 81); the latter term denotes precedence (from least as public festivals, games, etc., cp. 1. & 3. καὶ τιν.) (The latter could only be a personal privilege, conferred upon individuals or communities; the former might be attached to property, immunities of the particular owner, cp. the ἀτελεῖς χωρὶς οὐκ ὕμνητος, Ἀθην. πολ. 1. 6. 6.) Demosthenes, *Lept.* 105, says that the Lakonismorians and Thessians οὐδὲν τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἰδιωτῶν κοινότην ἀνέχονται (cp. ἀτελεῖαν). That is an obvious exaggeration: ὅτι γὰρ αὐτοῖς νόμος τὸν μὲν γενέσθαι αὐτῶς νομὶ ἀφροῦρος εἶναι

τὸν δὲ πέτταρον ἀτελεῖ πάντων, *Ληϊστὰς* *Fol.* 2 B 14=1270 n.

ἐς τότε αἰεὶ ἐπὶ εὐδῆα. As the text now stands the date here introduced comes down to the out break of the war noted in the next following sentence; but, if the latter is an addition, these words may have stood originally as denoting a date distant to twenty years earlier. We have here also traces of the simplification in Hist. a composition, which assumes the appearance of the later, or latest reference to the person concerned drafted; cp. Introduction § 9, and next note.

13. οὕτω ὥστε κτλ. As the privileges of the Dekelians in Sparta must have been suspended by war, this passage (which too obviously) would have the air of an addition while grammatically the οὕτω has no proper reference to what precedes. The war here mentioned is plainly the 'ten years' war' which broke out in 471 B.C., and the special favour shown to Dekelians is hardly less probably to be dated to the first expedition in which Arkadian and western Thessians join, and all the lands of Attica north of the city, and not only the (Dekelian) Oropos and Boiotia, *Thuc.* 2. 14-23. ἐς τὸν πόλεμον is hard upon comparison with τὸν πόλεμον or αὐτὰ τὸν πόλεμον (cp. 7. 137) would have been, and is perhaps only a casual mistake introduced in the proximity of ἐς τοῦ just before (cp. 2. 81 καί ποτε).

14. τὴν ἄλλην Ἀττικὴν looks like an exaggeration, the whole of the coast of Attica was ravaged in the Persian invasion, 480 B.C., *Thuc.* 2. 55-57.

74. 1. ἀριστέϊσας cp. c. 7. 4 and n.

2. διζόντες λόγους λεγομένους ἔχει. = ἀ Σωφάνη· for λόγους ἔχει as is reported cp. 5. 66. Σωφὶς suggested in the names of these 'Misthen' names in honour of the famous *Μησθένης*.

τοῦ ζωστήρος τοῦ θώρηκος ἐφόρει χαλκῇ ἀλύσει δεδεμένην ἄγκυραν σιδηρέην, τὴν ὅπως πελάσσει ἀπικνεύμενος τοῖσι πολεμίοισι βαλλέσκειτο, ἵνα δὴ μιν οἱ πολέμοι ἐκπίπτοντες ἐκ τῆς τάξης μετακινήσῃαι μὴ δύναίτο· γυνήμην δὲ φυγῇ τῶν ἐναντίων διδοκτο τὴν ἄγκυραν ἀπαιλαβύοντα αὐτῷ διώκειν. οὗτος μιν οὕτω λέγεται, ὁ δ' ἕτερος τῶν λόγων τῷ πρότερον λεχθέντι ἀμφισβητούν λέγεται, ὥς ἐπ' ἀσπίδος αἰεὶ περιθεούσης καὶ οὐδαμὰ ἀτρεμιζούσης ἐφόρεε ἄγκυραν, καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ θώρηκος δεδεμένην σιδηρέην. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἕτερον Σωφάνει 75 λαμπρὸν ἔργον ἐξεργασμένου, ὅτι περικατημένον Ἀθηναίων Λίγυραν Εὐρυβάτην τὸν Ἀργεῖον αἰδρα πεντάεθλον ἐκ προ-

3 ἀλύσει αὐτῷ 4 ἀπικνεύμενος τοῖσι 5 ἀπικνεύμενος
τῇ R. ἀπικνεύμενος < ἐκ μίχην > τοῖσι? Steinh. 6 βαλλέσκειτο R.
Steinh. van H. βαλλέσκειτο 6 κινήσει Maas 7 ἐδόκτο B.
Heller: ἐδόκτο < οἱ > van H. 8 οἶτος: οἶτις B || ὁ δ' . . λέγεται.
van B 9 ἀμφισβητούν BH 10 οὐδαμὰ R. || ἐπασσέν ἄγκυραν B.
Heller, van H. ἄγκυραν ἀπικνεύμενην καὶ μεμνημένην (ἐπασσέν αὐτῷ
coni. Steinh. 75 1 σωφάνει AB 2 ἐξεργασμένου Maas
ὅτι B, Krieger, Heller, van H. 3 εὐρυβάτη Maas. εὐρυβάτης B,
ἀμίων C || προβλήσιον B

σοφάνει. (It is not expressly mentioned that Sophanes was at Marathon, but he may certainly be credited therewith.) Such *Stekia* may have contained expressions or allusions, of which the *diēolōgia* here reported are probable interpretations.

(a) According to the one, Sophanes used to carry, along (δεδεμένην δὲ) from the belt of his dress on a bronze chain, an iron anchor, this he would throw, when he approached the enemy (and it would, no doubt, stick in the ground), in such a way that the enemy could not pass him by, though they might charge him, then, when the adversaries were put to flight, his plan was to pick up the anchor and so be after them.

This is not a very creditable story, and it is contradicted by the other.

(b) He had upon his shield an anchor as a device, or emblem; and his shield was in perpetual motion, never at rest. In which case there was a contrast between the man's emotion and his action.

It is possible that the latter and simpler story was at the root of the other, or that some jest on the anchor and its bearer generated the more dramatic and less credible interpretation.

7. ἐδόκτο) sc. αὐτῷ.

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οὕτω: i.e. to take up the anchor before attempting to pursue.

9. ἀμφισβητούν: cp. the subst. B. 81.

10. οὐδαμὰ: the form *ἀπασσέν* 7. 8. B. 83 *αἶμα*, but *ἀπασσέν* 7. 13. It must have been the man, not his shield, that was so restless. The Karaiskaki had the credit of such inversions; cp. 1. 171.

75. 1 ἔστι δὲ. ἐξεργασμένου. The position of *ἐστι* shows that it is not a mere auxiliary, nor is the form of construction merely equivalent to a perfect passive. The λαμπρὸν ἔργον, though wrought, and wrought out, in the past is conceived of as existing in the present. It is *fact* over.

2. περικατημένον, 'blockading' perfect in form, not present, or imperfect in sense. The verb is used here as in 4. 111 of an island-city, but the operation is in part at least on land.

3. Εὐρυβάτην τὸν Ἀργεῖον. The story is told, and that more fully in 6. 94, though without express reference either here or there. The present is probably the elder passage. Had the other been contemporary with the further notes on Sophanes would have been there added unless it were supposed that the passage was composed before his death. Even so, a reference to his anchor might

κλήσις ἐφόνευσε. αὐτὸν δὲ Σωφάνεια χρόνῳ ὕστερον τούτων
κατέλαβε ἀνδρα γενόμενον ἀγαθόν. Ἀθηναίων στρατηγόντα
ἄμα Λαάργῳ τῷ Γλαύκωνος, ἀποθανέν ὑπὸ Ἡδώνων ἐν Δάτῳ
περὶ τῶν μετάλλων τῶν χρυσεῶν μαχόμενοι.

4 τούτων :

7 μαχεόμενον : om B

have been expected Cp. Introduction, ES 7, 8

πινυτάσθων. cp. c. 33 *πινυτα*,

ἐν προκλήσει ἐφόνευσεν : cp. 3. 1. i.e. 'he challenged (or answered a challenge to single combat and slew . . .'. The fuller story in 6. 42, from the Argonautic war (487-483 B.C.), reports that Eurystheus was Hēracles of the 1000 Argive volunteers who fought for Argos, and that he slew three Athenians in single combat before succumbing to Sophanes, a record which on the one hand enhances, on the other diminishes, the achievement of Hēracles; the Argive pentachloto may have been justly well done-up before he reached the road with Sophanes.

1 χρόνῳ ὕστερον τούτων i.e. subsequent to the Persian war : cp. c. 73 *πινυτα* ; the exact date is not so certain.

5 κατέλαβε is impersonal, cp. c. 93, 104 *εντρα*.

Ἀθηναίων στρατηγόντα ἄμα Λαάργῳ τῷ Γλαύκωνος. 'Leagros son of Glaukon' was no doubt the father of 'Glaukon son of Leagros' (Thuc. 1. 61. 4, cp. C. I. A. II. 179 Hecks⁹ No. 56), who commanded at Sybota in 432 B.C., as he had previously done in the Sicilian war, Androton *fr.* 44a. Nearly half a score Athenians of the name of Glaukon can be identified cp. Pausanias *sub* v. c., but nothing more is known of the eldest one here named.

6 ἀποθανέν ὑπὸ Ἡδώνων ἐν Δάτῳ. Strabo identifies this character with the defeat recorded by Thucydides 1. 100. 3 (cp. 4. 102. 2) synchronously with the revolt and blockade of Thasos, and dated by Bunsen, *iii.* i. 262, very proximate to the late summer of 456 B.C. Thucydides, however, without mentioning Daton makes Draboskon the scene of the disaster. Since arguments that Hdt. has confounded the objective, or goal, of the expedition, viz. Daton, with the scene of the Athenian defeat, viz. Draboskon, which is to be placed on the road to Daton, or Daton Draboskon is, indeed, the less problematic spot geographically ; the position is assumed 'on the road from Herakleion thence

to Πιπρη' Forbiger, *Alt. Geogr.* in 1870) or at any rate to the north, and in and from Πιπρη (cp. mod. *Evroska*). If the Athenians were defeated at Draboskon on their way to Daton, or Daton, they were fetching a considerable compass from Amphiktion and the Hystrotes, basalt i.e. following Herodotus regards Daton, at least in Hdt.'s time, as the main port of a town but of a district (that too seems to be Strabo's first idea) ; the reconciliation between Hdt. and Thuc. in this case being effected by the supposition that Hdt. names the region and Thuc. the exact scene, or the township nearest to the scene, of the disaster. Cp. *Strabo* 37 (7. fr. 38 *κατὰ δὲ τὴν παραλίαν τοῦ Σερρώνος καὶ Δαρτῶν ποτὶ Νεσποῦν καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἄνω ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐστὶν ἐν Μυρῷ καὶ ποταμὸς καὶ εὐαγρία ἐν γένεσσι ἀπὸ τῆς ἑσπ. ὁδὸς καὶ παραμυρταὶ Δαρτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκ. ὁδοῦ ἀγασθαι*). This passage places the town of Daton on the coast, held by Neapoleon, but though this Neapoleon appears on the Attic tribute-lists of the 4th century, Neapoleon is Oakes, N. *see* 'Aristomenes, Neapoleon et supra Oenon Daton is never mentioned. Neapoleon was, in fact, at that period the port for the district of Iatros the town of Daton was only founded c. 360 B.C. by the Thasians, when they took possession of Kreusades, under the leadership of the exiled Athenian Kallistratos (*Strabo* cp. c. 107 note 5). The identification of Daton with Kreusades, the later Πιπρη (Aristen *fr.* C 4 105 a b *Φιλακκοὶ πόλις ἐστὶν ἡ Δάτος ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ Κρεσίδες ἐν τῷ Δάρτῳ ἐν τοῦ Ἡρακλείου καὶ Δαρτῶν ποτὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα τῆς ἑσπ. ὁδοῦ*) on the authority of Eusebius and Ptolemy (cp. *Diodor.* 16. 3. 2), is hardly reconcilable with Strabo's statement above quoted, but Strabo must give way to Herodotus's authority, least of all should Daton have been identified with Neapoleon (as by Leake, *N.O.* in 224, On the *Epitaphos* cp. 7. 110).

ἀποθανέν ὑπὸ : cp. c. 37

7 περὶ τῶν μετάλλων τῶν χρυσεῶν. The whole region was argentiferous

ὧς δὲ τοῖσι Ἕλλησι ἐν Πλαταιῇσι κατίσταντο οἱ 76
 ἄνθρωποι, ἐνθαυτὰ σφι ἐπήλθε γυνὴ αὐτόμολος· ἥ ἐπειδὴ
 ἔ ἀπολωλότας τοὺς Περσας καὶ νικῶντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας,
 ἡ παλλακὴ Φαραυδάτος τοῦ Τεῦσπιος αἰδὼς Πίρσεω,
 ἡσαμένη χρυσῷ <τε> πολλῷ καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ <αἱ> ἄμφιτολοις
 ἐσθίει τῇ καλλίστῃ τῶν παρεουσίων, καταβῆα ἐκ τῆς
 μίτης ἐχώρει ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἔτι ἐν τῇσι φονῇσι
 καὶ ὤρῳσα δὲ πάντα ἐκεῖνα διέποντα Πausanίην, πρότερόν
 ὃ οὖνομα ἐξεπισταμένη καὶ τὴν πᾶτριν ὥστε πολλὰ κίς
 σασα, ἔγνω τε τὸν Πausanίην καὶ λαβομένη τὸν γυνά- 10

B. 1 πλαταιῇσι α: πλαταιῇσι B 4 φαραυδάτος B 5 <τε>
 76, van H. || - αἱ > Reiske, Holder, van H., quod mihi quodam
 um inveni || B ἐκ τῶν ε 7 ἄρμαξίης B, φωνήεντι Mure
 tus c. 11. αC Marc. || ὤρῳσα Stein¹

κατίσταντο ep. 7. 112. The names
 of the Philippi were only fully
 told by Philippi; ep. Theodor. 16. 8
 ἐκαστὴν χωρὸν χρυσία μέτ' ἄλλα
 ὡς δὲτα λῆρὰ καὶ δόξα τὰς κατὰ
 ἐκείνους ἡμέρας ὥστε δόξαθαι
 αὐτῷ πρόσθεν πλείον ἢ ταλαστῶν

1. ἐν Πλαταιῇσι: probably the
 conflict between the Lacedae-
 mon and Persians took place on the
 Πλαταιῶν ep. c. 62 supra; but (a),
 Athenians were doubtless fighting
 Persian ground, (b) the island
 was Persian ground, (c) the
 position of the Greeks was on
 an island (c. 25 supra), (d)
 it was a much more important
 than Hyman or Erythraei, the
 result of which at least was accounted
 ground ep. 5. 74, and perhaps
 Hyman to Plataea, ep. 6. 108 'but
 as Hirschfeld *Strabon*, 11). Thus
 being considered, the battle and
 operations generally seem naturally
 fitted with the name of Plataea,
 in the reconstruction of the
 place as a whole, Erythraei, Hyman,
 and their respective territories,
 to be clearly distinguished, ep.
 10, 25 supra

κατίσταντο, as in 5. 53; ep. c.
 10
 κἀόντες, 'victims', ep. c. 69

παλλακὴ: opposed to αὐτοδὴ γυνή
 Φαραυδάτος τοῦ Τεῦσπιος
 in Plataea had been ἀρχὴν τοῦ ἐπὶ

arch, of the Maron and Kolchis: the
 army of Xerxes 7. 79. He was an
 an Achaemenid (Toussaint, though Hal-
 does not express any so, and his
 mother, too, was perhaps a sister of
 Darius; ep. 4. 43.

6. τὴν παρεουσίων: not to disengage
 her travelling wardrobe as to suggest
 that she had still better at home, but
 rather to emphasize its splendour.

7. ἄρμαξίης ep. 7. 41, 2. 23.
 ἔχωρει on foot.

8. ἐν τῇσι φονῇσι ὄντας: 'at I
 engaged on the work of slaughter-
 ing', in Hellenic and Persian, the
 king is not in use.

9. διέπων, as in 6. 107, 5. 22.
 πρότερόν τε, ἀκούσασα, 'as the
 was previously well acquainted with
 his name and country before now',
 having heard them again and again -
 her father having been on terms of
 friendship with Pausanias, see just below.

10. πᾶτριν, ep. 8. 126, 'land,' not
 'language' as in 7. 12, 9. 1, or the name
 of Plataea - γενίαι Hirschfeld *Strabon* c. 11.
 Hal. has too more usual form
 πατρίς, 5. 61, for fatherland, he uses
 πατρίδα for language, ep. 5. 75 & 143 and
 too badly understood Pausanias c. 11. 2. 2
 of Kleonhrotos' in 7. 41, but as he has
 of 'harta,' ὥστε - ὅτι ep. c. 10 supra.

11. ἔγνω, without ever having met
 him before, from now onwards him in
 authority. He was probably young.
 ep. c. 10 supra.

λαβομένη τὸν γυνάτεον π. 2
 λαβὼν ep. 10. 2. 10 μὴ γὰρ περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν
 χεῖρος πάλαι ἡμετέρας ἔνα αὐτὴν

ταὺν ἔλαχε ταδε. "ὦ βασιλεῦ Σπάρτης, ῥύσαι με τὴν ἐκείνῃ
αἰχμαλώτῳ δουλασύνης. σὺ γὰρ καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἀνησας, τοῦσδε
ἀπολέσας τοὺς οὔτε δαιμονίων οὔτε θεῶν ὅπιν ἔχοντας. εἰμὶ
δὲ γένος μὲν Κῶν, θυγατὴρ δὲ Ἡγητορίδου τοῦ Ἀνταγόρου.
11 βίη δὲ με λαβὼν ἐν Κῷ εἶχε ὁ Πέρσης." ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετα

11 βασιλεὺς C || ῥύσαι B, Stein², Holder, vnn H.: λῶσαι 12
δουλασύνης R. δουλασύνην C || ἐς del. Krueger, τὰς H. 13 βίη B
ἐν Κῷ ε. ἐκ Κῷ B. ἐν Κῷ ceteri del. Kallenberg

ἡμᾶρ ἴθαι, 7. 112 ἀμφὶ 8' ἀρ' Ἀθήνῃ
βαλε γένεαι γένεαι Ὀδυσσεύς. C.
Sitt., *Die Hesioden der Gr. u. Rom*
1880, 143. In order to perform such a
gesture the suppliant would have to
kneel or prostrate himself.

11. ὦ βασιλεῦ Σπάρτης. Thus this
lay of Hecataeus guarantees the error which
dies so hard; cp. α' δ' ἔμπροσθεν. She
doubtless knew better, but thought there
was nothing to lose by a little exaggera-
tion, was the fatal ambition of Pausanias
born in this moment? But after all
βασιλεὺς was not the technical term at
Sparta, but βασις or ἀρχαγέτης, cp.
Lambert for *Menelaos* 1² 47.

ῥύσαι με τὴν ἐκείνῃ: the article
is rhematic, with the approximative "as
regularly with personal pronouns"
(M. Lohmeyer, cp. *ἐκείναι* . . . τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ο
48 *παρὰ*).

12 αἰχμαλώτῳ 8, a very strong
genitive from, out of, 'savery as a
prisoner of war' Is c. 90 *ἄρως* is to
expressed. The lady was not a prisoner
of war to the Persians, but she is awaiting
not to be treated as a prisoner of war by
the Greeks.

ἐς τόδε, 'as far,' of time; cp. c.
73 *παρὰ*, or perhaps of motion, as ex-
plained in the next sentence.

13 τοὺς οὔτε δαιμόνων οὔτε θεῶν
ὅπιν ἔχοντας. See 8. 115 in a similar
connection (in the lips of Aristides?).
The charge is, of course, unjust, even as
respects 'the gods of fortune'; cp. *ἐκ
παρὰ*; but allowance in this case may
be made for a lady whose situation is
not free from ambiguity.

δαίμονες, as distinct from θεοί, are
not merely deities of lower rank, but
perhaps distinctly 'loosed dead'; so the
departed Darius in Aeschyl. *Sept.* 820, the
departed Alcibiades, Kallip. *Alc.* 608.
Cp. Herodotus, *Hec.* 121 αὐτὸς ἐπεὶ

τοῦτο γένος ~ so, ἐπὶ χερσίν ~ ἀπὸ τῶν
ἀδελφῶν, τοὶ μὲν δαίμονες εἰς δαίτη
τῶν διὰ βουλὰς σὺνθεσι, ἐπὶ τῶν
φύλασι θεῶν ἀνθρώπων.

14 γένος μὲν Κῶν: the γένος here is
locative rather than genitive. Hecataeus
at this time under the government of
Artemisia, cp. 7. 66, in accordance to the
righteous husband, 7. 116. She ought
to have given her own name.

Ἡγητορίδου τοῦ Ἀνταγόρου.
Of these names, Hecataeus has a truly
aristocratic name, and his father Anta-
goras, nothing more appears to be known.
Pintarch, *Arctost.* 24 mentions as
Antagoras of Chios as one of the leaders
in the movement for the transfer of the
legatory from Sparta to Athens, and
actually heading a attack on Pausanias.
Polyanius 2. 32 has an anecdote of a
Hecataeus of Thasos, who was instru-
mental in bringing about the surrender
of the island to Athens.

15 βίη 64 με . . . εἶχε ὁ Πέρσης.
'The Persian' might have a more ex-
tended sense than Pharnaces. Perhaps
the lady had been kidnapped in her
youth or infancy. It is not easy to
see what Pharnaces or the Persians
generally would be doing in Kos, it is
not even certain that Kos had joined in
the Ionic revolt, or we might suppose
that the daughter of Pharnaces had
been carried off then; but cp. 7. 174
παρὰ. The day might quite well be
the capture and the sale (Hec., cp. 4. 126
4. and 8. 68. 12) but the lady of course
may be oversteering the case.

ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετα. The reply and
the conduct of Pausanias prove him a
cavalier and *sympathetic*. The anecdote
of the Kosian Artemisia is the first of a
series, in which the moral contrast
between Hellenism and Barbarism is
enforced and illustrated by incidents
from the battle-field of Plataea.

τοισίδε. "γύναι, θίρσσε καὶ ὅς ἰκέτις καὶ εἰ δὴ πρὸς τοῦτῃ
τυγχάνεις ἀληθέα λόγουσα καὶ εἰς θυγάτηρ Πηγητορίδω τοῦ
Κρήου, ὃς ἐμοὶ ξείνος μάλιστα τυγχάνει ἐὼν τῶν περὶ ἐκείνους
τοὺς χώρους οἰκημένων." ταῦτα δὲ εἶπας τότε μὲν ἐπέτρεψε
τῶν ἐφόρων τοῖσι παροῦσι, ὕστερον δὲ ἀπεπεμψε εἰς Λίγιαν, 20
εἰς τὴν αὐτὴ ἤθελε ἀπικέσθαι.

Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπίξιν τῆς γυναικός, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα 77
ἀπικοντο Μαντινίειν ἐπ' ἐξεργασμένοισι· μαθόντες δὲ ὅτι
ὕστεροι ἦκουσι τῆς συμβολῆς, συμφορὴν ἐποιεῦντο μεγάλην,
ἄξιοί τε ἔφασαν εἶναι σφείας ζημιῶσαι. πυνθανόμενοι δὲ τοῖς

10 τῶνδε δαίμνι; ὅδε B: τῶνδε οὐτερι || θάρσει libri, Holder van H.
τοῦτο B 17 εἰς B: εἰ α: εἰ οὐτερι 18 πείνους B 19 αἰκνο-
μένων α || μὲν <μιν> Bekker, van H. 21 ἡθέλησεν Μαντ. || ἀπικέσθαι
om. B, Holder, van H. 77. 1 μετὰ ταῦτα del. Krueger, van H.
3 ὕστεροι Μαντ ε, Stein², van H.: ὕστερον || συμβουλήs BC 4 αὐτ
ἀξίους αὐτ σφείας requirit van H. || εἶναι ἔφασαν B

15. ξείνος μάλιστα. On ξείνος cp. 7
116 supra.

τῶν περὶ ἐκ. τ. κ. οἰκημένων:
cp. 7, 102 for the same phrase

20. τῶν ἐφόρων τοῖσι παροῦσι,
perhaps two a number; cp. *Leopoldi*
Leopoldi Luc. 14 β τάρσει δὲ καὶ τῶν
ἐφόρων δυο, αὐτὸς πολυπραγμονοῦσι μετ'
αὐτοῖς, ἢ μὴ δὲ Μαντινέας προσκαλε-
σάμεντες δὲ εἰ ποὺ ἴσαστοί ποσας σω-
φρονίσουσι, ὡς το εἰκότι. The fact that
we do not find the presence of Ephors
noted in the narrative of the fifth
century does not prove that they were
not present, but there are occasions upon
which they are rather conspicuous by
their absence, e.g. with Leontobides at
Mykale, with Lysanias at Byzantium,
with Agis at Dekemnia, cp. *Time* 8 5.
3. Reardon, indeed, would date the
regular practice described by Xenophon
only to the year 463 B.C., cp. *Hdt.* 2, 4.
36. But the present instance makes the
practice look older, though it may not
have affected the narrative.

εἰς Λίγιαν. *Hdt.* does not say
that there was any special facility for
crossing from Argos to Kos, but we
may charitably suppose that the lady
wished to return to her father's house,
as, from the way Lysanias speaks,
Hegemondas must be still alive.

77. 1 μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπίξιν: for ἀπίξιν
(arrival, adverb) cp. c 17 supra. *Hdt.*
is very exact in dating the next episode,
so as to emphasize the advent of the
Mantiniens as too late, i.e. ἐξεργα-

σμένοιισι, cp. 8 91, 4 164. The house
they had reached the Lakodaimonians
while they were still ἐν τοῖσι φονεῖσι.

αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα, a startling
formula, cp. *Index*.

2 ἀπικοντο Μαντινίειν. This is their
first appearance since Thermopylai, to
which they sent a force equal to the
Theban, cp. 7, 203. They are not
included in the army list above, c. 24,
the force here in event on war have
unhappily probably 1000-1500 hoplites.

3 ὕστεροι τῆς συμβολῆς: too late
for the engagement; α, cp. c 7 supra.
If the Mantinians (and Elisians) arrive
too late to take part in the great en-
counter, since they on other service—for
example, guarding the convoy from the
Paeonians, cp. c 1 supra, or perhaps
engaged, and retarded by the Persian
cavalry? The name of the Mantinians
is not on the *προσκαλεῖσθαι* list (cp. 8 82,
and c. 91 supra), though that of the
Elisians is.

συμφορὴν ποιέσθαι. cp. 8 10, 69
2 supra, 1 6 supra.

1. ἄξιοί τε ἔφασαν εἶναι σφείας ζη-
μιῶσαι: ἄξιοι is the idiomatic phrase,
construction: cp. 8 65 1 supra. The
sentence would seem rather perhaps without
stress, leaving ζημιῶσαι as a characteris-
tic substantive, as the object is expressed
in σφείας, a subject must be understood,
as, τοῖς Ῥαλλοῖς, τὸν ἀσπασγῶν, or what
not.

τοὺς Μηδούς: here used generally

3 Μήδους τοὺς μετὰ Ἀρταβάζον φεύγοντας, τοὺτους ἐδίδωκεν
μέχρι Θεσσαλίας· Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὐκ ἔων φεύγοντας διώκειν.
οἱ δὲ ἀναχωρήσαντες ἐς τὴν ἰαυτῶν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῆς
στρατιῆς ἰδὼσαν ἐκ τῆς γῆς. μετὰ δὲ Μαντινέας ἦσαν
Ἥλείοι, καὶ ὡσαύτως οἱ Ἥλείοι τοῖσι Μαντινεῦσι συμφορὴν
10 ποιησάμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο· ἀπελθόντες δὲ καὶ οὗτοι τοὺς
ἡγεμόνας ἰδὼσαν. τὰ κατὰ Μαντινέας μὲν καὶ Ἥλείους
τοσαῦτα.

9 ἡλείοι FR || ἡλείοι BR | μαντινεῦσι C 11 τὰ om. B || ἡλείους FR

as *τοὺς βαρβάρους*, and not in the specific sense of a 31 *supra*.

6. *ἐδίδωκεν*, 'they were for paying,' they offered to pursue a truly laughable offer on the part of these Mantinian hoplites. The ludicrous or even the distant pursuit of a fugitive enemy was against Spartan custom, cf. 8. 108, and Hekataeus understands the next sentence as a parenthesis intended to record not a particular prohibition on this occasion, but that general rule: the imperfect *οὐκ ἔων* hardly supports that view.

On the return of the Mantinians to their home *τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῆς στρατιῆς ἰδὼσαν ἐκ τῆς γῆς*. The verb *ἰδὼσαν* (*exiōn*) as for the *ἰδὼσαν* pursued, or were for pursuing? Just before makes a very unfortunate pun, albeit the contrast of the tenses is grammatically effective; perhaps it is only an 'unconscious alliteration,' *τοὺς ἡγ. τῆς στ.* as a parenthesis for *τοὺς στρατηγούς*—if that be its substance—is remarkable. Perhaps the *ἡγεμόνα* is emphasized as the offence was one of omission, incurred by the way. Possibly, however, there was a political background to the presentation. Arkadian, or single states in Arkadia, may have been divided on the question of 'Medism,' cf. 8. 28. In the immediate sequel Mantinea allies with Sparta, or at least preserves a benevolent neutrality, while all the rest of Arkadia rises against her, cf. a 30 *infra*. Mantinea was early and normally democratic, cf. 4. 101; but the discredit, which the *ἡγεμόνες* incurred in the Persian war, and the penalties meted out to them, may have brought about a temporary modification of the government of Mantinea (not without Lakonian approval). It does not follow that the leaders were ready to blame. The injustice of the Athenian democracy (probably bemoaned by the Arkadian) towards unfortunate

commanders is notorious; and the comic story in Thuc. 6. 60 of the treatment of Thraσύλας, Strategos of Argos, by the Argive democracy in 438 B.C., has much the same moral.

8. μετὰ 84 Μαντινέας ἦσαν Ἥλείοι. naturally, as they had further to come. The Elleans had not even sent a contingent to Thermopylae. Yet their name appears upon the Delphian tripod (*cf.* A 70; H 11 *admira* 1.1; Hicks², No. 19 (6th Coll. No. 27). As the Elleans are not represented in the navy-lists of Artemision and Salamis, nor is the army list a. 28 *supra*, the occurrence of their name on the monument is problematic (but they at least sent a contingent to the army under Kleombrotos in 480 B.C., cf. 8. 74). Some ascribe it to their influence with Sparta; but why then did not Sparta reward the Mantinians also? cf. also notes 2 Hicks &c and note to Hekataeus a. 2 *supra*. *ὡσαύτως* 7. 86, etc.

9. *συμφορὴν ποιησάμενοι* one of the chief grounds of this war would be that they could have no lot in the Helian booty, but there was also the loss of honour. The Elleans had a way of being rather behindhand, cf. Thuc. 6. 75-8. The subsequent exile of their *ἡγεμόνες* may have a political significance as in the case of the Mantinians above.

11 τὰ κατὰ Μαντινέας μὲν καὶ Ἥλείους. this story, or rather the hint only to this parcel of the two Paganstian democracies, might provoke the suspicion that there was some kind of understanding between them and Argos, not favourable to Sparta, and the recognition of the Spartan *ἡγεμόνα*—but the service of the Mantinians at Thermopylae, the service of the Elleans at the Istmos, and the arrival of both, even if belated, on the field of Plataea, have to be put in the other scale.

Ἐν δὲ Πλαταιῇσι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν Λιγυνητικῶν ἦν 78
 Λάμπων Πυθίῳ, Λιγυνητικῶν <ῶν> τὰ πρῶτα· ὃς ἀνοίξας
 τῶν ἔχων λόγον ἔστο πρὸς Πανισαίνην, ἀπικόμενος δὲ σπουδῇ
 ἔλεγε ταῦδε. "ὦ παῖ Κλεομβρότου, ἔργον ἔργασθαι τοι
 ὑπερφυεῖς μέγαθός τε καὶ κάλλος, καὶ τοι θεὸς παρέδωκε
 ῥυσάμενον τὴν Ἑλλάδι κλέος καυθεῖσθαι μέγιστον Ἑλλήνων
 τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν. σὺ δὲ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τα ἐπὶ τοῖτοισι
 ποιήσῃ, ὅπως λόγος τέ σε ἔχη ἔτι μέζων καὶ τις ὕστερον
 φυλάσσηται τῶν βαρβάρων μὴ ὑπάρχειν ἔργα ἀτάσθαλα
 ποιεῖν ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας. Λεωνίδεω γὰρ ἀποθανόντος ἐν 10

78. 1 πλατύνωσις: πλατύνειν B 2 ὁ πῦθω B ὁ Πύθωσις: ἰ
 ὧν add. Stein¹, Holder, van H. || τὰ πρῶτα φερων: 3 λόγων ἔχειν: ἰ
 ἰερο A: ἰερο αἰεσι (ap. Stein), ἰερο B V 7 τὰ λοιπὰ del. Cobet,
 van H. 8 μέζων α 10 ποιέειν B

Plutarch, in the *de malis*, *Hill*, takes no exception to this second; but has the whole truth told in the case I. The story does not come from Maurelian and Eusebian sources, or we should have had more particulars, and perhaps something to the good credit of the States. What is wanted—and *obvious* by *evident*

10. I in το στρατιωτικόν τῶν Ἀθη-
ναίων there were Lit 500 Athenian
hoplites, ad told, cp. c. 28 *supra*, as
they were posted next to the Megarians,
they may have been literally 500
at this time: but cp. c. 70 *supra*.
They should have been το καὶ ἑκατὸν,
cp. c. 49 *inf*.

2. *Δελφινος Πυθίας*. to be distinguished from the *Δελφινος*, c. 21 *supra*, and the *Salmian*, c. 90 *infra*, of the same name: but this *Αργεῖος Δελφινος*, son of *Pythias*, may be identified by K. O. Muller, *Argonautica* 125 with *Lampon*, father of *Pythias* and *Phylakides*, who victorious *Pindar* celebrates in *Nem.* 5, *Isth.* 4 and 5. The *Pythias*, son of *Ischenos*, captured off *Sakathos*, 7 *Ist. supra*, and liberated at *Salamis* c. 92, can hardly be identical with the father of *Lampon*, but he may be of the same house, the *Φυλακίδαι*, or *Φυλακίδαι*, *Pindar*, *Isth.* 5. 6. 63.

ἐν πόλει, as in §. 130. On this occasion Lampron may have been Strategos of the Argiveans.

ἀνυσιώτετον ἔχων λόγον, "with a
most impious (shocking) proposal."

1. low, 'same full speed'; repeated
in successive stanzas

ਸਤਿਨਾਮ: ਸ੍ਰ. ੬੦, ੧, ੬੬ ਅਪ੍ਰਮ, ਈਏ

4. ὁ πατὴρ Κλειομβρότου: σμ. ε. 70 . 2.

5. *Impatiens*, "supernatural, colonial,"
 this had some 8. 118; there is a good

μεγάλης τε καὶ κάλλος, *μεγαλὴ*
of coimbeal beauty, c. p. 72 *μεγαλὴ*.
Βασιλικὴ work was a *καλλιστὴ* *εὐκτὴ*.
c. 68 *εὐκτὴ*. The accusative is "of
reference." Cp. Index.

τοὶ ῥυθμιζόμενοι ἰσὺς οὐκ ἀκριβὲς
γραμμαί, cp. c. 25, 13, 15 supra.

The god would probably be *Zana*

ψ. κλῆτος καταβῆσθαι 7, 24³.

μῆτρον. τὸν ἄνθρωπον; the form is cp. 8 185 ἄνθρωπος, is here capital-ly interesting, as used, not by the historian *propter personam*, but by one of his puppets. The use is hardly quite accurate: τὸν is presumably masculine, referring to Ἐλλᾶς, though the reason why to *ἀντὶ* might be based by the use of that word in the plural *ἀνδρες* II. 9. 189, Od. 8. 73, but *ἀντὶ* is here denigrated in other cases. The name of Leonidas (who is named just below a hero given a distinct set back, but with posterity the saviour of Thermopylae has ever outshone the success at Salamis, cf. Leonidas II's *ἔκτατος*).

7. In both nearly equal; cp. 7. 236
(or 'after 1.

4 λόγος . . . σι ἐχρη: λόγος here means
 near to what δοξα· ἐν λ. αγαθόν τ' ὁ δὲ
 τις· πᾶσι τις.

9. φιλοσοφῶν . . . μὴ ὄντα . . . an idiomatic negative, we should say 'be-ware of beginning . . .' In point of form this sentence is identical with the phraseology in 7: 5 *ὡς λόγος τοῦ πλ.*, but the phrase *τοῦ πλ.* is there dropped.

ἀνάστημα : ερ. ε. 114 ια/α.

ἐτι ἔχων λόγον τοιούτου μήτε προσέλθης ἐμοί, μήτε συμβῶν.
15 λέου, χάριν τε ἴσθι ἴων ἀπαθής."

80 Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἀκούσας ἀπαλλυσσέτο. Παισάνης δὲ κρηγίμα
ποιησάμενος μηδὲνα ἄπτεσθαι τῆς λήης, συγχομίζεν ἐκείλῳ
τοὺς εἰλωτας τὰ χρήματα. οἱ δὲ ἀνὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον σκιδνά-
μενοι εὗρισκον σκηνὰς κατεσκευασμένας χρυσῷ καὶ ἀργύρῳ.
5 κλίνας τε ἐπιχρύσους καὶ ἐπαργύρους, κρητῆρας τε χρυσοῦς
καὶ φιάλας τε καὶ ἄλλα ἐκπώματα· σάκκους τε ἐπ' ὑμαξίῳ
εὗρισκον, ἐν τοῖσι λέβητες ἐφαίνοντο ἐνείκτες χρυσοῖ τε καὶ
ἀργύρεοι· ἀπὸ τε τῶν κειμένων νεκρῶν ἐσκόλευον ψέλια τε
καὶ στρεπτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἀκινύκας εὐντας χρυσοῦς, ἐπεὶ ἐσθῆτες
10 γε ποικίλης λόγος ἐγένετο οὐδεὶς. ἐνθαῦτα πολλὰ μὲν ἀλέπτουτες
ἐπώλεον πρὸς τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους οἱ εἰλωτες, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀπο-
δεῖκνυσαν, ὅσα αὐτῶν οὐκ οἶα τε ἦν κρύψαι· ὥστε Αἰγυπτίους

14 ἐτι οὖν, Matr' ἔμοιγε· ἐμὲ R | συμβουλευτῆς P Matr' 1 15 τε
ἴσθι :: ἴσθι τε 80. 2 ἐκείλῳ B 4 χρυσῷ - τε - van H.
6 καὶ φιάλας B, Ström?, Holder, van H.· φιάλας | ἄλλα· ἄλλα καὶ C;
σάκκους: θάκκους C: 'Απὶ σάκκους?' van H 7 εὐντας B x ψέλια
Matr' :: 9 ἀκινύκας S, Wesseling, Gaisford 10 ἐγένετο SV |
οὐδὲ εἴτ B, Holder, van H. 11 οἱ οὖν, R 12 αὐτῶν B:

15. χάριν τε ἴσθι: the τε is cumula-
tive, 'and indeed'; cp. c. 70. χάριν εἶναι
3. 21. Cp. χάριν ἔχειν 7. 120. With
the 'sentiment' cp. the Athenian remark
to Alexander, 8. 143 ad 1.

80. 2. μηδὲνα ἄπτεσθαι τῆς λήης: no
one was to touch the spoil, in order that
it might be duly collected and divided.
As implied above, c. 70, the Egyptians
disregarded this order, unless indeed
its issue was subsequent to their plunder
of the tent of Mardonius, or unless the
implication in that passage is correct.

3. τοὺς εἰλωτας: but surely not to the
number of 40,000, c. 39 supra.

ἀνέ· μάλιστα περ . . .

τὸ στρατόπεδον· κ. Περσῶν.

σκιδνάμενοι: cp. 8. 23.

8. ἐπιχρύσους: i.e. 'gold', cp. I. 50.

In the following inventory of treasure
κρητῆρας are largely mixing bowls;
φιάλας smaller vessels, primarily for
pouring, cp. 8. 54 (xof. FLD, cp. Curt.
Gr. Expt. p. 183). ἀκινύκας drinking
vessels; ἄλλα being id. generic, 'as well',
cp. 3. 55. 5 supra. The Persians were
hard drinkers, cp. 1. 133.

7. λέβητες: cauldrons, or pots, not
primarily connected with drinking; why
these were already packed in barrels or

bags (σάκκους) ready for departure, as
the others not so, is obscure.

8. φέλια, στρεπτοὺς: cp. 8. 113.
Possibly only the Persians' were so
decorated, τοὺς ἀκινύκας, 'the
swords', referring as the article shows
especially to the notorious 'Persian'
wine cup; cp. 2. 54. The latter and these
might have been of gold or covered
therewith, or were the latter alone
acquired.

9. ἐπεὶ, in an adverbial sense
implying a suppressed sentence: 'if
mere clothing I say nothing, or am',
cp. L. & S. sub c. H. 4.

10. λόγος ἐγένετο οὐδεὶς, 'no account
was (being) taken'—cp. ignored tales
etc., were at a discount. λόγοι, c. 1.
185.

11. πρὸς τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους: not neces-
sarily the 500 hermits of the priests
of Amon (cp. cc. 28, 68 supra); but the
aquies of the story is obvious, see
previous chapter.

ἀποδεῖκνυσαν, duly reported or
'accounted for': cp. 8. 35.

12. ὥστε . . . ἐγένοντο a transparent
nominal, perhaps of Attic origin, which
Hdt. could hardly have thus accepted,
or employed, had he known as much

οἱ μεγάλοι πλοῦτοι ἀρχὴν ἐνθεῦτεν ἐγένοντο, οἱ τὸν χρυσὸν
 ἄτε εἶντα χαλκὸν δίδειν παρὰ τῶν εἰλωτῶν ὤνείοντο. συμφορὴ· 81
 σάντες δὲ τὰ χρήματα καὶ δεκάτην ἐξελόντες τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι

14 εἰλωτῶν R. εἰλωτῶν 2

about the Arginetae when he first
 repeated this passage as he afterwards
 came to know, cp. 2. 178 etc. It is
 very unlikely that this scandal is to be
 dated (as Stein suggests, after the
 expulsion of the Arginetae from their
 island in 451 B.C. Arginetae wealth
 and greatness was a thing of the past
 after 457 B.C., but the scandal in regard
 to their origin does not necessitate even
 the inference that they were no more
 when it circulated; rather indeed the
 proverbial phrase dealt with the living
 present, cp. 7. 236 and note to
 previous chapter 1. 8.

13. ἀρχήν, 'originally,' cp. Index.
 The plural πλοῦτοι, perhaps because the
 wealth was not so *en masse* but distrib-
 uted in several holdings (not like the
 Latin *divitiae*, *fortunes*, *doma*, *opes*,
etc.), cp. *Εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν* 613 B. The adjective,
 as with *ἀναστάς* above.

ἐνθίσεν: neither temporal nor
 local, but causal; cp. Thuc. 1. 6. 1 τὸν
 πλεῖστον τοῦ βίου ἐνθίσεν ἐποιεῖντο,
 Aristot. *Rhet.* 2. 2. 3. 5=1. 11 a 25
ἐνθίσεντες αὐτὸ μᾶλλον καὶ τὰ ἐγκλήματα δύνανται.

οἱ 'for they . . . ' exchanged
 on the *χρυσὸν χαλκῶν* principle: *ἀτε*
δόντα χαλκὸν δίδειν. With the innocence
 of the helots who however, in this case
 were only robbers robbed! Warning
 and many commentators since have
 compared what Philippe de Commines, 6.
 2, has to say of the Helvetians and their
 treatment of the spoil after the defeat of
 Charles the Bold at Granson, a.u. 1476.
 The anecdote in H. H. may be intended
 not merely to discredit the Arginetae
 but to raise a laugh at the expense of
 Sparta, with its iron money and so on.
 As a matter of fact the gain of gold was
 as recognizable in Sparta as anywhere
 in the Greek world (cp. 1. 69, 3. 143,
 5. 6. . . if there was any pilfering on
 the field and selling of stolen goods, no
 doubt the thieves sold cheap, not so
 much because they did not know the
 difference between gold and brass, as
 because they had to get rid of stolen
 goods as quickly as possible.

81. 2. δεκάτην ἐξελόντες. Stein

conceives the tithe or the tithe as
 composed not of actual spoils but of
 valises. That being so, the spoils must
 have been valued, and even sold, before
 the tithe was actually handed over;
 unless we suppose that a rough estimate
 and division of spoil was made, and the
 tithe then converted into money. In
 either case, however, some time will
 have elapsed before this operation was
 complete, and it was hardly completed
 on the field of Plataea. Three gods are
 mentioned three sacred places, as
 recipients and receptacles; but it is not
 clear whether one tenth of all the spoil
 was divided among the three gods in
 which case each would have received in
 reality a thirtieth of the whole: Hirsch's
 view, or whether as seems more
 probable, each of the three divinities
 received a full tithe (Hirsch and others).
 Here again, however, there is an unre-
 solved obscurity, it might be argued that
 only Delphi obtained the full tithe the
 Amphictyonic shrine being of greater
 pan-Hellenic importance, that a tithe
 of what remained (i.e. 2/3 of 1/3) was
 given to Olympia, the Ptolemaean
 centre, while to the Iulianae went a
 tithe of the remainder ($\frac{10}{100} \cdot \frac{2}{3} = \frac{1}{15}$) being

thus the proportionate share). But that
 arrangement looks rather complicated!

τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι θεῷ. If a tithe of
 the spoil of Plataea was on the battle-
 field set apart and consecrated to the god
 in Delphi, the victors can scarcely have
 held the god, or his ministers, guilty of
 meanness.

Plutarch, *Arceus*, 11, shows the
 lengths to which the *ἀνάθημα* of
 Delphi could be carried: according to
 that story the god in Delphi had
 dictated the very spot for the Greek
 victory, and that in response to an
 Athenian inquiry.

Of the material reality and historic
 authenticity of the *ἀνάθημα* at Delphi
 there cannot be a shadow of doubt; but
 the precise date at which it was made,
 or perhaps for the exact method by
 which the expenses were defrayed, are
 doubtful points. The list of states upon

θεῶν ἀπ' ἧς ὁ τρίπους ὁ χρύσεος ἀνετέθη ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ τρικαρήνου
ὄφιος τοῦ χαλκεῖου ἐπεστεῖας ἀγχιστα τοῦ βομποῦ, καὶ τῷ ἐν
5 Ὀλυμπίῃ θεῶ ἐξελόντες, ἀπ' ἧς δεκάπηχυν χαλκεον Δία
ἀνέθηκαν, καὶ τῷ ἐν Ἰσθμῷ θεῶ, ἀπ' ἧς ἐπτάπηχυν χαλκεον

§1. 4 ὄφιος ὁ ἐπεστεῖας §

6 ἀνέθηκε §

the tripod was still legible proves that the monument was not merely a memorial of Plataea (even if offered from the spoils of that battle exclusively), for names occur upon it which were not represented at Plataea.

The monument consisted of two parts, as here described: (a) the golden *ἀσπίς* or *καστός*, elevated upon (b) a pillar, having the appearance of a three-headed serpent wound round a column. Thucydides, 1. 122. 2, does not accurately distinguish the two parts, but speaks of the whole offering as a *πῦλον*. The golden bow was melted down by the Phocians in the Sacred War, Pausan., 10. 13. 6. The (a) bronze pillar upon which it stood was carried off to Constantinople by the founder, where it was discovered in the *Atmeida* by C. T. Newton in 1835 and has inscribed names long known, as frequently noted. Cp. Otto Frick, *Inschriftliche Denkmäler*, Leipzig, 1859, Fabricius *D. A. I.* 1. 176 ff.; Hase, *Monum.* No. 19, etc. But especially F. Hase, *Pausanias* v. 298-307, where the modern literature is fully given; cp. also §. 82 *supra*, Introduction § 10, Appendix 1.

This monument has perhaps the longest and most continuous literary history in antiquity of any object of art, having been noticed by Hdt. (*loc. cit.*, Thucydides [1. 132. 2, 3. 67. 2], Pindar, *loc. cit.*, *Naucr.* § 97, C. Nepos (*Pausan.* 1), Diodorus 11. 84. 2, Plutarch (*de moribus* 42 = *Mor.* 873), Pausanias (10. 13. 5), Ael. Aristides (iii. 290 n. 10), Caelius, 1004), Suetonius (*sub* v. *Augustus*).

4. ἀγχιστα τοῦ βομποῦ. The altar here mentioned is identical with the altar dedicated by the Chians mentioned in 2. 135, and stood in front of the temple, where its remains have been found, cp. Pausanias 10. 14. 7, *Fraser*, v. 300.

The base of the 'Platan' monument has also been found (cp. *Fraser*, v. 299). The particularity of the description here is not quite conclusive evidence that Hdt. had visited Delphi, and seen the

'Tripud' before writing the passage, for the immediate context contains evidence of his having consulted written authorities in regard to the allocation of the spoils, and he does not here specify the conclusion of the Chians with the altar as in 2. 135, a passage in which "antepos" is much more evident than here. But it need not therefore be dated for the present chapter, which in fact very well be an addition to the original draft of the work, to be dated after his first visit to Naucratis; cp. Introduction § 9.

τῷ ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ θεῶ. i.e. Δία. Pausanias, 8. 23. 1-2, describes the bronze figure, also that it was dedicated by the Greeks who fought at Plataea, and gives the list of cities which took part 'in the battle,' from an inscription on the right side of the base. The names of the islands from Keos, Melos (ten) again throw some doubt on the question whether the list was really limited to the combatants at Plataea. This inscription has not been recovered; and we are therefore dependent for its contents on the report of Pausanias, not a) respect to above inscription. (cp. Introduction, § 10. For the site of the statue 15 feet) upon the testimony of Hdt. cp. *Fraser*, *Pausanias* iii. 630.

6. τῷ ἐν Ἰσθμῷ θεῶ. i.e. Ποσειδῶν. A dedication to Poseidon from the spoils of Plataea seems hardly called for, and supports the view that some offerings and monuments had reference to the whole war, the suggestion is fortified by the observation that no special dedications are recorded for Artemis and Mykalos, the latter of which at least must have been reckoned a victory.

Was this offering connected with it, Hdt. however, 8. 12, has recorded a dedication at Delphi after Salamis, which may have been identical with the Apollo, 'from the spoils of Artemis and Salamis,' mentioned by Pausanias 10. 14. 5. The dedication at the isthmus is quite lost sight of subsequently, cp. 8. 121 *supra*. The substitution of ἑργέντες for ἀνέτεθη may be merely a

Ποσειδῶν ἐξηγένετο, ταῦτα ἐξελόντες τὰ λοιπὰ διαιρέοντο, καὶ ἔλαβον ἕκαστοι τῶν ἄξιοι ἦσαν, καὶ τὰς παλλακὰς τῶν Περσίων καὶ τὸν χρυσὸν καὶ τὸν ἄργυρον καὶ τὰλλα χρήματά τε καὶ ὑποζύγια. ὅσα μὲν νυν ἐξαίρετα τοῖσι ἀριστεύουσιν 10 αὐτῶν ἐν Πλαταιῇσι ἐδόθη, οὐ λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν, δοκέω δ' ἄγωγε καὶ τοῖτοισι δοθῆναι. Πανσανιη δὲ πάντα δέκα ἐξαίρεθ' τε καὶ ἐδόθη, γυναῖκες ἵπποι τάλαντα κέρηλοι, ὡς δὲ αὐτὰς καὶ τὰλλα χρήματα.

7 ἐγένετο B 8 ἦσαν om. Marc. : ὄσαν s || παλλακὰς C 9 τὸν ἄργυρον BR : ἄργυρον τὰλλα omi Stein¹, rec. omi H., Stein² ἄλλα 11 αὐτῶν BCs || πλαταιῇσι s : πλαταιῇσιν B 12 δ' : δὲ B 13 τε καὶ ἰσοθῇ om. B, Holder, van H. || τάλαντα : ἄρματα? Stein || ὡς PR : 14 τὰ ἄλλα B

athletic variation, but in fact Hdt. does not expressly say that the bronze Poseidon was ever actually erected. Pausanias in describing the *Isotima* (2.3.2 etc.) though he mentions several images of Poseidon, does not attempt to identify any of them with the one here in question.

7. *ὡς δὲ λοιπὰ διαιρέοντο*: it appears just below that another *ἔκαστος* possibly of what was left) was reserved for the commanders-in-chief, Pausanias, and if we allow the *Isotima* 10 per cent for their services, above recorded it appears that of all the spoil only one half would remain for division among all the various states concerned and their commanders, or to furnish the rewards of valour.

8. *ἔλαβον ἕκαστοι τῶν ἄξιοι ἦσαν*. On what principle the distribution was effected is not indicated: was it the relative size of the contingents (*κατὰ τὰς στρατιῶν ἀρχαίας* Diodor. 11.44.1)? Or the simple principle may have been combined with a consideration of services rendered, the proportion of dead, and so forth. Nor is it clear who made the awards, whether the whole council of war or the Hephæstian state (*ἐπεὶ c. 57 supra*), or the commander-in-chief. It is unlikely that the awards gave complete satisfaction to every one, *ep. c. 73 supra*. On the plural *ἔλαστοι* *ep. 7.1.7 etc.*

9 *τὰλλα* the *ἄλλα* is idiomatic, 'besides', *ep. c. 80 supra*.

10 *τοῖσι ἀριστεύουσιν*, according to Hdt. there had been, and was, no award to any state collectively, *ep. c. 71 supra*, or at least he could not discover any, he might mean here therefore, to be re-

ferring to individuals, but it is likely that individuals, *ἀριστεύουσιν* would have been rewarded out of the share of the state and not out of the common or undivided booty: the case of the commander-in-chief would stand on a different footing.

11 *ὡς λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν*. As Rawlinson points out, this phrase indicates that Hdt. consulted authors, i.e. written authorities; *ep. Introduction, § 16*. Their silence was perhaps a part of the conspiracy of silence on the whole question of the *Isotima*, *ep. c. 71 supra*.

12 *καὶ τοῖτοισι* as well as to the gods and the commander-in-chief. These would have been the Plataians if the story in Pritchett, *Aristot.* 20 be true. Pritchett, indeed, not only records the extra allowances to the Plataians, but names the temple dedicated to Athena which was built thereon.

πάντα δέκα. Rawlinson renders "ten specimens of each kind of thing," which gives a rather curious and hardly adequate view when you come to *δρακμά*. Stein has *ep. c. 44* 'about hundred', i.e. ten times as much of each and everything as he would have had on an ordinary occasion, 'a tenfold portion': the case was evidently an extraordinary one. How much exactly his portion amounted to does not appear, but it will probably have been not less than another fifth of the spoil though that exact meaning can hardly be got out of the expression here.

13 *γυναῖκες*, as though the men had all been slain: this was not, however, the case: as the next anecdote shows. For *τάλαντα* Stein suggests *ἀρματα*.

82 λέγεται δι καὶ ταῦτα γενέσθαι, ὡς Ξέρξης φεύγων ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος Μαρδονίῳ τὴν κατασκευὴν καταλείπει τῶν ἐκπυλῶν. Πανσαίνῃ δὲ ὄρῳντα τὴν Μαρδονίου σκηνὴν χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἀργύρῳ καὶ παραπετάσμασι ποικίλοις κατεσκευασμένην, καὶ λείψαι τοὺς τε ἀρτοκόπους καὶ τοὺς ὀφιοποιούς κατὰ ταῦτα καθὼς Μαρδονίῳ δειπνῶν παρὰσκαύζειν. ὡς δὲ κελεύόμενοι οὗτοι ἐποίουν ταῦτα, ἐνθαῦτα τὴν Πανσαίνῃ ἰδόντα κλίνας τε χρυσείας καὶ ἀργυρέας εὐ ἐστρωμένας καὶ τραπέζας τε χρυσείας καὶ ἀργυρέας καὶ παρασκευὴν μεγαλοπρεπεῖα τοῦ δειπνῶντος, ἐκπλαγύντα τὰ προκείμενα ἀγαθὰ κελεύσαι ἐπὶ γέλωτι τοὺς

82. 2 παρασκευὴν Athenaeus p. 128 || καταλείπει C 3 ἐρήντο P Marc. 2, Stein¹: ἰρῶντα C σκηνὴν Schweighauser, Stein²: κατασκευὴν 4 ποικίλῃσι C || κατεσκευασμένην ASV, Schaefer, Gaisford: παρασκευασμένην C δ ἀρτοκόπους C hel. 'voluntarii tincti imper.' van L. 6 καθὼς καὶ Schaefer ὡς καὶ Stein³ del. Alcock, Gaisford, van H. 1 κατασκευάζειν B 8 εὐ . . ἀργυρέας om. B² de |, τε καὶ χρυσείας B 10 γέλωτα B

κώμηλοι have not been mentioned since 7 i.e. except for 1. 184 201, and have played no part in the campaign. They cannot have been much used in Greece, and no doubt quickly died out, for examples were evidently a rarity there early in the fourth century B.C., cp. Xenoph. *Hell.* 3. 4. 24 though they are to be seen there to-day: *Iliad*, 17. 4. 65. The horses may have been used to improve the Illyric breeds, perhaps helped to mount the first Athenian cavalry, and afterwards on the *troops* of Phaullos in their discomfiture.

ὡς δ' αὖτως = ὡς αὖτως δὲ, i.e. πάντα δέκα, tenfold (8. 21. 6).

82. 1. λέγεται δὲ καὶ probably by some author, or λογογράφος; cp. c. 31 *περὶ*, αὐτὸ λέγεται πρὸς αὐτῶν. The phraseology indicates a doubt of the truth of the following story, which is indeed not *prima facie* very plausible, and carries too obvious a tendency and moral.

Ξέρξης φεύγων Xerxes is seldom allowed to leave Hellas except 'in flight.' Here the exaggeration seems to make the belief of his escape more probable. The *κατασκευὴ* might certainly include the *σκηπὶ* (above described, c. 76, as of Mardones); the *παραπετάσματα*, hangings, curtains, tapestries, as well as *παραπυλὴ* lower down, surmount that view, but if the *Tegostai* had sacked it on entering the

camp, how could Pausanias have seen it in the good order implied by the present story? According to Pausan. *Pericles* 13 cp. Pausanias 1. 20. 4, the *Chiron* was said to have been a copy of the king's tent (*ὡς καὶ μνηματὶ τοῦ βασιλέως σκηνῆς*). Vitruvius 5. 9 represents the tent as constructed from the masts and spars of the Persian ships, and names Themistokles as the first inventor. In the subsequent fate of the building cp. Frazer *Pausan. l.c.*; L. Gaisford, *Ancient Athens*, pp. 394-6. That looks as though the king's pavilion had fallen into the hands of the Athenians a conclusion hardly compatible with c. 76 above. Or did the adoption of that pattern cover a protest or claim?

5. ἀρτοκόποις . . ὀφιοποιῶσι cp. Xenoph. *Hell.* 7. 1. 34 (report of the Arkadian Antiochos to the *Myrtades*, 391 B.C.) *ὅτι βασιλεὺς ἀρτοκόποις καὶ ὀφιοποιῶσι καὶ οὐροποιῶσι καὶ οὐροποιῶσι καὶ θρωποποιῶσι παραπυλὴν ἔχει, ἀδρῶν δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ἑλλήνων, ὅπου σπῆναι οὐκ ἔστι δύναμις*. *Iliad* Hd. makes *ἀρτοκόποι* *ἐκπυλῶν* in 1. 51. The mules had not at first been put to the sword at Plataea, cp. c. 31 *περὶ* (γυναικῶν). ὀφιοποιῶσι is not a real *ν* word: *μαγιστοί*, at least originally, but a word for *δρα*, *p. v.*

6. καθὼς αὖ ἀποκρίνεται; cp. *Appl. Crit.* 11 *οὐκ ἀποκρίνεται* 134¹ = *εὐ* just as this very passage.

10. ἐκπλαγύντα, whether of fear, or

ἑαυτοῦ διηκύνουε παρασκευάσαι Λακωνικὸν δείπνον, ὥς δὲ
τῆς θοίνης ποιηθείσης ἦν πολλὸν τὸ μέσον, τὸν Πανσανίην
γελάσαντα μεταπέμψασθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοὺς στρατηγούς,
συνελθόντων δὲ τούτων εἰπεῖν τὸν Πανσαιήν, δεικνύοντα ἐς
ἐκωτέρην τοῦ δείπνου παρασκευήν, "ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, τῶνδε 15
ἐνεκα ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς συνήγαγον, βουλόμενος ὑμῖν τοῦδε τοῦ
Μηδῶν ἡγεμόνους τὴν ἀφροσύνην δέξαι, διὰ τοιγύνη δαίεται ἔχων
ἦλθε ἐς ὑμᾶς οὕτω οἰζυρὴν ἔχοντας ἀπαιρησόμενος." ταῦτα
μὲν Πανσαιήν λέγεται εἰπεῖν πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγούς τῶν
Ἑλλήνων. ὑστέρῳ μὲντοι χρόνῳ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τῶν 83
Πλαταίων εἶρον συχνοὶ θήκας χρυσοῦ καὶ ἰργύρου καὶ τῶν
ἄλλων χρημάτων. ἐφάνη δὲ καὶ τῆδε ὑστερον ἐτι τούτων

14 τοῦτων B^C || εἶπαι ε, van II. || τὸν Πανσαιήν incl. van II. ||
ἐς οὐκ. B || 15 τὴν παρασκευήν B, Holder, van II. || 16 ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ
Marc. || ἦ, αἶν B || τοῖς τοῦ: τοῦ τοῦ V · τοῦ K^S, Holder, van II || 17
Μηδῶν S: (ἡγεμόνος deleta) Schaefer, Palm · βασιλῆος :: βασιλῆα, libri
18 οἷως B || 19 πικραίνεις K^S || εἶπαι ε, van II. || 83. 3 ἐφάνη ·
ἐτάφη (c. 84) ut ap. van incl. Krueger | ταῦτα ὑστερον ἐτι τούτων · ἐπὶ ·
Stein⁸ · τῆδε ὑστερον τούτων ἐπὶ Stein³ · τῆδε ὑστερον ἐπὶ τούτων libri
(τούτων αἱ Stein³ · τῆδε ὑστερον ἐτι τούτων, Albrecht, Wiesel ng, Holder,
van II.

a-basis, as here, is more usually
constructed with the dative; cp. 7. 226,
4 4, etc.

ἐπὶ γὰρ, of the end or object
is used; cp. 6. 67. Πανσαίην should
be credited with a more serious purpose;
but the anecdote is a continuation to
"the comic dinner"; cp. 8. 24. 4 *supra*.

τοὺς ἑωυτοῦ διηκύνουε, including
the banqueting cooks (6. 80), whose pro-
ductions were not likely to be triumphs
of the culinary art. Albrechtsen (4. 16 ff.)
139 follows up his citation of this passage
by numerous quotations on various forms
of Lakonian banquets, the *κομία*, the
ἀγῶνα, the *φαιδρία* (e.g. *ἔστι δὲ φ κομία
δείπνον, μάζα, ἄρτος, κρέας, λάχανον ὠρον,
ζωμῆ, σόκος, ῥαγῆμα, θέριον*).

12. θοίνη, food, banquet, 1. 111

τὸ μέσον 'the interval,' then *Her-
acles*, cp. *Isaiah* and 1. 126.

13 τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοὺς στρατηγούς
he might have been going to entertain
them, and perhaps he was, (to a banquet
at the *Acropolis*). The subsequent career of Pan-
saias seems to suggest that the Persian
cooks made a speedy convert; but here
indeed the Pride of Poverty prevents
his fall. No wonder Her. doubts the
story (λέγεται ἄρα), but it was too good

a story to throw over. It is apparently
an addition, at second or third hand,
for it interrupts the natural sequence of
cp. 81, 83. Cp. Introduction, § 9.

18. δεικνύοντα (only here in *Her.*) is a
condition of the epithet of *πείραστος*, *πῶς*,
πῶς, and *πῶς* (banquet beings, most fre-
quently, 'mischievous,' 'wasteful,' 'pampered').
A harder epithet could scarcely have
been used of the present attraction of *Her.*

83. 1. ὑστέρῳ μὲντοι. χρημάτων This
sentence has nothing to say to the im-
mediately preceding sentence or chapter;
nor does it fit on any word to c. 81. It
would follow most naturally immediately
on c. 80 *supra*; that is to say, in view
of the previous notes, c. 81 looks like
an addition 'of the second hand,' and
c. 82 like an addition of the second, or
third hand. μὲντοι after *με* instead of
δε - cp. 6. 24 *ταῦτα με · δεῖνον μὲντοι*
etc.

2. θήκας, 'deposits,' the *Her.*ists not
having been able to dispose of all their
things to the *Agonists*, had buried
many of them in the ground (The
*Her.*ists may not have been the only
timid and depositors).

3. ἐφάνη δὲ καὶ. *Her.*ists claimed the

<έπει> τῶν νεκρῶν περιψιλωθέντων τὰς σάρκας συνεφόρεον
 γὰρ τὰ ὀστέα οἱ Πλαταιεῖς ἐς ἓνα χώρον· εὐρέθη κεφαλὴ οὐκ
 ἔχουσα ῥαφὴν οὐδεμίαν ἄλλ' ἐξ ἐνὸς ἐοῦσα ὀστέου, ἐφάνη δὲ
 καὶ γυνίθος κατὰ τὸ ἄνω [τῆς γυνίθου] ἔχουσα ὀδόντας μωνο-
 φυίας ἐξ ἐνὸς ὀστέου πάστας τοὺς τε προσβίβης καὶ γομφίους.
 84 καὶ πενταπήχους ἄνδρὸς ὅστέα ἐφάνη. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ Μαρδοκίου
 δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ ὁ νεκρὸς ἠφάνιστο, ὑπὸ ὅτεν μὲν ἀνθρώπων
 τὸ ἄτρεκές οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, πολλοὺς δὲ τινὰς ἤδη καὶ

δ ὅστωι C θ οὐδεμίαν α ἀλλὰ Marc: 7 κατὰ Stein¹¹,
 van H. καὶ, ἐπ' αὐτῷ B¹² | τῆς γυνίθου ἀπὸ Stein¹¹, H¹³ αὐτῶν, van H.
 ὀδόντας καὶ van H. | μωνοφυίας . . ὀδόντας, αὐτὸ προσβίβης, om B¹⁴
 μωνοφυίας B 8 προσβίβης Stein¹¹: 3: ὀδόντας || τοῖς γομφίοις
 | πενταπήχους α 84. 1 ἐπεὶ δὲ B: ἐπεὶ γε διγ malbat B¹⁵:
 'locuta el locuta mas el coram illis' Stein¹² 2 ἠφάνισται Pata 1635: "
 ἰπ' C Marc: ἰπο RSV: τεν B: ὅτεν || ἀνθρώποι α 3 ἄτρεκέως B
 εἴπαι α, van H. | ἤδη om. S

rest of this and the next chapter. The matter is quite to Hdt. and on such occasions, cp. 3. 12, but takes cognitions of the battlefield may be additions of his own; on the other hand, the fate of Mardochius' corpse must have been a primary problem.

δεύτερον τοῦτον: not strictly after the discovery of the hidden treasures by Plataians, but simply 'after the war'; cp. a. 76 supra.

δ <έπει> τῶν νεκρῶν περιψιλωθέντων τὰς σάρκας: the plural σάρκας perhaps with reference to the numbers of different dead, but Hermer haltingly uses the plural, even as ὀστέα. The accusative is 'of corpses'; cp. a. 72 supra. ἐπὶ with the genitive here, upon 'the corpses', can hardly be temporal, though that would give one of the greatest entries in record ('at, or by, the time the dead bodies were arranged bare of flesh'); nor even local (the dead bodies having been gathered into one place), but perhaps more probably 'in the case of' (cp. App. A. 1. 1. Hdt. does not say that he had missed even these curiosities. 1 The skull without a stage (μυρία ῥαφὴ). 2 The jaw (upper) with all the teeth of a jaw. γομφίους or δόντες, regular word for 'teeth' (προσβίβης front). (Plutarch *Lycurg.* 3 makes a similar statement of Pythius. Pliny 7. 69 of the max. of Pexius of Bithynia.) 3 The bones of a man five cubits high (the tallest of the Persians wanted four fingers of that height, 7. 117 supra.

84. 1. ἐπεὶ δὲ, there is no reference to this problem, whether for all or material. Stein suggested *επει γε* on the assumption that the great corpse just mentioned, had been mistaken for that of Mardochius; but Hdt. would naturally have left no such to be understood, and the gradualist conclusion of the passage may arise from the amount of 'revelation' not fully carried through in the whole of this context. This, the *επει* is a together significant for the context and conclusion problems of Hdt.'s work. Cp. Introduction: § 10.

2. δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ, i.e. the day after the battle, or the 11th, the night of the day a battle has not been indicated; the nearest thing thereto is the *αὐτὴν* (local) instead of a. 82, if indeed that anecdote belongs to the same day. The dawn of the day of battle has been recorded in a. 66 supra.

δ νεκρὸς ἠφάνιστο, 'the corpse of Mardochius was assumed to be found'. The scandal against Lampon of Agrigento 741 supra, assumed the recovery of the body as a matter of course. The pl. p. may be taken as strictly temporal.

3 τὸ ἄτρεκές οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, I cannot hardly have even the permission to Mardochius on the road from Eretria to Plataea mentioned by Plutarch 2. 2. 2, evidently with some hesitation and doubt, due to the very passage in Hdt.

84γ ἠφάνιστο as in 7. 53. Though Hdt. uses ὅπως of perceptions not strictly visual (cp. τ. 58 supra and

παιτοδαπὸν ἤκουσα θάψαι Μαρδόνιον, καὶ δῶρα μεγάλα οἶδα λαζούτας πολλοὺς παρὰ Ἀρτύντῳ τοῦ Μαρδονίου παιδὸς, διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον· ὅστις μέντοι ἦν αὐτῶν ὁ ὑπελόμενός τε καὶ θάψας τὸν νεκρὸν τὸν Μαρδόνιον, οἱ εὐναμαὶ ὑπερέκειναι πυθέσθαι, ἔχει δὲ τινὰ φίτην καὶ Διονυσιοφάνησιν ἡμῖν Ἐφέσιον θάψαι Μαρδόνιον. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τρόπον τοιοῦτον ἐτάφη.

Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ὥς ἐν Πλαταίῃσι τὴν λήην διείλοντο, 85 ἔθαπτον τοὺς ἐνυτῶν χωρὶς ἕκαστοι. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν

8 αὐτῶν C Marc 3 || ὑπονοούμενος B 7 τοῦ Μαρδονίου Marc.
8 φάτις S | Διονυσιοφάνης B Marc : Διονυσιοφάνης B τρόπον τοιοῦτον
πρὸς ὁμοειρηνοτε ταν Η 85. 1 πλαταίῃσι C πλαταίῃσι B
διείλαντο B

α. 85) ὁρίων δὲ με ἀπομαρτυροῦν κτλ.) In principle, y. does *δῶρα* with *ἔργον* to refer once to audible, oral information (not as we, who speak of 'hearing' by letter, etc.). The curious passage 1. 124, 125 comes dangerously near our colloquial usage: οὐ βροδὶον . . . λαλῶν ἐπελέγετο, τὰ δὲ γράμματα λαγν ταδε δεύονσε ταυτα ὁ Κρόνος κτλ. . . The usual *ὁδῶμα* below contrasts not with the uncertainty of hearing, as though the *ὁδῶ* (*οἶδον*.) had necessarily some other source, but merely because 1. 1 of Hdt. is personal conversation (esp. 7. 214 *οἶδον*, 1. 3, 20 etc.), not that what we read have been the *δῶρα*, or some of them, or some of the persons who received them, or even Artontes himself, though he never saw the corpse, or even the tomb, of Mardonia.

β. Ἀρτύντος: to be distinguished from the father of Dageion 8. 124, though possibly of the same house, and named after him. Nothing more is known of Artontes the son of Aristonides but as in 4. 82 ff. Mardonia was young and lately married to Artontes, the daughter of Darius (cp. 6. 48), Stein ingeniously conjectures that Artontes may have had an official post in Asia Minor about 460 or later, when these appointments were made to him and his party so easily explained. (Stein, *op. cit.* 2. 2) makes all the successful appointments 'Persians, but he may have nothing more to say on this story in Hdt. This passage may otherwise give us a help to understand the text of Hdt.'s work. Cp. the *Marionis morte* Nipperhey ed. Nep. *Artem.* 2. 1; *Diogenes ad Aristot.* 2. 6 (P.H.G. v. p. 5); *Eusebius, die Constant.*

des Troubles Perses, 480, p. 23, *Κημης* h. 2, f. 26

δ. ὅστις μέντοι ἦν: that some of the applications was really genuine or honest that the body was never identified and buried are alternatives which Hdt. does not even consider. He assumes that *αὐτῶ* one secretly got the body away (*ὑπελόμενος*) and buried it. Another and more noticeable alternative line, indeed, been drawn of *αὐτῶ* alone. The problem evidently exercised Hdt. a good deal (or *δύναμαι ἀρμενιστε ποθεσθαι*). That 'burial' was not necessarily the proper rule for Persian *ἐθῶς* half known, cp. 1. 146, but the 'Magian' use may not have been as yet universal among 'Persians.' Cp. also 7. 10 *ad f.*

κ. ἔχει δὲ τινὰ φάτην: cp. *ἀκούει λόγον λεγόμενον* *ἔχει* c. 74 *μῦθος*, the reverse construction to *λόγον ἔχει* (cp. v. 70 *ἀκροῖται φάτις* *μῦθ* *ἔχει* 7. 3. *φάτις* *μῦθος* comes nearer than any single word in Hdt. to 'case report', more loosely written down by him for the first time, cp. 7. 3. 183, 8. 84, *Introductions*, § 12.

Διονυσιοφάνης of this I find out nothing is known but what Hdt. tells us. How an Ephesian man of letters came to be on the battle field of Plataea is anything but obvious: on which side were they supposed to be fighting? Were they prisoners, or slaves, or *ἀνδράποδα* or *ἐσθλὰ*?

85. 1 *διείλοντο, ἔθαπτον* the way once of terms seems to warrant the conclusion, since even if that is what the Greeks practiced the burial of their own dead to *ἐκείνων* *οἱ* *ἐκείνων*.

2. *χωρὶς ἐκαστοὶ* each set, each state, its own apart from those of the others.

τριῆας ἐποιήσαντο θήκας· ἔθθα μὲν τοὺς ἱρέας ἔθαψαν. τῶν
καὶ Ποσειδώνιος καὶ Ἀμομφάρετος ἦσαν καὶ Φιλοκλείων τε

3 ἔθθα . . Καλλικράτης καὶ Sisyler || ἱρέας Vahlenauer, Stein, van H.
ἱρέας de Pauw, ΔΕΞΕΙΣ: ἱρέας AB: ἱρέας Homer ἱρέας Main: ἱρέας
vel μηδ || τῶν καὶ: τῶν B Marc. 4 ποσειδωνιος R || ἦσαν post Η-
δώνιος S: ἦσαν 2

Pausanias 9, 3, 6 locates the tombs on the road, after the junction of the road from Eleuthera and from Megara, and just at the entrance to the city *κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐξόδον μάλιστα τῇ ἐς Πλαταιὴν τάφοι τῶν πρὸς Μήδων μάχεσθαι εἰσι*. Such is the precision of the actual *ἱστορία*; but even he has not quite accurately described the tomb in themselves: *τοὺς μὲν οὖν λοιποὺς εἰσι Ἕλλησι νόημα τῶν*. If this is correct, the statement of Hdt. below in regard to the tomb of the Tegeatæ, of the Megarians and Plataeans, to say nothing of the alleged kenotaphia, must be incorrect. Hekylæus maintains that Pausanias mistook the burial of the Herææ for 'the common sepulture of all the Greeks'. Or was it the Megææ Philistææ? Pausanias proceeds: *Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς ποσειδωνιοὺς διότι εἰσιν οἱ τάφοι καὶ λέγουσι ἐπὶ Σαμοθρίῳ γεγραμμένα ἐκ αὐτοῖς*. Pausanias unfortunate & does not quote the epigram, for previous texts of Hekylæus, see *authenticity* etc. Nos. 24, 29. Hekylæus is doubtless right in desiring to see in the rock-cut graves a little SE. of the plateau of the city, any remains of the *θήκαι, χωματὰ, or πολυδύφεια* which contained the bodies of the slain in 479 B.C., Pausanias, v p. 16.

Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν. The Lakædæmonians made them three graves, or tombs, *τριῆας θήκας*, or as Dr Frazer i.e., harmonizing Pausanias with Hdt., *εἰς τρεῖς, a triple grave, a common receptacle for three groups of dead men*. That is, indeed, very probably what they did, but Hdt. speaks of three *τάφοι* for the Lakædæmonians, in each of which a separate group is deposited, and, though the *τάφοι* may not be *χωματὰ* they appear to be quite distinct. If Hdt. is mistaken on this point, it is not the only mistake he makes in this passage, *ἡδὲ σ. 4. 192.*

3. *τοὺς ἱρέας*: a conjecture by Vahlenauer for *ἱρέας*, but a certain one. The *Ἀχαιοὶ* contains the word *ἱερὸν* (ep

Stein *ed. moy.* ii 466, but this is the only place in the text where it can occur, the word of *ἱερὸν* by themselves is impossible, and who were the *ἱερεῖς*? So great an error in Greek or Latin institutions Hdt. could not commit. The *ἱερὸν* (*ἱερὸν, ἱερὸν, ἱερὸν, ἱερὸν, ἱερὸν*, was the Spartan warrior from twenty to thirty years of age. Plutarch, *Life* i. c. 2, p. 1, in short, or *ἱερὸν* 1770, but it is not credible that Spartan citizens of that age occupied high military or civil posts, nor in it could be that Poseidonius, Amompharctes, Philokleon (ep. c. 71 *supra*), and Kalikrates (ep. c. 2 *supra*) were merely *ἱερεῖς*, that of all *Ἀθηναῖοι*. Neither is it to be admitted (with L. & S. *sub* α) that the word in this passage denotes officers of a rank, the *ἱερεῖς* in Homæros (*ἱερεῖς αἱ ἀρχαὶ ἡγεμῶνες καὶ ἐργαστῆρες ἀρχαί*) do not go beyond Pausanias, *οὗτος οὖν ὁ ἱερὸν εἶδος ἐπὶ γεγραμμένον ἐστὶν ὡς ὑπερεταγμένων ἐκ τῶν μάχων καὶ οὐκ ὡς ὑπερεταγμένων ὡς οὐκ ὡς ὑπερεταγμένων ὡς οὐκ ὡς ὑπερεταγμένων* (Plutarch may be following 'Aristotle' *Ἀπὸ πόλεως* 1) Kallikrates asserts that 'at the age of twenty the Spartans acquired the right to speak in the Assembly and to have a command' is a list of constitutions: the case to combining the previous *ἱερεῖς* (*ἱερὸν* from *ἱερὸν*) in *ἱερὸν* *ἱερὸν* with the *ἱερεῖς* standing of the *ἱερεῖς* of Hekylæus were cited. It appears that Hdt., though he employs the *ἱερεῖς* term *ἱερεῖς* has not undertaken it when he puts the *ἱερεῖς* in one grave, the rest of the Spartans in another, and as Hekylæus in a third. That *ἱερεῖς* indeed, takes no account of the *ἱερεῖς* Lakædæmonians, or *ἱερεῖς*. Probably these trenches, or *ἱερεῖς*, covered the Spartans, a majority of whom were *ἱερεῖς*, 1) Lakædæmonians. Hekylæus. Of the first trench one and *ἱερεῖς* c. 70 *supra*, the *ἱερεῖς* for the others are not given. The error is in the passage makes it unlikely that Hdt. derived this passage from a Spartan source, least of all one in *ἱερεῖς* *ἱερεῖς*.

καὶ Καλλικράτης. ἐν μὲν δὲ ἐνὶ τῶν ταφῶν ἦσαν οἱ ἱρῆνες, 5
ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐτέρῳ οἱ ἄλλοι Σπαρτιῆται, ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ οἱ
εἰλωτες. οὗτοι μὲν οὕτω ἔθαπτον. Τεγεῆται δὲ χωρὶς πάντας
ἀλέας, καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς ἰωντῶν ὁμοῦ, καὶ Μεγαρέες τε καὶ
Φλειάσιοι τοὺς ὑπὸ τῆς ἵππου διαφθαμένους. τούτων μὲν δὲ
πάντων πλήρεις ἐγένοντο οἱ τάφοι· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ὅσοισι καὶ 10
φαίνονται ἐν Πλαταιῇσι εἶντες τάφοι, τούτους δέ, ὥς ἐγω
πυρθανομαι, ἐπαισχυνομένους τῇ ἀπεστοί τῆς μάχης ἐκίστους
χώματα χῶσαι κενὰ τῶν ἐπιγυνομένων εἵνεκεν ἀνθρώπων.

5 ἦσαν. ἐτέρησαν? Stein⁽⁴⁾ || ἱρῆνες Valckenaeus etc. : ἱρῆνες ut supra.
ἱρῆνες AB : ἱρῆες Hübner : ἱρῆες Marc : ἱρῆες ceteri 7 οὕτω μὲν οὕτοι
ἐθαφθῆν B || πάντας ἐθαφῆν B : 8 ἀλέας AB : ἀλέας Marc : τοὺς
ἰωντῶν ἡμοῖ om. B 9 τούτων C Marc : 10 τῶν . . ταφῶν om. B.
c. 161 Plutarch, Mor 672 || ὅσοισι Krüger, Stein⁽⁵⁾ : ὅσοι 11 πλαταιῇσι
AB || δη 2 12 ἐπαισχυνομένοις AC : ἀπεσχυνομένοις Marc.
ἀπεστοί R (B ap. Hübner : ἀπεστοί τῆς μάχης ἐγένοντο S ap. Gaisford.
ἀπεστοί c. om. Valckenaeus || ἐκίστη Marc. 13 κενὰ Paria 1625 :
ἐπιγυνομένοις AC || εἵνεκεν c

7. Τεγεῆται. The Tegeatæ buried their eastern c. 70 *suras* al. together in a separate place, and *suras*, probably next the Lakadæmonians (cp. c. 24 *suras*). Pausanias does not notice the Tegeatæ grave.

8. Ἀθηναῖοι had fifty-two slain c. 70 *suras*. One might have expected them to have buried their dead down on the plain where, presumably, they had fallen (c. 67 *suras*), but Pausanias (i.e. appears to put the grave in the neighbourhood of the Spartan. (Could he have made a mistake?) Stein sees in Thucydides 2. 31. 5 an intentional contradiction of this passage in Hist. Krüger proposed to reconcile the two by supposing that the Athenians fought at Platæa was a homograph. But he boldly regards Thucydides as in the wrong.

Μεγαρεῖς τε καὶ Φλειάσιοι. This formula denotes the left centre of the Greek army (cp. c. 69 *suras*), and probably only one grave of *Antagônion* is here indicated, in which those of the right centre, who fell in conflict with the Pisians, were interred, to the number of 600; cp. c. 49 *suras*. That figure is not, indeed, convincing. It should perhaps be taken to represent the total losses of the Greeks other than the figures for the Lakadæmonians, Tegeatæ, and Athenians, in fact to cover also the losses of the right centre

of the Greek army which Hist. seems to think was not engaged at all. If so, then this number is the total of the *suras* described by Pausanias, the *suras* common for all the troops to the whole centre), distinguished from the separate graves for the Lakadæmonians and for the Athenians.

11 τῶν δὲ ἄλλων κ. Πλατῆαι. 11 φαίνονται ἐν Πλαταιῇσι εἶντες. 'are to be seen at Platæa, i.e. in the land of Platæa (cp. c. 16 etc.). It does not follow that Hist. had seen them before writing. Indeed, what evidence is based on hearsay, or correspondence (*αὐτοῖς ἀκούει*, *ἀκούει*); and if Hist. had been writing from his own personal inspection and remembrance, the imperfect tense would have been more natural *ἔπαισχυον φαίνοντο*.

τούτων δὲ: a true *de in operibus*, *suras* is better referred to *τάφοι* than to *ταῖς ἀλέαις*, and taken as in virtual opposition to *χωματῶν*, *ἐκίστους* (the *suras*, states being so great of the *suras*). There is still a slight confusion in the construction, which is *τῶν ἐκίστων* the *suras* in *οὐ ἐγὼ πυρθανομαι*, notwithstanding.

12 ἀπεστοί - ἀποστοί. Hübner gives the form *ἀποστοί* as well as *ἀπεστοί*, Ionic form. Cp. *ἀποστοί* 1 63 *τῆς μάχης*, on the 13th.

13 τῶν ἐπιγυνομένων ἀνέων, 'for the sake of (denoting) posterity'.

ἐπεὶ καὶ Αἰγινήτεων ἐστὶ αὐτῷθι καλεσμένος τάφος. τὸν ἐγὼ
15 ἀκούω καὶ δέκα ἔτισι ὕστερον μετὰ ταῦτα δεηθέντων τῶν
Αἰγινήτεων χάσαι Κλεόδῳ τὸν Αὐτοδίκου ἄνδρα Πλαταιᾶ,
πρόξενον ἔντα αὐτῶν.

86 Ὡς δ' ἄρα ἔθαψαν τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐν Πλαταιῇσι οἱ
Ἕλληνες, αὐτίκα βουλευομένοι σφί ἐδόκει στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ

13 τὸν: τῶν R(V)

15 τῶν om. SP, Holder

18 ἀλλ' ἐστὶ

αὐτὸν Marc.

17 προσέειπε S ὅντα C | ἐόντων :

86. 1 δὲ R(V)

| πλαταιῇσι α. πλαταιῇσιν R(V)

2 βουλευμένοι σφί C |

στρατεύεσθαι α'

13. καὶ Αἰγινήτεων. a particular came
but an unfortunate one to have selected,
as upon Hdt. a own showing the
Aeginetians being included in the left
column, of ἀπὸ Μεγαρίων καὶ Φυλακίων,
were at least engaged with the Theban
cavalry on the left. Cp. cc. 69, 28
passim. If they erected subsequently a
kenotaph (χωρὸς κενὸς or τάφος κενός),
it might be because their actual dead
had been interred in the common grave,
the 'Megari-Phleakian' grave, or κενὸς
μνημα, and they wished, as time went
on, to commemorate their own separately.
A similar consideration would account
for any other kenotaphs on the field.

ἐγὼ ἀκούω: not very convincing
evidence, nor very critically received by
Hdt. The use of the present is perhaps
rhetorical, or is he waiting in Athens,
where he would be hearing such things
soon? Cp. Introduction § 10.

10. καὶ δέκα ἔτισι ὕστερον μετὰ ταῦτα.
'as much as ten years subsequently
after the war' (καὶ εἰς αἰῶνα), i.e. in
188 B.C. For μετὰ ταῦτα cp. c. 83 supra,
(Plutarch, *de mutua Hdt.* 32 = Mor. 873
passim) *ἐπειδὴ δέκα ὅστων τῶν Μεδι-
κῶν*). As the date of time marks a
point, the date here given must be
meant to be exact.

16. Κλεόδῳ τὸν Αὐτοδίκον: only
mentioned again in Plutarch: he quoting
this passage. The name Kleodas is
known at Sparta and Argos; the name
Autodikos only elsewhere at Athens
(p. Page *Bibliotheca* sub εν.). As pro-
xiemer of the Aeginetians this Platanaian
might not be a very popular person in
Athens, whence Hdt. directly or indi-
rectly 'heard' this scandal. Plutarch
etc. makes one of his better points
against Hdt. & *παύειν* of *κακοὶ* kenotaphs,
yet the most of his arguments,
it is wide of the mark. The 'tropics

and columns' on which the names were
inscribed were commemorative of the
war rather than of the particular battle
of Plataea (on the 13th); moreover, as
above shown, there might be kenotaphs
on the field of battle in honour of
warriors buried elsewhere. On the
epitaphs cp. §. 196, 143.

86. 1 ἄρα: if the word is to suggest
an account of the unexpected the use
of abbreviation may in time come across
the place of abbreviation to mark the end
of the Greek dead & foreign land. p. 1
30. But what meaning of the 237,000
soldiers, more or less, of the enemies
with which Hdt. has bestowed the field
in c. 70 supra: are they covered by this
note? If which case the surprise
might extend to two numbers.

2. αὐτίκα βουλευομένοι σφί ἰδέσθαι
here is the second, or the next, & a
deliberation, a council, which issues in a
resolution to 'visit Thebes. (Cicero the
revised in Plutarch *Aratid.* 21 of the
treaty of Plataea, or the revision of the
confederate articles and the statement
of the *Breidheria*, to be inserted here? (Cicero
iv. 282 seems to date it to 'a
general and solemn meeting here at
Plataea after the victory.' But also
apparently dates that meeting after the
capture of Thebes. Plutarch omits
the Theban incident altogether, and
there is no room below for any other
congress or meeting at Plataea after the
surrender of Thebes. It, then, the
meeting which turned the position of
Aratid was held at Plataea, it would
be the meeting hereafter set up by
but perhaps the position of Aratid was
if ever entered at all was carried at a
congress at the Peloponnese for which room
may be found at c. 68 supra. (Cicero
defends the authenticity of the speech
of Aratid, but the story, as told by

τὰς Θηβας καὶ ἐξαίτεον αὐτῶν τοὺς μηδίσαντας, ἐν πρώτοις
 δὲ αὐτῶν Τιμηγενίδην καὶ Ἀτταγίρον οἱ ἀρχηγέται ἀνὰ
 πρώτους ἦσαν· ἦν δὲ μὴ ἐκδιδῶσι, μὴ ἀπανίστασθαι ἀπὸ τῆς
 πόλιος πρότερον ἢ ἐξέλωσι. ὥς δὲ σφι ταῦτα ἔδοξε, αἴπω
 δὴ ἐνδεκάτῃ ἡμέρῃ ἀπὸ τῆς συμβολῆς ἀπικόμενοι ἐπολιόρκεον
 Θηβαίους, κελεύοντες ἐκδιδόναι τοὺς ἀνδρας· οὐ βουλευμένων
 δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων ἐκδιδόναι, τὴν τε γῆν αὐτῶν ἔταμνον καὶ
 προσεβαλλον πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος. καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἐπαύοντο σινόμενοι, 87
 εἰκουστῇ ἡμέρῃ ἔλεξε τοῖσι Θηβαίοισι Τιμηγενίδης τάδε.

3, 4 αὐτῶν = (his): αὐτῶν ρητορ. L Koeh. 4 αὐτῶν abesse malit
 van H. | Ἀτταγίρον P ὁ ὅστις = | ἀπὸ. ἐξέλωσι. om. B 7
 ἐνδεκάτῃ C 9 τῶν Θηβαίων 'abesse poterat' van H. αὐτῶν =
 10 προσέβαλλον S Maer. 87 1 σινόμενοι B

Plutarch, is not confirmed by Thucydides 2. 71, for (a) nothing is there said of the unusual or extensive of the auxiliary *ἐπολιόρκεον*; (b) the privileges accorded the Plataeas are granted by Pausanias at a meeting of the allies in the Argos of Plataea. This point might very well have been made at the meeting here recorded. Giese hardly shows a notable sagacity in accepting the story of the personification of Aristodemus and at the same time rejecting the story of the council over the Plataeas which certainly ill squares with it¹.

3. *ἐξαίτεον αὐτῶν τοὺς μηδίσαντας*. If the story told in 7. 132 of the vow in the previous year against the traitors were true, the resolution now formally taken, to demand the extradition of the traitors among the Thebans, would appear both valid and superfluous: a reason the more for doubting the truth of last story. But again, this resolution recognises *αὐτῶν* clearly the existence of two parties in Thebes, the mediating party being evidently the Equestrians, not the Hoplites, cp c. 68 *αἰρεται* and 7. 223.

The reading *αὐτῶν* out of *αὐτῶν* for *αὐτῶν* is attractive: a second *αὐτῶν* in *τοὺς μηδίσαντας* comes immediately and there was no proper personal antecedent for *αὐτῶν* again. Cp App. Crit.

1. Τιμηγενίδην, cp c. 38 *αἰρεται*.

Ἀτταγίρον: c. c. 15 *αἰρεται*. The absence of the patronymic in this place seems to show that at the previous descriptions of the men are present to the writer's mind, though there is occasional reference back to the earlier passages. Hdt. written for a reading public; and

all names mentioned apparently belong to the first draft of his work.

ἀρχηγέται ἀνὰ πρώτους. The use of *ἀνὰ* is not easy to parallel, and *πρώτους* is awkward after *ἐν πρώτοις*, just before, and exactly tantamount with *ἀρχηγέται*, i.e. *ἡγήται ἀνα πρώτους αὐτῶν πρώτοις*. The term *ἀρχηγέται* is a word of exceptional dignity applicable to gods (Thuc. 6. 3. heroes (Aesch. vol. 21. 8, kings (Plutarch *Life* 8, and founders (Hdt. 1. 1. 133), as too Thucydides. How comes Hdt. to apply it to these Theban traitors? Did he get it of Thucydides? cp. 1d *passim*. It is an hapaxlegomenon in Hdt., though the verb is used 2. 129.

6. *πρότερον ἢ ἐξέλωσι*, no *οἷον*. The alternative without *οἷον* is observable, cp. c. 117 *αἰρεται*, also 7. 8 *οὐ πρότερον παύσονται πρὶν ἢ ἔλω τε καὶ πωλώω τας Ἀθήνας*, c. 63 *αἰρεται οὐ πρότερον τε παύσονται τιμωροῦντες αὐτοὺς πρὶν ἢ ἔλωσι* cp. c. 60 c. 5, just below.

7. *ἐνδεκάτῃ ἡμέρῃ*. In this the 23rd of the 24th reckoning continuously! The answer depends on whether *ἀπὸ* is exclusive or inclusive. It might naturally be the former; but the *ἀπὸ* in c. 84 *αἰρεται* is the day after the battle. In any case we have here exactly another of Hdt.'s weeks or 'semaines', cp. c. 8 *αἰρεται* and the next chapter here. The 4th day begins a fresh week.

συμβολῆς, c. 77 *αἰρεται*, cp.

ἐπολιόρκεον Θηβαίους: the tense is strictly imperfect, they made us enough to harass: they were for besieging. . . *ἐπὶ τῇσι τείχεσιν*.

87 2. *ἐκαστῇ ἡμέρῃ* probably not of the siege, but *ἀπὸ τῆς συμβολῆς* just

"ἄνδρες Θηβαῖοι, ἐπεὶ δὴ οὕτω δίδοκται τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι, μὴ
 πρότερον ἀπαισστήναι πολιορκέοντας ἢ ἐξέλωσι Θήβας ἢ
 5 ἡμέας αὐτοῖσι παραδῶτε, εὖν οὖν ἡμῶν εἴκεκα γῇ ἢ Βοιωτῇ
 πλεῖον μὴ ἀναπλήσῃ, ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν χρημάτων χρηρίζοντες πρὸς
 σχημα ἡμέας ἐξαιτέονται, χρήματά σφι δώμεν ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ
 (σὺν γὰρ τῷ κοινῷ καὶ ἐμνηδισαμεν οὐδὲ μῦνοι ἡμεῖς), εἰ δὲ
 ἡμῶν ἀληθεὶς δέουμένοι πολιορκέουσιν, ἡμεῖς ἡμέας αὐτοῖς ἐκ
 10 ἀντελογίῃν παρέξομεν." κάρτα τε ἔδοξε εὖ λέγειν καὶ ἐν
 καιρὸν, ἀντίκα τε ἐπεκηρυκεύοντο πρὸς Πανσατῆν οἱ Θηβαῖοι.

3 οὕτω· οὕτως S 4 πρὶν ἢ ⁊ 5 ἡμεῖς παραλείπετε Θ
βιωσάμε B 6 πλέω om. S | ἀνατλήσῃ ⁊ || εἰ· ἡ B ἤν Θ | χρῆ-
ναιτες R. χρῆναιτες R(V). χρῆναιτες ⁊ 7 ἐξαιπώνται Θ 8 οὐ
δὴ μὲν οὐα ἡμεῖς ⁊ 9 ἀλιτῶνς Mare ἡμεῖς < δέ· Krueger, van H
ἰστοῦσις ⁊ | eis R, V, H, der 10 εὐ om. Mare.

above, it would then be the 30th day of the week, the last day of the "week," which begins with the 11th day just above. It would be the 33rd day of the whole journey--if the figures were to be treated as quite exact, cp. ex. 86, 56, 52, 47, 44 41 *supra*.)

3. ϕ_{ftr} refers here to what follows
and = ϕ_{ftr} . (p. Index)

διδόνται τοῖσι Ἕλλησι & formal
δῶμα, *domus* (dom = house)

(אונגווייזענע פון אונזערע זאכן) + עטלעכע

ἡμέων εἰνεκα 'ἵνα καὶ αὐτοὶ οὖρ
'ἡσθαι καὶ αὐτοὶ οὖρ καὶ αὐτοὶ οὖρ

79 1/2 Bowery, treated as equivalent
to the 79 1/2 street lot above.

6 πλὴν μὴ ἀναπαύσῃ. "dehortative
conjunctive in 3rd person" (B. 411); εἰ
7 107 μὴ εὖδῃ σὺ τῶ γένηται.

πρόσχημα p. 4 167) might be
applied to to know but is better under-
stood as an adverbial accusative, con-
tracted with ελπίσας just below. cf.
πρὸς τὸν δ 83, ἀπὸς ἀρχῆς, πρὸς, etc.

are used to effect ends, which might be preserved by using our word 'commonwealth.' For the first sense op. 7 141; for the second 3 135. The phrase *pacifica* here asserted by this oligarchic traitor is of considerable interest, viz. that the individual citizen cannot be held responsible for the common fault, the crime or error of the community, even though he himself be its author or perpetrator. It is a plausible maxim, which even *Leviathan* itself is compelled to accept, and shows a considerable development of political reflection. In

the present case we are not informed whether there had been a formal request against Orpheus in favour of medicine, or whether the public medium is treated as a factor; there was at any rate an opposition, and an opponent, which if it is taken speaker *op.* Thus § 62, 8 is to be translated, was numerically a majority, though impotent. On the ground Pantheist § 8, I acquiesce the Committee by its own vote; indeed, even a person who is so little acquainted with the old Greek language would have noticed the error. He is clear that if the Persians had invaded Hellas in the days of Alcibiades, the Athenians would have incurred the reproach of mediocrity. The rider is unnecessary; but in any case the Athenians among whom the conventional principle of the political weapon was very too well understood, would have seen short work of the arguments of a Timarchides.

ἡ ἡμέραν ἀληθῶς διδόμενοι. "because they really want to get hold of us — or perhaps, 'if the demand for us is the true cause of the stage."

in developing ourselves, 'we will give ourselves up to be tried' (Pinkney), or rather to reply to the charge. No doubt a further trial is contemplated in itself only having contradictions, cp. 8, 77, but it seems to be used for reply, defence to objections or charges, controversies, discussion, cp. Tim. 1, 31-4, 73, 1, 2 87, 3. On the showing of this passage the character of the men should have been conditional. Cf. next chapter of f.

θέλοντες ἐκδιδόναι τοὺς ἄνδρας, ὥς δὲ ἡμολόγησαν ἐπὶ 88
τούτοις. Ἀτταγίης μὲν ἐκδιδρῆσκει ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος, παῖδας
δὲ αὐτοῦ ὑπαχθέντας Πανσανίης ἀπέλυσε τῆς αἰτίας, φὰς τοῦ
μῆδισμῶ παῖδας οὐδὲν εἶναι μεταίτιους. τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους
ἄνδρας τοὺς ἐξέδοσαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι, οἱ μὲν ἐδόκεον ἀντιλογίης,
τε κηρήσειν καὶ δὴ χρημασι ἐπείποιεσαν διωθέεσθαι· δ δὲ ὥς

88. 2 Ἀτταγίης Ar. P || ἐκ, ἐπὶ C 3 αὐτοῦ em B 5 τοὺς.
οὗς 80 Marc. 8 κηρήσει R κηρήσει Marc ἐπείποιεσαν α ἐπείποιεον
C Marc: ἐπείποιεσαν Ruz. 1635: διώσασθαι B σωθῆναι Cobi. 1
van H. (πῶς forte μαρὰ διώσασθαι τὴν αἰτίην ἀναιετα γινώσκοντες). δια-
ώσασθαι 1811⁵ ὁ δὲ ὡς BP, Διον. 1, em H: ὡς δὲ

88. 1 ἡμολόγησαν ἐπὶ τούτοις. The textus apud which Thebes ac-
cnowledged cannot have been confined to
Πανσανίης καὶ Τίμαρχος καὶ Ἀτταγίης,
and a few others, the dissemination of
Thebes for the next twenty years could
hardly be accounted for on that hypo-
thesis. The ἡμολογία must have in-
cluded further textus: the break up of
the Boeotian confederation, the 'anatomy'
of the Boeotian cities, the overthrow of
Theban hegemony, possibly some revision
of the Theban constitution itself, possibly
a time. Nothing exhausts the position
of affairs during the period so well as
the passage of Isotim, cf. B. Hrosl,
Comment. de Boeotia (1881, pp. 20 ff., *Hist.*
Ant., 1881, pp. 261 ff., who also discusses
the origin and rationale of the Spartan ex-
position of the text, esp. c. 33, where
he offers an argument *contra* Isotim.

3 Πανσανίης ἀπέλυσε another
tribute to the magnanimity of the
Spartans general, unqualified by any
indication of injury or contempt. In
this distinguishing between the guilt
of various persons of one family, and
refusing to hold the children responsible
for the father's crimes, Isotim accords us
an advance upon the good old maxim
of the fable *ex hypochoiri* related by the
commentary. Isotimism at Athens
some ten years earlier, cf. p. 86. Isotim
extends *Πανσανίης ἀπέλυσε* to *ἐπὶ τούτοις*
etc., *ἐπὶ τούτοις*, *ἐπὶ τούτοις*. Isotimism
remarks that Atticism was at issue,
and therefore formulation and suspects
Πανσανίης of modern slavery! We may
be content to note the hint of a growing
consciousness of individual responsibility,
proper to an age of reflection and
liberty.

4. τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἄνδρας: the omis-
sion of their numbers and names, the

anomaly of the grammatical construction,
the violence of the proceeding into a 1
point to an antepositive position behind
the main clause. The anomaly here may be
explained by referring of μὲν αὖ οἱ Θηβαῖοι,
but the historical situation is not thereby
highlighted.

ἐδόκεον ἀντιλογίης τε κηρήσειν.
were expecting to be put on trial, or,
to be called upon for a lecture, *Isotimism*
renders *ἐπὶ τούτοις* "I heard you on each side."
The re should naturally follow the verb,
and relative to καὶ δὴ . . . ἐπείποιεσαν.
The 2nd part *ἐπὶ τούτοις* *ἐπὶ τούτοις* an
'present middle'. *Verba* *ἐπὶ τούτοις*
and v. 11, 4 325 etc., 'are in Attic
prose.' Thus, 2 42 4 *ἐπὶ τούτοις* *ἐπὶ τούτοις*
ἀφ' ὧν τοὺς καταβόσκων ἐπὶ τούτοις,
ἐργῶ δὲ περὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀφ' ὧν τοὺς
ἀφ' ὧν τοὺς ἀφ' ὧν τοὺς, and the pi p.
an anastrophe.

δ, διωθέεσθαι, the word has caused
the commentators trouble; the use of
the present is anomalous, and there is no
clear object expressed. For appropriate
constructions cf. Ar. 1001. *Isotim*
renders *ἐπὶ τούτοις* out of the preceding,
i.e. *ἐπὶ τούτοις* *ἐπὶ τούτοις*.

The verb *διωθέεσθαι* is used c. 102
(*ἐπὶ τούτοις* *ἐπὶ τούτοις* *ἐπὶ τούτοις* *ἐπὶ τούτοις*)
ἐπὶ τούτοις *ἐπὶ τούτοις* *ἐπὶ τούτοις* *ἐπὶ τούτοις*
cf. p. 2, *ἐπὶ τούτοις* and so in *Isotimism*
21 124 *ἐπὶ τούτοις* . . . *ἐπὶ τούτοις* *ἐπὶ τούτοις*
ἐπὶ τούτοις, but also *ἐπὶ τούτοις* *ἐπὶ τούτοις*
to push apart, to break one's way through,
as in c. 132 *ἐπὶ τούτοις* *ἐπὶ τούτοις* *ἐπὶ τούτοις*
ἐπὶ τούτοις. *Isotim* at not here be used, with-
out an object, in an *ἐπὶ τούτοις* way: 'to
push their way through,' 'to pull
through' as we say, i.e. to get off?
(The anomaly of the present is caused
a little by referring of μὲν αὖ οἱ Θηβαῖοι,
who then learned that they were mak-
ing their escape by means of bribery.

παρέλαβε, αὐτὰ ταῦτα ὑποπόειον τὴν στρατὴν τὴν τὰν συμ-
μύχων ἅπασαν ἀπῆκε καὶ ἐκείνους ἀγαγὼν εἰς Κόρινθον
διέφθειρε. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐν Πλαταιῇσι καὶ Τηέβησι γεγόμενα.

89 Ἀρτάβαξος δὲ ὁ Φαρνάκειος φεύγων ἐκ Πλαταιέων καὶ εἰς

τὴν τὸν: τὸν Marc.
ταίησιν V | γινόμενα:

9 πλαταιαῖσι α· πλαταιαῖς K· πλα-
89. 1 καὶ δὲ: καὶ δὲ καὶ Marc. (Lambert)

ὡς παρέλαβε: so. αὐτοῦ, i.e. τοῦ
ἀνδρὸς παραλαβόν.

ἵ. αὐτὰ ταῦτα ὑποπόειον, 'carrying
on operations' c. 89 ἔπειτα τὴν in-
ταίησιν, 'at last that very winter.'

τὴν στρατὴν . . . ἀπῆκεν ἀπῆκε.
Pausanias may have disbanding, or dis-
missed to their homes, from Thebes, the
Athenians, and perhaps the Argives, etc.,
and one or two other contingents; but
it is very unlikely that the rest of the
allied forces will have been disbanded
at Thebes, or before reaching the Isthmus.
There appears to be a tendency in this
passage, as in the sources followed by
Hdt. for the story, to make Pausanias
a man wholly and solely responsible
for the execution of Timagoras and
the anonymous Theban deserter was
Anaxagoras c. 89 *supra*, among them
were Leontides? *supra* 7. They are not
tried by a Spartan court like the
Platians for 'atticism' in 427 B.C.,
Thuc. 3, 52-58, nor brought before a
jury of the allies, Pausanias puts them
to death out of hand. This appears to
be a very arbitrary proceeding, just such
as might be expected to find after his
fall, at a time when various persons
might be glad to wash their hands, at
least nominally, of anti-Theban conduct.
Blackley goes a long way further in
dismissing the memory of Pausanias: no
version of the story just as it stands, for
his facts, and suggests as the explanation,
that Pausanias had been already
intriguing with the Persians, and "put
the Theban conspirators to death in order to
conceal the evidence which they might
have given against him, had they been
brought to trial." But then Blackley
(with Atesias also believed that a battle
of Platana took place before the battle of
Salamina, and was quite a small, and
trifling affair (virtually, indeed, a defeat
for the Greeks). It is at least possible
that the Theban prisoners were duly, or
at least *pro forma*, put upon their trial
at the Isthmus, and that it was indeed
one of the conditions of their surrender
(*οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτοῖς εἰς ἀνδράσι παρ-*

ξονες. Pausanias merely executed the
sentences of the court.

8. ἐκ Κόρινθον—εἰς τὴν Κόρινθον, c.
c. 17 *supra*, probably an innocent γὰρ
εἰς τὴν Κόρινθον ἰσθμὸν, c. 7. 124.
There was probably a meeting, perhaps
a final meeting of the allies at which
the awards were made, offerings of
immunities conferred, and the oaths
perhaps renewed; c. 8. 123 and
c. 45 *supra*.

89 1. Ἀρτάβαξος δὲ ὁ Φαρνάκειος.
This narrative is continued from c. 83
supra. Hdt. is particularly for the patro-
nymic in the case of Ἀρτάβαξος son of
Pharnakes in c. 1. 124, 2. 41, 66, and here,
five times at 81, 1. But there are other
three places, and those all in this book,
viz. c. 54, 70, 77, where the name is
introduced in anything like a formal
context without it: the first place is in
a speech by Marathon, in the other
two, where the historian writes *παρὰ τὸν
πατέρα*, the reference to his paternal
context is so slight and so obvious, that
so: *παρὰ τὸν πατέρα* Ἀρτάβαξος φησὶν,
τοῦ πατρὸς Ἀρτάβαξος φησὶν, that the
introduction of the patronymic would
have been a stylistic absurdity. There
may be a primary purpose in this constant
iteration: was there another Artabazus
with whom 'the son of Pharnakes was
liable to be confounded'? For example,
the Artabazus who figures in Diodorus
as successful against the Atticans in
the Egyptian war 11, 74, 8, 77-4, and
again as admiral in the Kyrenian war
12, 3-2 and upholding the throne of
Kallias' 12, 4-5; c. 7, 151 *supra*.
It is not what indeed the very name
man? Otherwise who or what was a
father, and his father's father? The
name Pharnakes has been regarded as a
variant for Pharyngos or Phrygians
Rauksman in 'p. 449. Was the father
of Artabazus the high-placed dignitary
who died by a fall from his horse at
Salamina' c. 7, 88. The names Phar-
nakes and Pharnabazus afterwards occur
in the tragedy of Daskyleion; c. 8, 136

πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐρίμετο. ἀπικόμενον δὲ μιν οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ παρὰ σφίεας
ἐπεὶ τε ξείνια ἐκύλευον καὶ ἀνείρωτων πορὶ τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς
ἄλλης, οὐδὲν ἐπιστάμενοι τῶν ἐν Πλαταιῇσι γενομένων. ὁ δὲ
Ἀρτάβαζος γινούς ὅτι, εἰ ἐθέλει σφεὶ πάσαν τὴν ἀληθείην τῶν

2 ἴγνεντο B | παρὰ σφίεας B | 3 ἐπεὶ RV. | ξείνια C | ἀνείρωτων
Marc. Stein' (Ask. V, Galsford) ἀνείρωτων CP. | 4 πλαταιῇσι C:
πλαταιῇσι RSV | γενομένων C Marc. | 5 ἐθέλει ΔΒ'RV. | ἐθέλοι ||
ἀληθείην : τῶν ἀγώνων Idl. van H

supra. Pharnabazos 'son of Pharnakes,' 413-388 B.C. (Thuc. 2. 6. 1), was succeeded by Ariobarzanes (Xenoph. *Hell.* 5. 1. 28, cp. 1. 4. 7 and he in turn by an Artabazus. Krenkholz, *op. c.* p. 73. Another Ariobarzanes 'son of Artabazos' appears with his father among the most loyal followers of the last Darius (cp. Arrian, 8. 21. 6, 23. 7, etc.). The names Pharnakes, Pharnabazos, Artabazos, Ariobarzanes being, *lit.*, appropriate to one house, or clan, and last, one highly placed and esteemed in the Persian Empire (cp. Jastrow *op. Pauly-Wissowa, sub c*). There is a gap in the chronology at Susa between 470 B.C. or thereabouts and 449 B.C. Was it filled by 'Pharnabazos' the father of Pharnakes II? For name Pharnabazos does not occur in Hdt.

φύγων δὲ Πλαταιῶν Hdt. has been suspected of special relations with the family of Artabazos, cp. A. 125 *supra*, but he never represents his flight as anything but a *φυγή*. In that respect, unless it be in the latter verb at the close of the very chapter, *ἀπεσπόμενος*, he may have been the supposed patron more than justice. The 'flight of Artabazos from Plataea' may be little more historical than the 'flight of Xerxes from Athens'. The story, as told in this chapter, is full of intrinsic improbabilities. The tale assigned to Artabazos hoped to explain two awkward facts, awkward especially to modern Greek authorities: (a) the defeat of Mardonius, and (b) the escape of 40,000 men, who might have been at Susa, and offered as an atonement to the Persian League. The historical element in the careers of Mardonius and Artabazos is problematic, and in view of the licence of Greek historiography a little may be pardoned if he suspects at times that Artabazos never was on the face of Plataea at all. Cp. Appendix XIII § 5. 19. *de Πλαταιῶν* could not mean at most

more than *de* τῇ Πλαταιῶν cp. c. 16 *supra*.

καὶ δὴ τότε—887—cp. Index.

2. *πρόσω* 'far on his way' by the time the Thebans surrendered, or Pausanias had put an end to them at 'Korinth.

οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ the first absurdity, for the sons of Arias had been in the camp of Mardonius, cp. c. 28 *supra*, and had probably supported the view of Artabazos and the Thebans against Mardonius, cp. c. 4, *supra*. In any case it is not likely that Artabazos, with some 40,000 Persians reported 'heavily armed' of the Asiatics and the Thebanian cavalry; or that on his arrival as news of *τῶν ἐν Πλαταιῇσι* he renounced Thebes. It seems not really hard to interpret as Thebans here as representing a different party, an opposing faction or element in the body of the invasion, and so on as compared with the Asiatics and aristocracy, there were divisions in Thebes, as in Peukia, as in Boiotia, as in the Peloponnese as generally in Athens (cp. Plutarch, *Alexand.* 13). Two parties, two rival interests in the Persian question, but it remains an absurdity to attribute to either the ignorance here manifested of *οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ*.

3. *ἐπὶ σείνῃ ἐκάθοντο* 'sat on a banquet, *sc.* 16 *supra* and, at which they . . .

τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς ἄλλης: i.e. the army of Mardonius not their own army, cp. ὁ μὲν αὖτε στρατὸς καὶ αὖτε Μαρδόνιος καὶ στρατοὶ αὐτῶν just below.

5. *ἐλθέτω* cp. c. 28 *supra* l. 82, *πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῶν ἀγώνων αὐτῶν*—that is with the story what he has done—not even Hdt. himself. Artabazos (last of all) could afford to do so, if Hdt. a record of him is true. The phrase *εὐκταμένη* a number of *ἀγῶνες* at Plataea, or are they inquiring about the previous campaign too?

ἀγώνων εἰπεῖν, αὐτοὶ τε κινδυνεύσει ἀπολείσθαι καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτοῦ στρατός· ἐπιθήσεσθαι γὰρ οἱ πάντα τὰ ἐς τοὺς πυνθα-
νόμενον τὰ γεγονότα· ταῦτα ἐκλογιζόμενος οὔτε πρὸς τοὺς
Φωκίας ἐξηγόρευε οἰδέν πρὸς τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς ἔλεγε ταῦτα.
10 "ἐγὼ μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Θεσσαλοί, ὥς ἄρ' ἔτε ἐπείγομαι· τε κατὰ
πίχους ἔλθω ἐς Θηρίκην καὶ σπουδὴν ἔχω, πεμφθεὶς κατὰ τὸ
πρήγμα ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου μετὰ τῶνδε· αὐτοὺς δὲ ἱμῶν
Μαρδόνιος καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ, οὗτος κατὰ πόδας ἔμεν

6 εἰποι, van H. 7 αὐτὸν Marc. | οἶστο Es: οἶστο 8: οἶστο P: οἶστο Marc. | scil. Cebet, van H. 8 τοὺς om. 8 Marc. 9
ἐξαγόρευε C Marc. Gaisford | οὔδεις C 10 κατὰ πίχους 8 Marc. 11
Holder: τὴν ταχίστην Stein, van H. | κατὰ τὴν ταχίστην Marc.: κατὰ
ταχίστην A RV 11. κατὰ ταχίστην B: κατὰ ταχίστην C1: κατὰ ταχίστην D
Gaisf.) 11 ἔλθω Ank.: ἔλθω B: ἔλθω RSV 12 αὐτοῦ
om. Marc. | ἔμεν om. B: μόν 8: μόν Krueger

8. οὔτε πρὸς τοὺς Φωκίας ἐξηγόρευε οἰδέν: i.e. while marching through Phokis, as he must have done to get to Thessaly. This statement is evidently an afterthought but that hardly converts ἐξηγόρευε into a misprint. It is also an absurdity. There were 1000 Phokians in the camp of Mardonios, c. 17 *συμμε*, they would not have allowed Artabazos to get such a start of them. Had they done so, the remainder of the nation at home, on Parthos, who ἐπεσθεν ὁρμημέναι ἔφερον τε καὶ ἦγον ἔφη τοὺς Μαρδόνιον στρατὸν καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ κοῖτας Ἑλλήνων c. 31 *συμμε*, would hardly have allowed Artabazos from passing, much less entertained him, or invited his reports. However, to them he held his peace, to the Thessalians he told a lie. It is, however, also possible an absurdity to suppose, or imply, that there was any force at the disposal of the Phokians which could have barred the return of Artabazos.

10. ὦ ἄνδρες Θεσσαλοί: he talks as though he were addressing a public meeting. His speech incidentally furnishes three excellent examples of the use of κατὰ κατὰ πίχους κατὰ τὸ πρήγμα κατὰ πόδας. His haste is expressed three over: ἐπείγομαι κατὰ πίχους ἔχω σπουδὴν ἔχω he makes little of his 40,000 companions μετὰ τῶνδε.

11. ἐς Θηρίκην: why to Thirre? Why not to Makedonia? Why does he mention the Thessalians that his journey is Thirre, instead of saying his journey objective, unless it be that Artabazos

had really a special mission in Thirre, was in fact, governor of the province. The vague reference to his mission, the suppression of his object κατὰ τὸ πρήγμα, is not too great of the absurdity in the story. Artabazos would have had the sense to go with more circumstance, if lying had been necessary, or the Thessalians would have asked for details. But this story presents one of those monologues which are a laughing-stock, cp. c. 54 *συμμε*.

πεμφθεὶς seems to imply the absurd matter of Artabazos to Mardonios, cp. c. 42 *συμμε* and is as absurd as the allusion to the son of Pharnakes, who indeed, on his own showing is a fit unmarried man, meet to be sent on expeditions.

12. ὅρ' ἔτε: a pretty 'etiam' clause, the announcement that Mardonios with his army is close at hand or at heel is a fresh absurdity: the said commander and army are spending the previous winter in Thirre; had one south with a manifest object; the Thessalians would have known, or asked, how far that object had been accomplished. For more, however, the actual numbers of the forces of Mardonios are reduced, the absurdity of this item becomes. For more, this whole affair is hardly consistent with the view that the army numbered about 300,000 except, indeed, as far as Herodotus operates with numbers and numbers as though they were quantities from the measurement of space and time; cp. 7. 60.

ἐλαύνου προσδόκιμος ἐστί τοῦτον καὶ ξενίζετε καὶ εὖ ποιεῖντες φαίνεσθε· οὐ γὰρ ὑμῶν ἐκ χρόνον ταῦτα ποιήσιν, ἵνα μεταμελήσει." ταῦτα δὲ εἶπας ἀπήλαυε σπουδῇ τὴν στρατιὴν διὰ Θεσσαλίας τε καὶ Μακεδονίας ἰθὺ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς, ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐπείγουστος, καὶ τὴν μεσόγαίαν τέρμων τῆς ὁδοῦ. καὶ ἀπικνέσται ἐς Βυζάντιον, καταλιπὼν τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ

14 καὶ οἱ. Paris 1635 a | καὶ οἱ. C
ἀπῆλαυε B
καὶ οἱ. Marc.

17 θρήκης R,S)V

15 ποιοῦντες Marc. 15
16 μεσόγαίαν R | τέρμων S.

14. ξενίζετε (7. 27) (as ye are entertaining me).

15. ἐκ χρόνον = ὑστερον. ep. 3. 72
ἀμείνω ἐκ χρόνον ἔστιν.

ταῦτα ποιήσιν, conditional. ἢ τοῦτον καὶ ξενίζετε καὶ εὖ ποιεῖντες φαίνεσθε. ταῦτα ποιήσιν and εὖ ποιεῖντες just before) of course are not identical. σπουδῇ. ep. 11 ἤρπτε.

17. Μακεδονίης here appears en route and signifies another absurdity her absurdity may be in an assumption, and an assumption is made by omission. What then of Alexander and the Macedonians at this crisis? (Was he not, like the Alexander so far, in Artabazus' company?) Demosthenes, 23. 200 says that 'Perdikkas' king of Macedonia destroyed τὸν ἀναχωροῦντα ἐκ Μακεδονίας τὸν βασιλέα and completed 'the king's' further release τὸν ἐκ Μακεδονίας τὸν βασιλέα, and was given πολιτεία by the Athenians in consequence (see Dem. 13. 24). Perhaps the only serious mistake Demosthenes here makes is in calling the Macedonian Perdikkas, but the passage says nothing of Artabazus, and must be true even if Alexander saw Artabazus and his 40,000 safely through Macedonia, and no less true if Artabazus had never taken his 40,000 southwards across the Axios at all!

ἰθὺ τῆς Ἑλλάδος. 'straight for Thracē, greater of the direction off which the movement is estimated. The construction is frequent in Homer and Hist. e.g. 4. 89 ἰθὺ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ, 8. 95 ἰθὺ τοῦ τοῦ Ἑλληνιστοῦ καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος. But ἰθὺ ἐπὶ Θεσσαλίᾳ 8. 66, ἰθὺ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἑλληνιστοῦ 8. 108 (where the adverb may perhaps be taken in a temporal signification).

ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐπείγουστος re-emphasizes the point humorously: 'that he was in a hurry was true enough.'

18. τὴν μεσόγαίαν τέρμων τῆς ὁδοῦ. i.e. marching not by the coast but by a shorter or more direct route, farther inland. ep. 7. 124. It is not clear for what portion of the route of Artabazus the remark holds good, doubtless from Thero to Akantia, ep. 7 c., but farther east likewise an inland course may have been followed, from Akantia to Bonnikos for example. ep. 7. 12. At Bonnikos (ep. 7. 119) Artabazus would learn that the bridge on the Hellespont was threatened or even in fact destroyed, ep. c. 114 ἵνα εἰς ἡμᾶς οὐκ ἔγνω ἡμᾶς ἤδη, and that Bostan was being blockaded, if not actually in the hands of the Hellenes. To get to Byzantium he would therefore give the Hellespont and Thessalonians a wide berth, though he might have made for Perinth on the first instance (ep. 7. 25).

19. ἀναχωροῦντα ἐκ Μακεδονίας. Hdt. unfortunately does not late the arrival of Artabazus at Byzantium, but it must have been before the capture of Byzantium by Persians in 478? B.C. (Thuc. 1. 94. 2), and he had again evacuated it, or we should have heard more soon of his having been among these βασιλεῖς προσφρονεῖς καὶ ἐγγυνοὶ of Artabazus (ep. 7. 128. 5). Besides, he reappears very soon as being of Byzantium (Thuc. 1. 129). This is oddity enough the first and only mention of Byzantium by Hdt. in these Books; it figures more largely in his 'second volume,' ep. 4. 87, 144 & 26, 169, 6. 1, 26, 83, probably after he had seen the city. ep. Hdt. 1. 1. 1. p. 207; it is not mentioned in Hdt. 1. 2. 3, an accident arising, perhaps, from the nature of their contacts or from the circumstances of their composition.

τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ this force had originally consisted of 60,000 men, 8. 116, it is reported at 40,000

ἐν τῇ Δῇλῳ κατέατο οἱ Ἕλληνες οἱ ἐν τῇσι ἡνσι
 ντυχίδῃ τῇ Λακεδαιμονίᾳ ἀπικόμηναι. ἤλθόν σφι ἄγγελοι
 ἱμοῦ Λάμπων τε Θρασυκλέους καὶ Ἀθηναγόρης Ἀρχι-
 ῖω καὶ Ἠγησίστρατος Ἀρισταγόρῳ, πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ
 λαβρῇ τῶν τε Περσέων καὶ τοῦ τυράννου Θεομήστορος
 Ἀνδρόδμαντος, τὸν κατέστησαν Σάμου τιρανον οἱ
 ἐπελθόνται· δὲ σφέων ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἔλαγε

θύατο θ. ἐκατίατο ε. 5 τε δ θ || Θρασυκλέους α Μαρ.; Θρασυ-
 κλέους ε. | ἀρχιστρατιδῶν θ 7 Θεομήτορος Α, Ακ
 ρος θ (ν υπερσε. V) θ τυράννου σουμεν θ || οἱ Πέρσαι ου.

τῇ Δῇλῳ κτλ. The record of
 operations, treated throughout
 solely independent of the land.
 In central Greece, is resumed
 32. κατέατο here can hardly
 enter question since Strabo, for
 as to Lelios is expressed dated
 advent of spring, 8. 131, 132.
 & the expression ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ
 & 130 is used of a journey of
 an host wintering in Samos,
 winter there does not turn on
 κατέατο but on the context.
 & περιεστία (relative inactivity,
 siege, or blockade; cp. Thuc.
 6. Περσέων ἐπελθόντων πρῶτον
 ἀνδρῶν αὐμάτων καὶ μὴ καθῆσθαι
 κατέατο 10. 2, κα. 2. 20, 3
 περιεστία περὶ τὰς Ἀχαρνας καθῆ-
 σθαι καὶ Ἀχιλλεύου in
) & 11. 2 καθῆσθαι δ' αὐτοὺς
 χειρὶν τοῦτον & Στάλκας, in
 wintering, but not in winter-
 ing.

ντυχίδῃ τῇ Λακεδαιμονίᾳ the
 appears both superfluous and
 of the full pedigree, 8. 131.
 for father's name was probably
 lost to foreigners. Hdt. uns
 are over the title from his

ἄλλοι ἀπὸ Σάμου this embassy
 with the Athenian embassy de-
 132. It consists of only three
 of six, but they have all
 the commission πεμφθέντες and
 and they not merely take
 with them to Samos but bring
 of an Ionian revolt from the

In both cases there is the
 position between the tyrants
 Persian supremacy, Samos of
 tyrant of Samos, are alike
 & in medium.

5. Λάμπων . . Θρασυκλέος. If this
 Samian Lampion nothing more is re-
 corded. The name is a common one.
 Hdt. mentions an Athenian c. 21 *μυρία*,
 an Argivean c. 18 *μυρία*—it is in this
 Book. Cp. notes to 1. c. The names
 of Samos only figures here. The best
 known bearer of the name is an
 Athenian, cp. Thuc. 5. 19. 2, 26. 1, &
 15. 1, 7. 8, 19. 2

Ἀθηναγόρης Ἀρχιστρατιδῶν. The
 Samian Athenagoras is merely a name.
 Thucydides mentions two others, name
 Ankoos—a prominent Syracusan d. 35,
 & Knodiant, d. 6. Ἀπηνιστρίδης is
 less common a name than Αρκεστράτης
 (which it resembles), but appears at Athens
 (cp. the Attica 577-8 a.c.).

6. Ἠγησίστρατος Ἀρισταγόρῳ.
 Hegesistratus proves the ring leader and
 but of good omen. He is one of three
 men of the name mentioned by Hdt.,
 cp. α. 37-41 *μυρία* the Telliad and d.
 94 (a son of Leontistides). This name
 comes very near the preceding (Arche-
 strates), and the patronym Ἀρισταγόρῳ
 is not very different in sound from
 Αἰστανάγορος perhaps the two pairs
 were related. But of more frequent
 occurrence. Hdt. alone mentions him
 of the name (1) the tyrant of
 Kyme d. 138, 5. 27; 2 the tyrant of
 Kyme d. 138. 3 the tyrant of Miletos
 5. 30 etc etc. & the Samian here, of
 whom nothing more is known.

7. Θεομήτορος τοῦ Ἀνδρόδμαντος
 cp. d. 86 *μυρία*; he had no escaped the
 tyranny very long! The absence of
 any express reference here to the
 previous passage is observable, the
 names are possibly different but are
 there. (The article is hardly necessary.)

8. ἐπελθόντων . . ἐπὶ τοὺς στρα-
 γοὺς. ἐπέρχονται, 'to come forward for

- 92 μάχους." ταῦτά τε ἅμα ἠγόρευε καὶ τὸ ἔργον προσήγε· αὐτίκα γὰρ οἱ Σάμιοι πίστει τε καὶ ὄρκια ἐποιεῦντο συμμαχίης πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες οἱ μὲν ἀπέπλεον [μετὰ σφέων γὰρ ἐκέλευε πλέειν τὸν Ἠγησί-
 5 στρατον, οἰωνὸν τὸ αἶνωμα ποιούμενος] οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνας ἐπισχόντες ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην τῇ ὑστεραίῃ ἐκαλλιερύοντο, μαντευομένου σφί Διηφώνου τοῦ Εἰηνίου ἀνδρὸς Ἀπολλωνικήται.
 93 Ἀπολλωνίης δὲ τῆς ἐν τῷ Ιονίῳ κολπῷ. τοῦτου τὸν πατέρα

92 I προήγειν B 3 ταῖς αὐτ. ('Ματτ. αἱ μὲν· αἱ οἱ μὲν ὁδοί Beker, van H.: (οἱ μὲν Σάμιοι) οἱ μὲν ἅλλοι αὐτοὶ Σάμιοι) 4 ἀπὲπλεον van H., μετὰ . . ποιούμενος αὐτ., Σάμιοι² μετὰ σφέων PBA πλείων ε. πλείονι van H. || τὸν Ἠγησίστρατον αὐτ. B 7 μαντειο-
 μόνου B(2)V || διηφώνου C 8 ἰωνικῷ B 93 I ιωνικήν νεκρίν
 οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνας supra, Σάμιοι², Heller, van H. || τοῦτου τοῖ B, H. αὐτ.

92. 1. ταῦτά τε ἅμα κτλ.: for the παρτατα εἰ. K 5, + κα supra, and 3. 30 ταῦτα εἰτε καὶ ἅμα τρεῖς καὶ ἔργον εἴποιτο a still more forcible parenthesis. προσήγε, κ. ταῦτα, οἱ ἐφ' ἑστί.

2. αὐτίκα γὰρ οἱ Σάμιοι κτλ. If authentic, and true, this statement is of high historical importance as (a) dating the actualization of the Samians, and of the Samians alone, into the Hellenic Synmachy before the battle of Mykass; (b) representing the matriculation into the Synmachy as effected by the king-navigator, without reference to any further authority (except perhaps the Synmachion of admirals). The exact scope of the Synmachy is not here defined, but it could hardly be one restricted in its object to the liberation of Samos from the Persians and the tyrant; it appears to be the general assembly πρὸς τὸν Ἠγεστὸν (2. 145) or ἐπὶ τῷ Μηδῷ (ibid., 1. 102. 4). Or did they only bring themselves, συμμεχόμενοι, to become full members of the Synmachy as soon as they were freed (1. 106 infra).

3. οἱ μὲν . . ποιούμενοι. The end of the chapter at least looks very unsatisfactory. εἰ μὲν οὐ τίς τις ἀναγνώσκει all the Samians, and if Hegemistenes is to be detained, and the rest scattered is to be retained, αἱ μὲν εἶναι ἀναγκασμένοι, καὶ αὐτὸν πλεονάζον, but the retention of Ηγεμιστήν as inconsistent with the permission or command above ποιεῖν δόξαι ἀποπλεεσθαι. If τὸν αἰωνὸν αὐτὸν retained in c. 91, αἰωνὸν τὸ αἶνωμα ποιούμενος here is intolerable. Cp. App. CII.

4. ἐπισχόντες. Why this pause?

3. 23, 66, 113, c. 49 supra, α α. Maronides had doubtless misapprehended Athens by this time the fleet was pre-eminently an establishment with the army in Attica, or in Boeotia. They obtained favourable conditions for peace and no doubt at the right strategic point.

ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην: 1. c. 200, a duration of time, Lucian, § 30, τῇ ὑστεραίῃ, the day of point of time, d. § 45. Cp. c. 90 αὐτὸν καὶ ἡμέρας.

ἐκαλλιερύοντο a strong imperfect for the word of 7. 131 supra, μαντειο-
 μόνου, αὐτὸν c. 36 supra.

7. Διηφώνου τοῦ Εἰηνίου. The name Degezios² apparently occurs only in this passage, but what are commoner compounds of Διηφώνος? dare it have a distinctly Asiatic ring well suited to a Samian? However, αὐτὸν αὖτε as a personal name—αὐτὸν αὖτε τὸν αὐτὸν, of Εἰηνός, a river or river god of Attica. Hesiod, *Theog.* 242, 21, v. 2. 83. 3, etc. Its other and rather commoner name was Διηφών, Cp. *pa* Putarch, *Mor.* 1911 ed. Didot, v. 58. It is the "vateria" river of "old" Attica, and Kaledon was on its bank. Strabo 43. I have been its course, its waters a name in *Phidias* (Bausan, *loc. cit.* p. 20) and in Jobouches east of Melos, etc.

8. Ἀπολλωνίης δὲ τῆς ἐν τῷ Ιονίῳ κολπῷ. Joseph Byz. enumerates 25 cities of this name, some of them in Phrygia. Rawlinson, *Hecataeus* Early Writings 1. 112 ff. enumerates 30 cities in which east or west, which have the name at one time or other. This observation concerns rather the popularity of Ἀπολλωνία than the matter in hand. The tu-

κατέλαβε Εὐήμεον πρήγμα τοιόνδε. ἔστι ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίῃ
ταύτῃ ἱρὰ ἡλίου πρόβατα. τὰ τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας βόσκειται παρα

2 Εὐήμεον: 'heaven and earth alike!' Kullenberg: incl. Holder: Εὐήμεον
κατέλαβε τῆναιρ Νικίη? 3 τὰ: 2 B

chief foundations were undoubtedly
Apollonia on the Iaxartes [4. 90, 93
supra], and the one here is questioned.
It was south of Εριδανῶν (cp. Thuc. 1.
26, 2), is probably by the river Aous
(see below). Strabo 316 ἐφ' ᾧ Ἀπολλωνία
πόλις εὐνομεῖσθαι ἐπέσθη Κορινθίων καὶ
Κορυθαίων (Κορυθαίων τε καὶ Κορινθίων
ἐποικισί: 4Κυθηρός, 440, τοὶ ποταμοὶ μὲν
ἀπεχόμενα σταδίων δεκά τῆς θαλάττης δε
εξήκοντα. Thuc. 1. c. makes it simply
a Corinthian foundation (cp. Plutarch
Agor. 552 r, who puts the foundation in
the reign of Pericles, i.e. before 456 B.C.).
The Olympian dedication (Pausan. 5.
22, 3) made Phoebus himself the founder.
The courage (order, of the period, but
not going back before the fourth century
B.C., cp. 8. Houd. Hist. Num. p. 266
well illustrates the importance of
Apollonia, especially in the Roman
period, when the city was one of the W.
termini of the Euxinean way, Νύκτα τὴν
(Εριδανῶν) καὶ τὴν ἄλλαν, Strabo
324. It played a considerable part in
the civil war (cp. Caesar B. C. 1, 1,
Cicero, Phil. 11, 29), at Apollonia in 44
B.C. Octavianus received the news of his
uncle's death and started to recover his
inheritance and to retake the Empire.

in τῇ Ἰονίῃ πόλει the usual
designation of this Apollonia, cp.
Pausanias 5. 22, 3 Ἀπολλωνία-αὶ αὖ ἐν
τῇ Ἰονίῃ cp. Aelius, V. H. 15, 16,
Strabo 424 καὶ ἡ τῆς Ἰωνίας, Steph.
B. ἡ κατ' Ἐνδομόν. Cp. Thuc. 1. 24, 1
Ἐνδομόνδε δὲν ποιεῖται δευρὶ ἐσπερίων τε
καὶ ἰωάνων πόλιν τε προσεσκησάμενοι δ' αὖτῃ
τοὺς Ἰωνίαν βαρβάρους ἰλνυμένους ἱκανοί
(on the Iorian gulf cp. 7. 26 supra & 1.
supra) Strabo 316 καὶ /, ἡ δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ
τοῦ στόματος τοῦ ἰωάνου ἀνατολὴ καὶ τοῦ
Ἰδίου at the Kotanlian mountains
south of Apollonia and of Ianezmos,
the part of Orizos. The 'mouth' is
common to this 'Iorian' and 'Adrian',
the difference being that, properly speak-
ing, the lower part of the sea is the
'Adrian', and the outer, or lower, the
'Iorian' (cp. 4. 27, 5. 2) 193.

22 κατέλαβε cp. cc. 60 supra,
104 infra καὶ καταλαβόντα c. 49 supra.

3. ἱρὰ ἡλίου πρόβατα. 'Phoebos'
himself was their founder (cp. Pausan.

5. 22, 3, the city bore the Apolline
name, the fission of Φοῖβος Ἀπολλων
with Ἥλιος is therefore a *post mortem*
in Apollonia, and this remains to the
oldest evidence of the amalgamation, in
cult and myth. The πρόβατα here are
apparently horses, or goats (cp. πᾶ
λατὰ τῶν προβάτων 8. 137 supra), as
they are called by wolves. The animals
associated with Helios are chariot horses
καὶ δ' ἄρῃσι ἵπποι, Hesiod. Works. 31.
14., and, also, oxen and horses
ἐκ. 12, 127 f. Helios does not ἵππων
μυλᾶ, δὲ καὶ βοῶν ἀγέλην, τοὺς δ' αὖτ'
πᾶσι καλᾶ, 66 in each herd of flock,
350 in all, tended by the αὐτάρης,
Phaethonius Lampetie, day and night.
Apollon is almost certainly in origin a
silly pastoral deity and, especially as
Λαῖος, Λαῖκος Λαοκρόνος in guard an
of the sheep; as also λαοκρόος, λαῖος,
Λαοκρόος, etc.).

βόσκειται, unde, pascitur (the
active 6. 30, also 1. 44, in quasi meta-
phorical nouns). Cp. Hesiod. Works. ad
Apoll. 413 f. Ταύρων ὄμιον τε μύλα
βακτηρὰ βόσκειται οὐκ ἡλιος βοῦντες

κατὰ [- Χάνα -] ποταμὸν 'There
can be no doubt that the river concerned
is the Aous, or Pinar, which flows from
the central part of Pindus, called Lacomia
by the ancients (Hesiod. op. 72, Sopho-
crates Strabo 66, 891, and especially noted
into the Adriatic a little south of the
site of Apollonia' Kallimachos, Chama
is restored by Stein from two Canons of
Theophrastus 794 (cp. Cratichus, Ἀπὸ
τῆς, in (251) 141 Χαν, ἡνὸς ἱερὸν
ποταμὸν ἐκ αὐτῆς καὶ ἡ Ἰππερὶς Χάμα
κατὰ Νεμῶν. Bn. d. 8 Χανὸς πρὸ
Χαν, where this passage remains (112).
The 'Pindus' Chama' no longer resem-
bles 'Chama', which got its name from
the Χάμα cp. Thuc. 2. 64, 9 Str. 1, 2.
81, 3 etc., and not from a river Chan, for
whose real existence the evidence of
Theophrastus affords evidence. If any
river hypothesis existed, it would probably
be in South Italy, where the Chamae
reappear as 'Choma', cp. note to 7. 170
13 supra. The grammatical is wrong in
calling Hitt. as authority for 'Chama',
and he also apparently misreads 'Chon'
to account for Chama.

[<Χῶνα>] ποταμὸν, ὃς ἐκ Λάκμονος ὄρεος ῥέει διὰ τῆς Ἀπολλωνίης [χώρης] ἐς θάλασσαν παρ' Ὀρικόν λιμένα, τὰς δὲ νύκτας ἀραιρημένοι ἄνδρες οἱ πλοῦτῃ τε καὶ γίνεϊ δοκιματατοὶ τῶν ὑστῶν, οὗτοι φυλάσσουσι ἱκαντὸν ἕκαστος· περὶ πολλοῦ γὰρ δὴ ποιεῦνται Ἀπολλωνιῇται τὰ πρόβατα ταῦτα ἐκ θεοπροπίου τινός· ἐν δὲ ἄντρῳ αἰλιζονται ἀπὸ τῆς πόλιος ἰοέκως. εὐθα δὴ τότε ὁ Εὐήνιος οὗτος ἀραιρημῖνος ἐφέλασσε καὶ κοτε αὐτοῦ κατακοιμήσαντος φυλακὴν παρελθόντες λίαν ἐς τὸ ἄντρον διέφθειραν τῶν προβάτων ὡς ἐξήκοντα. ὃ δὲ ὡς ἐπῆσε, εἶχε σιγῇ καὶ ἔφραζε οὐδενί, ἐν νύφ' ἔχων

4 Χῶνα = Theroognosti canon 794 in our Stein, Holder, van H. canonicus romii || Λάκμονος R: Λάκμωνος α, van H. || οἱ ὅριος CP Marc α, van H. 5 Ἀπολλωνιῇται Valla (per apolloniastem agrum) || χώρης om. Marc.: rect. Ste H² || ὀρικόν Marc. 6 ἀραιρημένοι C 7 ἕκαστον Δργ.: ἕκαστοι C 8 γὰρ: τε B | δὴ om. CMarc. 9 ἀπὸ πόλ. Colbet, van H. 10 ἀφαιρημένοι R(S V 11 κατακοιμήσαντες primo sup. and statim correat B(Gaisford)V, Reiske, Holder, van H. 12 τῆς φυλακῆς BP: Holder, van H. 13 ἐπῆσε ABC: ἐπῆσα Marc: ἐπῆσεν S | ἔφραζε(v) B || ἐν νύφ' S

4. Λάκμονος ὄρεος: Steph. B. παρ' υ. Λάκμων ἄκρα τοῦ Πινδου ὄρει, ἐξ ἧς δ' Ἰσραχοί καὶ Αἰόλαι ποταμοὶ ἐκ ἑκαταεὶς ἐν πρώτῳ. Strabo 271, 316 (quoting Hekataios) gives the Latin Λάκμων τὸν δ' ἄγων Αἰάντα καλεῖ. Εὐρυταῖος καὶ φησὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦτο τοῦ περὶ Λάκμον, μάλ' ὅταν δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μεγάλου, τὸν τε Ἰσραχὸν καὶ Αἰόλαν πρὸς ἑσπέραν καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀδριακόν.

διὰ τῆς Ἀπολλωνίης. the name of the city for the country; cp. ἐκ Ἀθηνῶν = ἐκ Ἀττικῆς c. 17 supra, ἐκ Θήβας, *ibid.* etc.

5. παρ' Ὀρικόν λιμένα. Steph. Byz. παρ' υ. Εὐρυταῖος λιμένας καλεῖ τῆς Ἰππικῆς τῆς (sic) Ὀρείδος, ἐν τῇ Βόρῳ περὶ μετὰ δὲ Βουθρωτὸς πόλιν, μετὰ δὲ Πικρὴν λιμένα. Ὀρικός, or Orontes (so with the Latins, e.g. Caesar H. l. 3 praenot.), now is Epeiros: no stream rises on Lakmon flows out anywhere near it. The geography of H.H. is at fault, and probably at second hand; this passage, though it deals with the West, is probably not a result of his own western voyage, but belongs to the first draft of the Book.

6 ἀραιρημένοι ἄνδρες: c. 7. 118 supra.

οἱ πλοῦτῃ τε καὶ γίνεϊ δοκιματάτοι: cp. Aristotle Pol. 8 (41. 4. 5 = 1290 a ἐν Ἀπολλωνίᾳ τῇ ἐν νύφ' ἔχων

... ἐν ταῖς ταμαῖς ἦσαν οἱ θεοπροπίαι κατ' εἰρησίας καὶ πρώτοι κατασκευάζοντες - τὴν ἀπὸ αὐτῶν - ἀλλοὶ δὲ τὸν πολλόν. 7 περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούνται cp. 6. 104, 2. 181, 2. 40 supra.

9. ἐκ θεοπροπίου τινός. 'in consequence of a certain prophetic or divine utterance' - ἐκ is here rather casual than temporal. θεοπροπίον = an Homeric word, much used by Herodotus for an oracle or prophecy; so θεοπροπίαι is with him always used for 'consultations' of an oracle. Just below the Apolloniastae are found consulting both at Dodona and at Delphi.

ἀπὸ πόλ. *ibid.* cp. 3. 41 αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐκεῖ ἐπῆσεν.

10. τότε. the time above referred to in κατὰ τὴν ἐρημίαν τὴν ἐκεῖνην.

11. κατακοιμήσαντος φυλακῆς: the accusative may be of temporal duration, or more generally, of imitation: the verb is used in a transitive sense 4. 114 supra.

παρελθόντες λίαν ἐς τὸ ἄντρον. Evonios was asleep outside, and the wolves get past him into the cave. cp. 2. 72 ὅταν δὲ ἦσαν φυλάκας τὰς ἐκεῖ στυγίας τοῦτο οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔλαττο παρελθόντες cp. 3. 77. Heronour μαγιστὰν εἰρηνοῦ παρελθόντες.

13. ὃς ἐπῆσε, 'when he perceived (it)'. The verb occurs in a still more

ἀντικαταστήσειν ἄλλα πρὶν ἔμενος. καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἔλαθε τοῖς
 Ἀπολλωνιήτας ταῦτα γινόμενα, ἀλλ' αἷ ἐπύθοντο, ὑπαγαγόντες 15
 μιν ὑπὸ δικαστήριον κατέκριναν, ὡς τὴν φιλακὴν κατακαιμή-
 σαι, τῆς ὀφίος στερηθῆναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν Εὐρύκλειον
 ἐξιτύφλωσαν, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα οὔτε προβατὰ σφί ἐτίκτε
 οὔτε γῆ ἔφερε ὁμοίως καρπὸν, πρόφαντα δὲ σφί ἐν τε
 Δαδίωνη καὶ ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐγένετο, ἐπεὶ ἐπειρώτην [τοῖς 20

15 γινόμενα B || ἀλλ' ὡς: ὡς δὲ S: ἀλλὰ καὶ! Stein¹ || ὑπύγοντες B
 16 ὑπὸ: εἰς τὸ Πιπικ 1630 εἰς τὸ τ || κατέκριναν om. B || κατακαιμήσαντα K,
 Reiske, H. Hitz, van H.: sed verba ut... κατακαιμήσαντα scilicet habet van H.
 18 τὰ προβατὰ S 19 καρπὸν om. B, Holder || πρόφαντα: προβατὰ B
 20 ἐγένετο B || ἐπεὶ Reiske ἐπειτα || ἐπειτα... ἔφηρζον del. Krueger:
 τοῖς προφύτας et οἱ δὲ αὐτοῖσι ἔφηρζον del. Stein, Holder, van H. || ἐπει-
 ρώτην Marc., Gaisford, Stein¹: ἐπειρώτην CP: ἐπειρώτην 2

generalized sense in 3. 25) ἐπύθοντο
 σιγήσαν, 'conquiescent'.

εἶχε σιγῇ, 'kept quiet' silent,
 rather than rem. from τελευτᾶ or μένει
 (the normal constitution of εἶχε with
 οὐκ, cp. Index) σιγῇ, as 8. 60, 74,
 still more 7. 237 (cp. also 2. 140,
 σιγῇ εἶχε 1. 86, literally
 ἐν νόῳ εἶχε, 'intending...')

15. ταῦτα γινόμενα, 'what had
 happened.'

ὑπαγαγόντες μιν ὑπὸ δικαστήριον.
 cp. 8. 104 ἐπὶ δ. αὐτὸν ἀγαγόντες, 6.
 198 θανάτου ὑπαγαγὼν ὑπὸ τὸν δῆμον
 Μελιτιάδης, 6. 72 ἐπὶ δικαστήριον ἰσ-
 τήσαν.

17 τῆς ὀφίος στερηθῆναι on the
 principle that the punishment should fit
 the crime, ὀφίος=ὀμματα, as in Aristot.
 Hist. An. 8. 10, 7 λευκὴν εἶχοντες τὴν
 ὄψιν. Porphyrus goes further: 3. 70. 12
 ἀσπερσμένη τῆ μάστιγι ὀφίος ἐστὶν ὁ νό-
 τιον for the *clausula* (as we say, a
 'singlet', cp. 7. 16, 8. 34 περὶ, 8. 66.
 The two extremely concrete meanings
 correspond to the two primary and more
 abstract meanings of ὀφίος, viz. the faculty
 of seeing, 4. 8, and the aspect or apper-
 ceance, 7. 47.

18. ἐξιτύφλωσαν is logically a plu-
 r perfect of τυφλῶ.

αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα, 'immediately
 thereafter'

οὔτε προβατὰ κτλ.: cp. 8. 139
 οὔτε γῆ καρπὸν ἔφερε οὔτε γυναικί τε
 καὶ ποίμασι οὐκ ἐτίκτεν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ.
 This was of course, the result of a curse
 (cp. 8. 62, the naming and the curse of
 Καλπίστου on the Iliumans). Here the
 γυναικί are not included. [Economy.

call it *τὸν ἀνθρώπου* only: make it *τὸν ἀνθρώπου*
 through the Greek god, or historian, as
 was hardly thinking of that.

19. πρόφαντα δὲ σφί ἐν τε Δαδίωνη
 καὶ ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐγένετο. It was fore-
 shown to them at Dodona and at Delphi.
 προφαστος occurs also 5. 68 (and
 twice in Sophocl. Trach. 1159, 1163).
 The verb had doubtless been founded
 under Delphic auspices, cp. e. 93 *μυρεν*
 Dodona: it has larger place in the earliest
 books of Herodotus, esp. 2. 52, a passage
 which passes a personal visit by the
 historian to the place. It is here men-
 tioned purely in passing and no doubt
 taken over from the source, whatever it
 was, of the story of Evadne, and there
 is nothing in the notice so suggest that
 this passage was written after Hdt.
 wrote rather the reverse: nothing in
 fact to lead us to date the composition
 of this passage other than early in the
 genesis of his work.

Strabo 347. 9 treats at length of
 Dodona, Steinh. Byz. devotes his longest
 article thereto. The Dodonaium-questum
 hereina, of course, the Theophrastan cp. 4.
 33, or oldest Greek oracles, which has
 seemingly been supplied by Delphi,
 though the tribes and cities of the
 neighbourhood naturally resorted there-
 to. It was destined to something like
 a revival at a later time, when Delphi
 was in difficulties and during the Roman
 period when all this district rose in
 importance. The method, or methods,
 of divination practiced at Dodona are
 obscure, upon the whole subject cp.
 L. Strabo, *Adulone et ses ruines*, Paris,
 1878.

προφῆτας] το αἷτιον τοῦ παρεύντος κακοῦ, [οἱ δὲ αὐτοῖσι
ἔφραζον] ὅτι ἀδίκως τὸν φυλάκον τῶν ἱρῶν προβατῶν Εὐήμερον
τῆς ὀψίος ἐστέρησαν· αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἐπορμήσαι τοὺς λύκους, οἱ
πρότερον τε παύσεσθαι τιμωρόντας ἐκείνῳ πρὶν ἢ δίκας δώσειν
25 τῶν ἐπορήσαν ταύτας τὰς ἂν αὐτὸς ἐληται [καὶ δικαιοῖ]-
τούτων δὲ ἐπιτελεσμένων αὐτοὶ δώσειν Εὐήμερ δύνει τοιαύτην
94 τὴν πολλοῦ μιν μακαριεῖν ἀνθρώπων ἔχοντα. τὰ μὲν
χρησθήρια ταῦτά σφι ἐχρήσθη, οἱ δὲ Ἀπολλωνιῆται ἀτόρρητα
ποιησάμενοι προσέθεσαν τῶν ἀστῶν ἀνδράσι διαπρήξαι. οἱ
δὲ σφι διέπρηξαν ὡδε· κατημένου Εὐήμερου ἐν θάκῃ ἐλθοῖτες

23 ἱρῶν οὐα. C || Εὐήμερον οὐερ. habet Kallenberg 23 ἐν τοῖς C
24 παύσεσθαι S || τιμωρόντας K(S)V || ἐκείνῳ om. S || δώσειν ALCBN
25 ὡστο Μαρ. || ἐληται καὶ eccl. Collet, Holder, van H. || καὶ δικαιοῖ
eccl. Blakesley, Stein³ 26 τούτων S || ἐπιτελεσμένων Stein³ || τελευ-
μένων Stein³, Holder, van H. || τελευμένων Μαρ. || δώσειν εὐήμερ δώσειν H
δώσειν εὐήμερ δώσειν Μαρ. 94. S προσέθεσαν Collet, van H., Stein³
προέθεσαν || ἀστῶν S || ἀνδράσι <τρισι> Gompertz 4 ὡδε P

21 τὸ αἷτιον, 'the cause', this use of the word is observable. Cp. 7. 126. τοῖς προφῆταις is inconsistent with 2. 55 and with 8. 36. Stein suggests that the contexter misunderstood αὐτοὶ as if followed the lead of προφῆταις. But see below.

22 φυλάκον: the form is constant in H II. (γινώσκ is found 1. 41, in a somewhat different sense.)

23. αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἐπορμήσαι τοὺς λύκους. the plural αὐτοὶ is remarkable, as associating Zens and Apollon in the joint action, Dodona and Delphi in a common utterance; a curious coincidence, an unprobable coincidence, is suggested by these coincidences, which is not much helped by remembering that there was a Zens Apollonias well as an Ἀπολλων Δωκεῖος in the Greek Pantheon. Howi knowen was not favoured to this extent? 45-49) unless indeed we are to infer that Apollon and Artemis were exactly coincident on that occasion. Are we to suppose collusion, genuine inspiration, or false report, as the source of this coincidence? Or is the record an unshared one. Did the one oracle exactly confirm the other, as if, for example, the Apollonians might have inquired first at Dodona, and then, furnished with the reply, have gone to Delphi only to get it reconfirmed there? (cf. the action of Agamemnon at Oenone and Delphi in 3. 48 n.c. (330-3) Xenoph. Hell. 4. 7. 2) αὐτοὶ must, of course, refer to the gods,

whether we keep τοὶς προφῆταις abeyant or not. The proposal to cut out the αὐτοὶ προφῆταις on the ground that it is inconsistent with 2. 55 of Dodona; as if with 8. 36 of Delphi is vitiated by the assumption that Hdt. is a careful and not inconsistent writer. But further a προφῆτης is mentioned for Delphi in 5. 37, and in 2. 56 we have ἐκ τῶν προφῆτων ἱερῶν, but with οἱ ἄλλοι Δωκεῖοι (cp. 4. 32), while Hdt. shows that originally men, the Ἰλλοὶ were the prophets, or priests, of the god at Dodona, and Strabo 402 declares that to the end Hecataeus gave ἄλλοις προφῆταις ἐν Δωδωνῇ. The mean anyway did not everything that was said. Hecataeus of Hist. had been at Dodona before writing this passage he would have expressed himself differently — the latter is supposed the Hecataeus for Delphi might in any case be easily a bit of careless conflation.

24. τιμωρόντας ἐκείνῳ. To cut it out need of bringing and to the living? 159 or vengeance to the dead? 141, etc. This long phrase keeps us badly waste reducing to waste!

25. ταύτας the pronoun seems to refer to the future, but compensation still to be expected.

26. δώσειν δώσειν, cognate accusative. 94. 2. ταῦτα is certainly predicative ἐχρήσθη. 7. 141 ἡμεῖς ἀπορρητὰ ποιούμενοι < 45 ἡμεῖς > 1. ἐν θάκῃ: no doubt it is a phrase

- θεῖς· οἱ δὲ πριμενοὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐκτημένων διδοῦσιν οἱ τὰ
 εἴλωτο. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτὰ ἐμφύτον μαρτυκὴν εἶχε, ὥστε
 95 καὶ ὀνομαστός γινεσθαι. τούτου δὲ ὁ Διήφορος ἴων παῖς
 τοῦ Εὐηνίου ἀγόντων Κορινθίων ἐμαντεύετο τῇ στρατιᾷ ἤδη δὲ
 καὶ τότε ἤκουσα, ὡς ὁ Διήφορος ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ Εὐηνίου οὐνό-
 ματος ἐξελέμβανε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἔργα, οὐκ εἰων Εὐηνίος
 5 παῖς.
 96 Τοῖσι δὲ Ἕλλησι ὡς ἐκαλλιέρησε, ἀνήγον τὰς νέας ἐκ τῆς
 Διήλου πρὸς τὴν Σάμον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένοντο τῆς Σαμῆς πρὸς

16 ἐκτημένων C 20 καὶ οἱ. Ματ. || οὐνομαστόν δ' οὐνομαστῆς:
 95 1 δὲ ὁ οἱ. B 2 τοῦ Εὐηνίου πικρὸν. hdt. van H. || ἀγρόντων
 6. van H 3 ὁ οἱ. B || ἐπιβατεύων post Εὐηνίῳ. Marc. επ. βατεύων
 B¹R²S³V || ὀνόματος R²S³VP⁴Mat. van H. 4 ἐπὶ. ἐπὶων R²hdt
 ἔργῳ Ask. 96. 1 νῆας

16. οἱ δὲ: so. οἱ Ἀπολλωνίῃται.
 19. μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτ. . c. r. 77. 1 οἱ. *supra*.
 ἐμφύτον μαρτυκὴν. this was the
 dose furnished by Zeus and Apollo, a
 95 ad p. This talent of divination as
 εἰμύτοι was as yet acquired from a
 human master (a hereditary transmission.
 Cp. Dio. 10. 4. 203 οὐκ ἔρ-
 ταὶ ὡς τοῖς τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις παῖσι
 . . . αὐτὸ θέρμα.
 εἶχε 'became possessed of.'
 Wesseling w. c. r. 22. 347 αὐτο-
 δίδατος δ' εἶμ, θεοὶ δὲ μοι ἐν φρεσὶν
 οἶμα πνεύματα ἐφύοντο

95. 1. ἴων παῖς. Hdt. appears to
 prefer the view that Diaphoros was
 true son to Euenios; but there was a
 doubt on the subject: why? Was
 Diaphoros too old to be the son of
 Euenios, or to have been born after the
 date of Euenios' acquisition of μαρτυκὴ?
 The date of the events just related is
 not indicated by Hdt., but the sceptical
 doubt as to his paternity may have been
 based upon chronological grounds. The
 doubt may have been started by rivals,
 diviners, Athenians or others.

2 ἀγόντων Κορινθίων, Apollonia
 being a Corinthian colony; cp. c. 83
supra.

ἤδη δὲ . . . ἤκουσα. the same
 formula 7, 56 *supra*, introducing an
 alternative not credited by the historian
 himself. The passage here looks like an
 addition, perhaps of later date.

3. ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ Εὐηνίου οὐνόματος.
 Cf. 3. 63 ἐπ' αὐτῶν τοῦ Σαρδίου οὐνό-
 ματος with a slight difference, the huge
 calling himself himself, Diaphoros call-

ing his father Euenios, or Euenios his
 father. In either case, however, there
 is the usurpation of a name, the warrior
 taking advantage of a name to get the
 prize himself: a hint; cp. also c. 20
 ἐπ' αὐτῶν τοῦ θήματος

4. ἐξελέμβανε. as Diaktesley (after
 Schwei khneiser) chorrea, ἐχλαμπαῖον
 elomare may be the correlative of εὐδαι-
 μοσύνη. I.e. 'he took, was undertaking
 to perform work (εργα, as of 1 *supra* as
 ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα: the prepositional
 in eunomia, suggesting 'against, what
 would here be εὐνομία Schwei ghneiser
 Latona defends it, and says ἀντι-νομία
 per τὴν εὐνομίαν: but would be more real,
 but still e. l. a Honor, cf. 16. 63 εὐ-
 νότως ἐπὶ δότῃ διαμύσσει, etc. etc. 22.
 2. 117 δυο' ἐπὶ δότῃ ἐπρεθὲ γένοντο
 cp. ἐπὶ πολλὸν 8. 107 *supra*.

96. 1. ὡς ἐκαλλιέρησε: so. τὰ ἰσά. cp.
 c. 19 *supra*. Doubtless in the fleet also
 the victims had been slow to reveal the
 favourable sign until the moment for
 advance was come, not earlier than the
 evacuation of Attica by Mardonius itself
 cp. c. 19 *supra*.

ἀνήγον τὰς νέας· cp. 4. 76. *supra*
 the move from Delos to Samos marks
 the assumption of the offensive by the
 Greeks at sea, even as decisively than
 the move into Boeotia the assumption
 of the offensive by land: c. 19 *supra*.

2 πρὸς τὴν Σ., of motion, but not
 hostile motion, to

ἐγένοντο τῆς Σαμῆς πρὸς τὴν Κα-
 λυμνίαν. they reached (came to rest at
 Kalymna in Samian territory, Athenaeus
 572 f. Ἀλκις δ' ὁ Σάμιος ἐν δυνάμει ὄρει

Καλαμίουσι, οἱ μὲν αὐτοῦ ὀρμισάμενοι κατὰ τὸ Ἥραιον τὸ ταύτῃ παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς ναυμαχίην, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι πυθόμενοι σφίας προσπλῆειν ἀνήγον καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς τὴν ἡπειρον τὰς νῆας τὰς ἄλλας, τὰς δὲ Φοινίκων ἀπῆκον ἀποπλῆειν. Βούλετο

3 λαμίσουν 8: Καλάμοισι Latcher, Gaisford, Hilder, van H., ex Athenaeo p. 572 F || ὀρμισάμενοι 2: ὀρμισάμενοι Marc., ὀρμισόμενοι ceteri || ἡραίων R 4 ὡς ἐς 2 || πυθόμενοι σφίας B, Stein², πυθόμενοι σφίας Stein¹, Hilder, van H. 6 νῆας 2 || ἀποπλῆειν van H.

<Ἥραιον> Σαμιαῶν τὴν ἐν Σάμῳ Ἀφροδίτῃ, ἥ ἡ μὲν ἐν Καλάμοις καλοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐν Ἑλῆϊ, Ἀστικαὶ φησὶν ἐταίρει (ἰδρῶντο αὖ συνακολουθήσασαι Περικλεὶ δὲ ἐταίρειαι τὴν Σάμῳ. This is the only passage where a name resembling what is here in evidence occurs associated with the sea. It suggests three conclusions: a) that the name of the place was Καλάμοι 'the Kalmos' (cp. the variant Δελός); b) that it was a natural place for an enemy's fleet to attempt a landing at; c) that the temple here referred to was not an Heraion but an Aphrodisaion though, not, of course, one founded as late as 440-39 B.C. The only name and foundation of the temple, described by Aetia, is not convincing though deductions a) and b) then, there may have been from the occasion and the persons described.

2 τὸ Ἥραιον τὸ ταύτῃ: the expression seems to suggest that 'the Heraion in this place' is distinguished from an Heraion in some other. There may, of course, have been more than one Heraion in Samos; but there appears to be no independent evidence to prove the existence of more than one. If the great Heraion (3.60) be here intended, the addition of the words τὸ ταύτῃ is rather perplexing. (Could they signify not the Heraion of Kalamos in contrast with another Heraion also in Samos, but simply the Samian Heraion as distinguished from the Argive, the Olympian, or any other?). The position of the Heraion would seem suitable to the story in this chapter. The temple was on the sea-coast, at some distance from the city and on a flat plain, cp. H. K. Tozer, *Islands of the Aegean* (1890) p. 175.

5 ἀνήγον . . πρὸς τὴν ἡπειρον the δόξα μὲν is reckoned as from Samos, in relation to the mainland it was a safe place. It appears presently that the Persians went S.E. as far as Miletos, not N.E. as for Ephesus. They were well

served by their intelligence department, and had timely notice of the advance of the Greek fleet from Iolus.

6 τὰς δὲ Φοινίκων ἀπῆκον ἀποπλῆειν. Hdt. apparently means that while the rest of the Persian fleet retired on the mainland, even to the Phoenician squadron or contingent was sent to sail right away — exactly whether he does not indicate. Others suppose the omission — home. This statement in any form is a major error. That the Phoenician fleet was clean dismissed to save it from a battle and in the presence of the enemy, is never credible. If it was at Samos in the spring of 480 B.C. it would have retired on the mainland and helped to defend the fortified camp on Mykale, or if detached from the rest of the fleet, it would have been employed on some special service — an advance on the Kyklades, left exposed by the Greeks, or more probably to operate upon the rest of the Greek fleet, or to attack the winter, after the greater part of the Greek forces had been drawn on to the mainland, and induced to detach.

Hdt. can hardly be understood as meaning that the Phoenician ships had been dismissed *ἀπὸ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως* in the winter 'when in winter' *Scythia* home. That may have been the case, but if so, Hdt. does not know it.

Domaszewski has suggested that the Phoenician (and Egyptian) fleets were recalled all the time on service off Thracian Makedon, Thessaly, protecting the coast, and attending to the communications of Macedonia. But Hdt. does account for the 'Egyptians' in 82 *supra*, and if the Phoenicians were in the Thracian sea, why did they not support or cover Sestos? Or how did they get away? If the Phoenicians are withdrawn from the Persian fleet at Samos, and the Egyptians likewise, what remains? Very little except Greek vessels or quasi-Greek Egyptian whose loyalty

μένοι· γὰρ σφί εδοκεν ναυμαχίην μὴ ποιέεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ αὖ
ἐδόκειον ὅμοιοι εἶναι. ἐς δὲ τὴν ἡπειρου <ἀνήγον>, ὅπως ἔωσι
ὑπὸ τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν τὸν σφέτερον εἶοντα ἐν τῇ Μυκάλῃ
τοῦδε κελεύσαντος Ξέρξεω καταλελειμμένος τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοῦ

8 ὁμοίοι. CP Marc: ὁμοιοὶ καὶ μὴ ἔχοντες τὴν Η. | <ἀνήγον> Stein:
ἀπέπλων B, Stein¹², Holzer: ἀπέπλων van H., om, OC Marc. 9
στρατὸν σφέτερον Marc. || μυκᾶλη S

to Xerxes certainly could not be trusted at this juncture. Had the Persians been present, yet the Persian admiral would hardly have risked a sea-battle in Greek waters, even with the memory of Lade to back them. Cf. Appendix VII § 1. Hdt. sets out no real motive for the retirement from the sea, and the dismissal of the Phoenician contingent is presumably an inference from the facts, but a not unreasonable inference; the Persian admiral felt they were not equal to fighting a battle at sea with the (τρεῖς κισσοὶ—ἀξιώμαχα); and they desired, to obtain the cover (σῶσις, cp. 8. 92 σῶσις) and cooperation of the large land army, which was holding Ionia. But Hdt. fails to explain why the Persians were not ἀξιώμαχα at sea (absence of the Phoenicians, etc., nearest loyalty of the Ionians, etc.); and he certainly credits them with no ulterior intention or hope of joining the Greeks on to the mainland, into the clutches of the *corps d'armée*.

ἐν τῇ Μυκάλῃ. Mykale has been described c. 90 *supra* simply as τῆς ἰωνίας, assuming the text to be there complete, at least so far as this point is concerned. The mention of Mykale in 7. 80 is merely *ex passim*, and does not prejudice the problem of composition in any way. It is more significant that no geographical description of Mykale occurs in this Book, whereas such a description is given in Bk. 1 118 ἡ δὲ Μυκᾶλη ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ ἀπὸ τῆς πελοποννησίου κατὰ τὴν Σαρωνίδα· how is such a sentence to be reconciled with the hypothesis that these Books (7-9) are the earliest portion of Hdt.'s work drafted by him, and in particular that Bk. 9 is of earlier composition than Bk. 1? The answer is not really difficult. (a) Mykale was a locality famous in this story and Hdt. has not paused to describe it expressly, at the same time incidentally the topography of the place is here in evidence. (b) The passage in

Bk. 1 occurs in an eminently descriptive passage, where a topographical note was obviously in order. (c) Hdt. has probably in writing the early Books of his history a western, or at least a larger, audience more distinctly in view than when he first sat down to write the annals of the great invasion; it is to this wider public that the large amount of geography in Bks. 1-4 is addressed. (d) The whole context in 1. 148 fortifies the supposition that in describing Mykale there is here the battle of 479 B.C. in view and refers in this place the total absence of any back reference to 1. 148 is irrelevant. As far as this story was concerned he was content originally with the simple incident for ἡμεῖς οὐ σέβοντες τὸν ἐχθρὸν, would have been superfluous. If he had had 1. 148 in view, it is also remarkable that in 6 16 Mykale is mentioned as requiring no description whatever. The explanation there is probably not that he has the description in 1. 148 in view but that he is following an Ionian source in the account of the Ionian revolt, and that the source took Mykale for granted. Mykale is, however, here both expressly and incidentally more fully described than there; though that passage now precedes this in the *opus*.

10. κελύσαντος Ξέρξεω, 'by order of Xerxes'; the participative of this statement is remarkable. It was he, of course, the king or commander-in-chief, but does not specify the precise point of time at which the order had been issued. Was it part of a general plan, devised or sanctioned by the king, during his first residence at Sardis, c. 481-80 B.C.? Or was it an afterthought dictated possibly by personal apprehension during his second residence in Sardis, after his receipt of his 'flash' from Euryp? Ionia cannot have been besieged of troops when Xerxes advanced into Europe and the

Ἰωνίην ἐφύλασσε· τοῦ πλῆθος μὲν ἦν ἐξ μυριάδων, ἐστρατήγησε δὲ αὐτοῦ Τυρρῆνης καλλεὶ καὶ μαγάβει ὑπερφέρων Περσέων. ὑπὸ τούτων μὲν δὴ τὸν στρατὸν ἐβουλεύσαντο καταφυγόντες οἱ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατηγοὶ ἀνειρῦσαι τὰς νέας καὶ περιβαλέσθαι ἔρκος ἔρυμά <τε> τῶν κῶν καὶ σφίων αὐτῶν κρησφύ & γετον. ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι ἀνήγοντο. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ παρὰ 97 τὸ τῶν Ποτνικῶν ἱρὸν τῆς Μυκίλλης ἐς Γαίσην τε <ποταμὸν>

11 Ἰωνίην τε R || πλῆθος B 12 καλλεὶ AB· καλλεὶ τε &, van H
|| μαγάβει α 13 ὑπὸ: ἐπὶ & 14 οἱ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατηγοὶ
om. δ || & & 15 ἔρυμα δ || τε α M. Stein, van H || καὶ σφίων AB:
καρφεων E || αὐτῶν & 97. 1 παρὰ τῶν Ποτνικῶν τὸ ἱρὸν? Καλλι-
οπη? 2 μυκίλλης H || γαίσην R· γαίσην Macc || τε & ποταμὸν?
Stein?; verbum inersui, cf. comment. infra

which καταλαβόμενος τοῦ ἄλλου στρα-
τοῦ was more than compatible with the
view that this force had been left behind
the main force, when the latter passed
over the bridge in 480 B.C., though the
words are generally interpreted as Hitt-
erpathos understood them as meaning
'retained after the rest of the forces',
which had returned from Eurys, were
understood like the Phoenicians' to their
own forces.

11 ἑξ μυριάδων 60,000 as the nominal
strength of the *corps d'armee* in Ionia in
an essentially lacunary (Ison, and cer-
tainly other suggestions) regard to the
organization of the Persian forces. This
may, or *corps d'armee*, presumably con-
prises six Myriads under a *Myrarcha*,
perhaps five of subunits, and one of
cavalry, and it exceeds 10,000, as
possible, with the army of Artabanus &
120,000. Cf. Artabanus II § 5.

12 Τυρρῆνης This Tyrrhenus is the
father Azarmanus who one year before,
cf. 7. 62 is to be trusted, was *archon* of
the Meles. (Cf. also 8. 28.) He had
still person his Meles with him (but
cf. p. 113, and α 31 *αὐτοῦ*). He is now
α τοῦ ποταμοῦ στρατῆρς, i.e. in supreme
command of a *corps d'armee*, by sym-
bolism, he is called in the ensuing
action c. 102 *αρχὸν*. His house takes
no account of the previous mention, or
mention, of him as independent is
story of story and action of houses. In
classical times Tyrrhenus α <αὐτῶν> καλλεὶ
καὶ μαγάβει ὑπερφέρων Περσῶν H H. has
the perhaps impossible his own personal
company of Xerxes 7. 187 *αὐτοῦ*, ὑπερ-
φέρων· cf. 8. 138 *αὐτοῦ*.

13 ἔρυμα· κρησφύγοντον· cf. p. 13
αὐτοῦ.

97. 1. ἀνήγοντο: middle and so with-
out τὰς νέας: cf. p. 96 *ad init.*

2 τὸ τῶν Ποτνικῶν ἱρὸν. The term
πότνια is found applied to many a goddess
together with the name proper, cf. 8. 77
πότνη, but as here almost solely to Hecate
and Kore only. (Schwabl. 9. A. 1009.)

The *πότνια δαίμων* is δαίμων *πότνη*,
the Eumetides; but *πότνια* there is
not a *πότνη*. Perhaps then, the temple
here mentioned was dedicated to the
Mother and Child, though it cannot be
identical with the *Δήμιτρος Ελευσινίαν*
πότνη, presently to be mentioned. There
was an old Thracian town named *Ποτνία*,
Ptolemy 9. 4. 1, between the Aegean and
Thebes, where the Mother and the Maid
were worshipped with remarkable rites.
The passage in Ptolemy is unfortunately
corrupted, but the town name may naturally
be connected with this title of the goddess
in question. There would be
nothing surprising in finding a *Κοινοῦ* *πότνη*,
i.e. a *παιὰ Κοινοῦ* or old woman (the
Greek *Ποιῶν*) worshipped on Meles.
Mykale was the centre of the worship
of *Ἰσθμικῆν Ποτνίαν*· cf. 1. 110.

Γαίσην τε <ποταμὸν> καὶ Σκο-
λοσσόντα. The *Γαίσην* was the stream on
which Ptele was situated, Ephorus 77. 91
(= Athenaeus 31. 1, apparently forming
cf. *οὐρίαν* into a lake, cf. *Γαίσην* *Δαίη*,
between Ptolemy and Meles (Athen. 12,
Ptolemy 31. 3 *Γαίσην ποταμὸν*). Kappeler
well remarks that Hitt. never intro-
duces the name of a river without either
calling it a river or indicating that it is
about to make *Γαίσην* a town.

Σκολοσσόντα does not occur elsewhere.
Many commentators (e.g. *Geographica*,
Lachar, cf. p. 113) have taken it for a well as
Gailon for a river-name. Stein points

σκευάδατο ὡς πολιορκησόμενοι καὶ ὡς νικήσοντες· [ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα ἐπιλεγόμενοι γὰρ παρσκευάζοντο.]

Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ὡς ἐπύθοντο αἰχμηκὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους 98
ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ. ἤχθοντο ὡς ἐκπεφυγότες ἀπορίῃ τε εἶχοντο
ὅ τι ποιήσωσι, εἴτε ὑπαλλίσσονται ὅπως εἴτε καταπλέωσι ἐπ'
Ἑλλησπόντου. τέλος δ' ἔδοξε τούτων μὲν μηδέτερα ποιεῖν,
ἐπιπλέειν δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ ἡπείρῳ. παρασκευασάμενοι ὦν ἐς
ναυμαχίην καὶ ἀποβάθρας καὶ ἄλλα ὅσων ἔδεε, ἐπλεον ἐπὶ
—ης Μεκάλῃς. ἐπὶ δὲ ἀγχοῦ τε ἐγίνοντο τοῦ στρατοπέδου

8 glosses delenda: amplius emendavit Strind, hoc est non: ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα γὰρ ἐπιλεγόμενοι, παρσκευάζοντο καὶ ὡς πολιορκησόμενοι καὶ ὡς νικήσοντες αὐτὸ ὡς. παρσκευάζοντο del. Kuegrt γὰρ παρσκευάζοντο del. Stein², Holder, van H.: ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα ἐπιλεγόμενα AC. ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα ἐπιλεγόμενοι ceteri. 9 παρσκευάδατο = 98. 2 ἐν ἀπορίῃ, B. Holder, van H. || ἤχοντο R. 3 ὅσων B. ei om. Marc || καταπλέωνται Marc. 4 ἐς KS.V, Holder || τοις αὐτοῖς: 1, μὲν δὲ R || μηδ' ἕτερα R. 5 τὰ ἄλλα B. Holder || ὅσων R || ἐπλεον R Marc. ἐπλεον van H. || ἐπὶ τῇ Μεκάλῃ vel ἐπὶ Μεκάλῃ nulle K. del. b. 7 μεκάλῃς δ' ἐπείτε δὲ vel ἐπὶ δὲ ἐπὶ van H.

6. 343, 16. 1 (ὅδ' τε σάλευται καὶ τάρβηται ἔθνος), Od. 7, 46 τοῖσιν παρὰ γῆλα, σκαλόμενον ἄρματα. Cp. l. 3 supra.

παρσκευάδατο: the temporal force can hardly be insisted on in this instance. The passage is, however, corrupt, and Stein's later emendation would eliminate this word and leave παρσκευάζοντο (lexa furellis) Cp. Ag. 1187. I prefer to regard ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα, παρσκευάζοντο as the gloss: the Persians were not prepared for an alternative (ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα) nor is a true alternative presented: they wish to stand a siege, and to make themselves victorious. The glossator has misunderstood the situation. The resolution of the Persian admirals to stand a siege can hardly be explained except by their distrust of the (Ionian) forces under their command, and also by the absence of the corps d'armée, and their expectation that it would come to their relief. They had, of course, under their command, the Medo-Persian *Epibatai*, 8. 130 supra.

9. ἐπιλεγόμενοι, if it stands, may be interpreted by ἐπιλεξιμότης, not in 8. 136 but in 5. 30.

98. 2. ἤχθοντο ὡς ἐκπεφυγόντων: π. τῶν βαρβάρων. The construction is not quite regular, cp. 8. 109 ἐκπεφυγόντων παρασκευάζοντες.

ἀπορίῃ τε εἶχοντο 3 τι ποιήσωσι, 'were in doubt (at a loss) what to do', the *agendum* is conceived of as future, the antecedent imperfect notwithstanding, hence the subjunctives. Three courses were open to them (1) to return to Delos, (2) to steer for the Iles espout, (3) to follow the Persians to the mainland at Mykale. The first is surely a logical alternative: the second might have drawn the Persian fleet after them, but was obviously rather speculative. The third course was under the circumstances the obvious one to take, and hardly required very much deliberation, especially if, as appears, they were still counting upon a *no engagement*. The *επὶ τῇ ἡπείρῳ* is distinctly militant and hostile: ἐπὶ τῇ ἡπείρῳ. The actual place is merely geographical, ἐπὶ τῇ Μεκάλῃ.

6. ἀποβάθρας disappear in Thuc. 4. 12, 1 as 'landing-places', here they must have been intended, in the first instance for boarding the Persian ships.

7. ἐπὶ δὲ ἀγχοῦ τε . . . καὶ οὐδὲ . . . a common form of parallelism; cp. 8. 37 ἐκταυρήμενοι, 'putting out to sea against them.' παρασκευάμενοι, cp. 8. 70, 2: in *utro quantum*, *hanc* ἀγχιρ-φας, a not uncommon word with Hdt. and elsewhere transitive; cp. 2. 60 τῇ βάρῃ τῇ γῇ, also 2. 63, 2. 44, 4. 113.

καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐφαίνετό σφι ἐπαναγόμενος, ἀλλ' ὄριον νίας ἀνελευσμένας ἔσω τοῦ τείχεος, πολλὸν δὲ πεζὸν παρακεκρίμενον
 10 παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν, ἐμβαῦτα πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τῇ νηὶ παραπλίων, ἐγχερίμψας τῇ αἰγιαλῷ τὰ μάλιστα, Λευτυχίδης ὑπὸ κήρυκος προηγόρευε τοῖσι Ἴωσι λέγων "ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, ὅσοι ὑμῶν τυγχάνουσιν ἐπακούοντες, μίθετε τὰ λέγω· πάντως γὰρ οὐδὲν
 15 συνήσουσι. Πέρσαι τῶν ἐγὼ ὑμῖν ἐντέλλομαι, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐπι- σγώμεν, μεμνησθαι τινὰ χρὴ ἐλευθερίας μὲν πάντων πρῶτον, μετὰ δὲ τοῦ συνθήματος "Ἐβης, καὶ τὰδε ἴσται καὶ ὁ μὴ ἀκούσας ὑμῶν πρὸς τοῦ ἀκούσαντος." [ἄντος δὲ οὗτος ἐὼν τυγχάνει νοός τοῦ πρὶν γράματος καὶ ὁ Θερμοστοκλέος ὁ ἐπ'

8 σφιν ἐφαίνετο B ἰγαιετό σφι Mare. | νίας τ 9 παρακεκρί-
 μένον S 11 ἐγχερίμψας C || ταμάλιωτα Pz 12 ὅσοι B, Heiler,
 van H., Stein³, v. 13 μίθε R || πάντες Mare. 14 σιμμοσγώμεν
 RSV 15 πνιπτων om. Ask 16 "Ἡρης Roscher, Holder 17
 ἐπακούουσιν C¹, ἐπακούουσιν Bekker, Holder, van H., ἐπακούσαντες B,
 H. J. van H., ἄντος . . Ἐλλης, recl. Krueger, van H., Stein³, οὗτος
 τούτου om. Stein³ 18 τυγχάνει, ἐγχερίμψας Krueger, van H.
 | κρήνητος· ῥήματος aut κρήνητος? Stein | ὁ om. R | Θερμοστοκλέος :

11. ἐπὶ κήρυκος, 'by the voice of a herald,' instrumental; but not quite parallel with *ὅς τις αὐτοῖς* 7. 22, 56.

12. τοῖσι Ἴωσι, who probably furnished and manned the major part, if not the whole, of the Persian fleet on this occasion, the *Εβηλας* accepted; cp. c. 87 *supra*.

14. ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐπιμολύμεν, Hitt. characteristical makes nothing of the determination of the Greeks to effect a landing. They had advanced against the mainland only in the expectation of fighting a *ναυμαχία*. The resolution to force a landing in the actual presence of a hostile force, in possession of the shore, is far more remarkable. This was more than the Persians themselves had attempted at Marathon, and certainly more than they could have effected. The Persians at Mykale were in a position to dispute the attempted landing of the Greeks (on the actual on at Pylus in 425 see Thucyd. 4. 11 ff.), and their failure to do so is best explained by their distrust of the Ionians. *συμμοσγώμεν*, as in 8. 24, 12, 4. 12, 8. 14, etc., of hostile encounter.

15. τινὰ χρὴ cp. 8. 109, 19 καὶ τις αἰχμήν κτλ.

16. τοῦ συνθήματος "Ἐβης *συνθήμα* is an, prearranged signal cp. 8. 7, 10), or even the mere prearrangement itself (cp.

8. 75 ἀπὸ συνθήματος, 6. 121 κτλ.). Here it is in the 'passive' ("Ἐβης is a signification). Why "Ἐβη should have been the *mot d'ordre* is not ascertainable, there was no apparent local association to suggest it, but it need not be charged in a "Ἡρης, out of compliment to the Saitians. Hebe is, indeed, in attendance upon Heros, *Hom.* 5. 721 f., and on Aten, 16. 906, and in Hesiod, *Theog.* 922, 952, is daughter of Zeus and Hera (and sister of Artemis). Moreover she is the bride of Herakles in Hesiod, *Od.* 11. 603, and so might well have borne for a Herakleid on earth. *μετὰ δὲ* is, of course, proverbial, the goddesses are together, with *μετασφάλας*, cp. 8. 82, 9 (but the accus. is found 7. 12 ff., 10).

τὰδε ἴσται καὶ ὁ μὴ ἀκούσας ἄνθρωπος there is something of the nature of an Irish 'bail' in this imperative; but *Λευτυχίδης* means ὁ ἀκούσας, not ὁ οὐκ ἀκούσας, to act on this suggestion and to put the word.

17. οὗτος δὲ . . τοῖσι "Ἐλλης. The passage is clumsy in expression, and particular words are scarcely correct. Stein³ now brackets the whole as a gloss, or imitation of X. 4. 1. 10, presumably after Krueger.

18. οὗτος· cp. 7. 162 and c. 12) *infra*, notwithstanding which the co-ordinations

Ἀρτεμισίῳ· ἡ γὰρ δὴ λαθόντα τὰ ῥήματα τοὺς βαρβάρους
ἔμελλε τοὺς Ἴωνας πείσειν, ἡ ἔπειτα ἀνενειχθέντα ἐν τοὺς αὖ
βαρβάρους ποιήσειν ἀπίστους τοῖσι Ἕλλησι.]

Λευτυχίδεω δὲ ταῦτα ὑποθεμένου δεύτερα δὴ τάδε ἐποίουν 99
οἱ Ἕλληνες· προσσχόντες τὰς νέας ἀπεβήσαν ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλόν.
καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἐτάσσοντο, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ὡς εἶδον τοὺς Ἕλληνας
παρασκευαζομένους ἐς μάχην καὶ τοῖσι Ἴωσι παραινίσαντας.
τοῦτο μὲν ὑπονοήσαντες τοὺς Σάμιοι τὰ Ἑλλήνων φρονέειν
ἀπαιρόνται τὰ ὅπλα. οἱ γὰρ ὦν Σάμιοι ἀπικομένωι Ἀθηναίων
αἰχμαλώτων ἐν τῇσι νηυσὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, τους ἔλαβον ἀνὰ

20 ἔπειτα B, Koch. del. Kuenst: ἐκείθεν! Stein¹² || ἀνενειχθέντα:
ἀνενειχθῆν Koch 21 τοῖσι Ἕλλησι weid, Adicht, Stein², H. Her
99. 1 Λευτυχίδεω α ὁ δὲ οἱ α 2 προσσχόντες RP Marc. z || τις νέας: -
dal, van H. 3 ὦν· ὦν R

tion here of νόος τοῦ πρήγματος or
εἰρηγματος and ὁ θεματούχος (νόος) is
a little *misquid* so too, ἔπειτα ἀνενει-
χθέντα as a representation of ἔπειτα
ἀνενειχθῆν B. 22 is poor, and ἀπίστους
active for the passive there, *enig*
surprising. τυγχάνει should be ἐτυχάζει
(heringer). οὗτος might better be τοῦτον.
[J App (the *procl. interrogatorem*
veronica interpretat, van H

99 1 ταῦτα ὑποθεμένου· cum hocce
consequitur adverb., Koch

Δεύτερα δὲ seems *de temp.* but serves
to separate the action of the Hellenes
from the suggestions of Leontineus.

2 προσσχόντες τὰς νέας ἀπέβησαν ἐς
τ. only. Hist. records the remarkable
operation without apparently the slightest
apprehension of its military magnitude
or significance. To disembark on the
shore in the presence of an army
numerically superior even if the ἑ
merader of c. 98 were not within hail),
and in possession of a fortified camp,
was surely a very brilliant achievement.
Hist. seems to regard it as something
quite *en route* and keeps the Persians
quietly looking on, as if they could
never think of attempting to interfere.
The magnanimity of the Persians at this point
is inexplicable except on the supposition
that they despaired of the Ionians.

3. ὅς εἶδον . . παρασκευαζομένους . .
παραινίσαντας: there is a double
ἀπικωμωδία in the sentence the reagents
in εἶδον, and the hyperbole in the
order of the participles only partially
corrected by the difference of tense.
On seeing the Hellenes making them

ready to battle after landing, and that
they had anticipated an attack, so the
Ionians (before landing), the Persians
took the precaution.

5. τοῦτο μὲν. In the first place
they dismiss the Samians on a suggestion
of Heleneus' language. The mission is
indeed an odd one for it is based upon
an act of the previous winter, or autumn:
and does the ὅπως ἀπείρητοι only take
place at π. at this point a for the land-
ing of the vessels at Mycale? ἔπο-
νούν: c. 98 supra. τὰ Ἑλ φρονέειν:
cp. 7 102 supra.

6. οἱ γὰρ ὦν Σάμιοι καὶ. This
memora is little digression records a
service of the Samians to Athens, who
must have taken place months before.
The king's army had reached Samos in
the previous autumn, B. 131 supra, the
Samians had retreated 500 Attic
prisoners, and had sent them home to
Athens (cf. *Agathos* *procurator* after
daily proving them for the journey,
or voyage *ὑποδασάντες*).

This note is somewhat startling. It
pre-supposes an open sea between Samos
and Athens. Had the 500 Attic
accompanied the Samian embassy on in
c. 93 supra, or preceded them? Such a
pledge of good will comes in the most
appropriate place. There is doubtless some
truth in the anecdote, but is it correctly
chronologized? Were these Athenian
prisoners liberated before the arrival of
the Hellenes in Samos, c. 98 supra? Were they really released, or had they
been sold into slavery, in Samos, and
liberated on the approach, or arrival of
the Greek fleet?

τὴν Ἀττικὴν λελημμένους οἱ Ξέρξῃ, τούτους λυσάμεναι
 πάντα ἀποπέμπονσι ἐποδιάσαντες ἐς Ἀθήνας· τῶν εἵνεκεν
 οὐκ ἥκιστα ὑποψίην εἶχον πεντακοσίας κεφαλὰς τῶν Ξέρξῃ
 πολεμίων λυσάμενοι. τοῦτο δὲ τὰς δώδους τὰς ἐν τὰς κορυφαῖς
 τῆς Μυκάλης φερούσας προστάσσουνσι τοῖσι Μιλησίοισι φυ-
 λάσσειν ὥς ἐπισταμένοισι δῆθεν μάλιστα τὴν χώραν· ἐποίουν
 δὲ τοῦτο <τοῦδε> εἵνεκεν, ἵνα ἐκτὸς τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔκσι.
 τούτους μὲν Ἴωνων, τοῖσι καὶ κατεδόκειν νεοχμὸν ἂν τι ποιῇεν
 δυνάμει ἐπιλαβομένοισι, τρόποισι τοιούτοις προφυλάσσουντο
 οἱ Πέρσαι, αὐτοὶ δὲ συνεφύρηναν τὰ γέγρα ἐρκος εἶναι σφίσι.

8 οἱ ὑπὸ B 9 ἐς τὰς Bz 10 ἔχον z 11 ἐς κορυφαῖς z
 12 μυκάλλης B 13 ἐποίουν . . ἴωσι del. Gumpertz 14 τοῦτο
 τοῦδε Krieger, Stein², Holder, van H. τοῦτον 15 καὶ σιν B
 νεωχμοι C 17 γέγρα B σφίσι Stein, Holder, van H.: σφίσι.

10. ὑποψίην εἶχον, 'were suspected . .'
 objects of suspicion; ἔτι αὐτὴν εἶχον
 6, 70, etc.

11. τοῦτο 34. The second precaution
 taken by the Persians is the removal of
 the Milesians from the camp, on the
 plea that they are not qualified to guard
 the passes on Mykale. Precaution and
 plea are perplexing. The charge of
 the passers over Mykale introduces a
 suspected force between the Persians
 and Saries, and the camp between that
 force and Miletos. Are the facts or
 the motives more rightly reported? If
 there were no Milesians in the Persian
 camp at Mykale, was it because the
 Persians had dismissed them? Or were
 there 'Milesians' and 'Milesians'? If
 the Persians entrusted to Milesians the
 guard of the passes, that would rather
 point to a confidence in their loyalty.
 And who are these Milesians? Accord-
 ing to 6, 19 f. the Milesians had been
 annihilated and the remnant expropriated
 in 484 B.C. i.e. fifteen years previously,
 their places had been taken by Persians
 and Kassians, the former as landlords,
 the latter as laborers. Was there
 already a new agrarian question in
 Miletos (cp. 8, 28)? Or is the situation
 of 484 B.C. grossly exaggerated? In
 any case it is significant of Hdt.'s
 method that he betrays no misgiving
 on this point. Possibly when he first
 composed this passage he was unac-
 quainted with the story told in 6, 19,
 or at least had not incorporated it in
 his own work—the last three Books
 being of earlier composition.

τὰς δώδους τὰς ἐν τὰς κορυφαῖς . .
 φερούσας: the occupation of these passes
 might be for the purpose of preventing
 the Greeks from attacking the camp in
 the rear, or to obtain touch with Kassians
 and the road to Samos, in case a retreat
 became necessary.

Μυκάλη (as seen from the south) is a
 fine April morning is a grand mountain
 range 2000 feet high in the north and
 4000 ft. and 3000 ft. in the south
 respectively, with a gentle slope down
 to the western point, where the promon-
 tory becomes involved in the outline of
 Samos.

15. τοῖσι καὶ κατεδόκειν. This dative
 is puzzling. The normal construction
 is with accus. and infinitive. Val. Krieger
 wished to insert ἔδοκ. Each takes
 δοκεῖν = 'appeared to', and in comp. δοκεῖν
 aliquem, the dative being contrasted
 with verbs compounded with κατε-
 δοκεῖν. Stein explains the dative as
 used by analogy with συνεδρεῖν, and
 compares συνεδρεῖν τοῖσι 2, 138, 1;
 146, 6; Krieger, *Gr. Gr.* § 564, 1. As
 Krieger explains: *er geschied bei ihnen
 dann die Beratungen machten. vorgehen
 etc.* 104, 7 μέγα, ταχέως 2, 201, 19

16. δυνάμει ἐπιλαβομένοι. 'if
 occasion offered,' Rawlinson, 'if they
 found the occasion,' Maass. δυνάμει
 as 'potentiality,' pointed to, is remark-
 able in Hdt. The participle is com-
 pounded. With the phrase cp. συ-
 φασιν ἐπιλαβομένοι 3, 36, 6, 49, also
 Πίντο *Idyl.* 340 v. of τὰς κορυφαῖς ἔχουσας
 ἐπιλαβομένοι etc.

Ὡς δὲ ἄρα παρσκευάστο τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, προσήσαν πρὸς 100
τοὺς βαρβάρους· ἰοῦσι δὲ σφί φῆμη τε ἐσέπτατο ἐς τὸ
στρατόπεδον πᾶν καὶ κηρυκίον ἐφάνη ἐπὶ τῆς κυματώγης

100. 1 παρσκευάστο Riske, van H., Allen.² παρσκευαδοτο II προσή-
σαν BParis 1835 2· πρακτικῶν S· πρακτικῶν Mure 3 ἀγρικῶν CF

προφυλάσσοντο, "took precautions
against beforehand," cp. 7 1'5 *supra*;
in the active more naturally of force,
(*καὶ*) τῇ προφυλάσσουσιν ἐπὶ Σαΐδω 8.
92 *infra*.

17. αὐτοὶ δὲ . . σφίσι. The exact
relation of this *ἔπειτα* of *ἔπειτα* to the
ἔπειτα καὶ λίθων καὶ ξύλων in 97 *supra*
is problematical. The former is the
fortified camp, from which all suspicious
characters have been removed (or
rendered innocuous), the "rampart of
shields" actually reappears in a 102
infra; and we may suppose that here
the Persians are drawn up, outside their
camp, and have fixed their shields in
the ground to act as a screen; but if
they have advanced out beyond their
fortified camp, all the more inexplicable
does it appear that they should have
allowed the Greeks to effect a landing
without dispute, while the Greeks at
their leisure landed, and drew up in
battle-array, and then advanced to the
attack.

In the *ἔπειτα* cp. c 11 *supra*.

100 2. φῆμη τε ἐσέπτατο . . καὶ
κηρυκίον ἐφάνη. The *ἔπειτα* is plainly
in Hdt.'s hands supernatural, as he
explains, of the *ἔπειτα*, a more
material response, he takes no further
account. What became of this *ἔπειτα*?
How many persons saw it? Was it the
supernatural bearer of the supernatural
message? And that so much should
be made of the impalpable *φῆμη* and
nothing said of the subsequent history
of the coast sign. This omission is a
weak spot in the story, in the argument,
and nowadays, in a world of telegraphy,
crystal-gazing, automatic selves, and
other scientific enchantments, which
explain the *φῆμη* to perfection, one is
tempted to take cognizance of the total
disappearance of the material evidence.

A *φῆμη* which Hdt. treats as in no
way supernatural had run right through
the meeting Greek army in Boeotia a
few weeks before, cp. c 17 *supra*; it
had proved a fraud; had it turned out

to be true, it might have been regarded
as divine.

DIODORUS 11. 35 (Egbertus, cp. Po. van.
1. 34, completely rationalizes the story
of this *φῆμη*, regarding it as a ruse by
Leostichides. Larcher and Thirlwall
approve. A somewhat similar case was
the fraud of Apollonius in 324 bc, which
no doubt helped him to win the battle
of Korymbos (Aeneas), He 1. 4 3 10 14,
when he announced the defeat of the
Lacedaemonian fleet off Knidos to his
army as a victory; but he had received
actual, complete and had no need to
pretend a synchronism. If a few days
interval occurred between the victory
in Boeotia and the victory in Ionia the
φῆμη is ample enough. If there was
a real synchronism between the battles
of Plataea and Mykale, then one of three
or four alternative views alone be true:
either (a) the *φῆμη* was a fraud, a ruse,
a *γυναικῶν* *γυναικῶν* at the moment, which
afterwards proved to be true to fact;
or (b) it was in truth supernatural;
supernatural whether you explain it
by direct divine interposition or by
abnormally heightened human feeling;
or (c) finally, it is an element of
afterthought, a product of tradition,
an eternalization of the facts, possibly
impossible to excited hopes and feel-
ings of the actual day, but without the
adequate or full basis of fact asserted
by the poem tradition. There is no
much of the kind of thing in the story
of the war that it does not appear
unreasonable to ascribe the *φῆμη* itself
though it rings out more precisely and
positively than any other to the same
creative faculty. There was some
Homeric precedent for it, though the
word *φῆμη* does not occur in the *Iliad*
at all (pace *Antiqua* § 161 cp. D. B.
Monro, *Antiqua* XLII. XXIV p. 427),
for the *φῆμη* in *Iliad* (cf. 1. 25) is in
precurrence. The word *ἐσέπτατο* occurs
II. 21 424 of the flight of a bird to
which is likened the motion of a goddess
(Artemis).

κείμενον· ἡ δὲ φήμη διηλθέ σφι ὧδε, ὡς οἱ Ἕλληνες τῆς
 5 Μαρδονίου στρατὴν νικῶν ἐν Βοιωτοῖσι μαχόμενοι. ὅγλα δὲ
 πολλοῖσι τεκμηρίοις ἐστὶ τὰ θεῖα τῶν προφημάτων, εἰ καὶ
 τότε, τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης συμπίπτουσης τοῦ τε ἐν Πλαταιῇσι
 καὶ τοῦ ἐν Μυκῇ μείλλοντος ἔσεσθαι τρώματος, φήμη τοῖσι
 10 Ἕλλησι τοῖσι ταύτῃ ἐσαπίκετο, ὥστε θρασυῆσαι τε τὴν
 101 καὶ τὸδε ἕτερον συνέπεσε γενόμενον, Δήμητρος τεμένει Ἐλαι
 σινὴς παρὰ ἑμφοτέρας τὰς συμβολὰς εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐν

3 διδε C^P· ἦδε? Kenner 5 δι B 7 αὐτῆς del Krieger
 | συμπίπτουτος Reiske, van H., Stein¹ τε. γ' RSV || πλαταιῇσι B
 πλαταιῇσι RSV 8 μικῶν S | φήμη δὲ B 9 τοῖσι· in
 Mure 101 2 παρὰ· xperies παρὰ Δήμητρος κτέ? van H· παρὰ
 De reu

4 ἡ δὲ φ. διηλθέ σφι ὧδε· so. τὸ
 στρατόπεδον. The usual forms of the
 φήμη are very nearly identical with the
 μακάριον ἀγγελίαν, which had reached
 the Greeks at the Heraion in front of
 Plataea that same day ἐν μαχῇ τε
 γέγονε ἐν νικῶνσι οἱ μετὰ ἡμῶν c.
 69 signs. The imperf. pres. νικῶντες here
 of the fact accounts (1. γένεσθαι νικῶν
 c. 161 infra) in contrastable, Xenoph.
Hell 4.3.1 has νικῶντες but 4.3.10 ἐν
 νικῶνσιν εἰεν, Stein compares νικῶντες in
 c. 44 *captis*, and interprets 'are victors'
 (*diegen waren*). The use of νικῶντες there
 absolutely is rather than νικῶντες here
 with a direct object. Might it be one
 of that a imperfects, of an action the
 result of which is a being, or continuous?
 The passage in Xenophon shows that
 we need not read νικῶντες here ἐν
 Βοιωτοῖσι is rather wrong and al.

5. ὅγλα δὲ. τὰ θεῖα τῶν προφημάτων.
 'many things prove to me that the gods
 take part in the affairs of men, know in-
 deed, know by many signs the divine
 power seen in earthly things.' Macaulay.
 But the passage involves a classification
 of 'things,' into τὰ θεῖα καὶ τὰ μὴ θεῖα,
 rather than the general assertion of the
 existence of 'a divinity that speaks out
 unto us, though how therein we will' (c.
 c. 60 signs, Hdt. is here a 'divinity':
 far from the formula of Thales, πάντα
 πληρὴ θεῶν, but, used to 'common sense',
 or 'popular philosophy' as we know it.
 Hdt. a argument is not very closely
 expressed; the particular instance of
 καὶ τοῦτο cannot prove the general
 (πολλοὶ τεκμήριον). But the formal
 statement here is not the real statement.

The true predicament lies in the fact that
 in plain, by many instances of the
 among them, just comprise the particular
 case quoted, is the fact that at the Heraion
 are θεῖα that miracles do happen—
 though, of course, most happen are
 quite ordinary and natural. There are
 even degrees in the class, c. 7 10.
 τοῦτο μὲν ἐν τοῖσι θιότατοις φαίνεται.
 γένεσθαι ἡ δὲ θεὸν ἐν φανερόν, c. 10
 θεῶν το προφημάτων. Cp. Introduction.
 § 11

7. τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης συμπίπτουσης
 the expression is somewhat clumsy; a
 day cannot coincide with itself, but the
 meaning is plain the day, or date, of
 the action at Plataea and the date of
 the action just about to take place at
 Mykaea was identically the same. But
 it was 'the action,' not 'the day'
 which coincided—*symptotoussis* or *sym-*
ptotoussis would certainly be better.
 A. D. C. 1, but a Hellenic writer is
 clear in the use of *symptotoussis*, τρώματι
 c. 10 signs. ταννὴ καὶ το Μυκαῶν

101 1. τὸδε ἕτερον συνέπεσε γενό-
 μενον, 'a second event occurred
 as follows.' The expression is
 quite accurate: it takes two events
 make a coincidence and only one event
 is here expressed. Again, the coincidence
 'symptotoussis' are the 'symptoms' of the
 signs of Demeter, one at Plataea and
 one at Mykaea, but, still, speaking
 the coincidence of the events is not the
 occurrence, but rather the battle to
 the divine.

2 συμβολὰς, cf. *symptotoussis*, c.
 in 4, 10, 6 120, 7 20, etc.

τῇ Πλαταιίδι παρ' αὐτὰ τὸ Δημήτριον ἐγένετο, ὡς καὶ πρό-
τερόν μοι εἴρηται, ἡ μάχη, καὶ ἐν Μυκάλῃ ἔμελλε ὡσαύτως
ἔσεσθαι. γεγονέναι δὲ νύκην τῶν μετὰ Παισαπύειον Ἑλλήνων,
ὁρθῶς σφί ἡ φήμη συνέβαινε ἐλθοῦσα· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐν
Πλαταιῇσι <τρώμα> πρῶι ἔτι τῆς ἡμέρης ἐγένετο, τὸ δὲ ἐν
Μυκάλῃ περὶ δελήην. ὅτι δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης συνέβαινε
γίνεσθαι μῆνος τε τοῦ αὐτοῦ, κρίνω οὐ πολλῶ σφί ὕστερον
δῆλα ἰναμανθάνουσι ἐγένετο. ἦν δὲ ἀρραδιὴ σφί, πρὶν τὴν
φήμην ἰσαπικίσθαι, οὔτι περὶ σφέων αὐτῶν οὕτω ὡς τῶν

3 ἐγένετο P Marc: οὐ ἐγένετο ο 4 εἴρητο P || μυκάλλῃ S ||
ἰσανύαι αὐαύτως B 7 πλαταιῇ B || <τρώμα> Stein⁽²⁾, van H.
8 μυκάλλῃ S 9 μῆνος τε τοῦ αὐτοῦ imperia habeo 10 πρὶν
R.S.V. πρὶν ἢ Holker, van H. 11 αὐτῶν α || τῶν Ἑλλήνων. τῶν
ἐκεί Ἑλλήνων conl. Stein: τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων Krueger, Stein⁽²⁾, van H.

3. ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἴρηται: a
clitic to *συνεβaine* back to no. 57
62, 65 *παρ*.

5. γυγονέναι δὲ νύκην: this agrees as
equivalent to *εἴρηται* c. 100 *supra*, cp.
a no c, 69 *supra*.

6 ὁρθῶς σφί ἡ φήμη συνέβαινε
ἐλθοῦσα, 'the rumour which had
reached them turned out to be true, or
'they discovered the truth of the rumour
which had reached them. The exact
force of *συνέβαινε* here is disputable. Its
repetition just below, and in a slightly
different sense, in 15 *no miana* in *hieru*
dotan.

7. πρῶι ἔτι τῆς ἡμέρης. The *πρῶ*
is not found elsewhere in Hdt.
Homer *Il* 8. 500 etc.), Xenophon (*Hell.*
1. 1. 30 *εἰς αὐτὴν ἡμέραν πρῶ καὶ πρὸς*
εἰς αὐτὴν and other good witnesses use it in
same sense as by Theophrastus *hc* 4
1. 2 as the forenoon, from *πρωτόν* is
μυκάλλῃ. But it is also used more
generally, cp. Thuc. 4. 8. 2, etc. *πρῶ* is
not = ἄρ but used with comparative
force.

8. περὶ δελήην, 'about evening' cp.
8. 9, 2, a phrase which proves that the
term admits of degrees. Here, in opposi-
tion to *πρῶ*, it may mean *πρωτὸν π. μ.*

9. δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης συνέβαινε
γίνεσθαι. Hdt. a parenthesis again is not
quite clear. The grammatical subject
of *συνέβαινε* may be τὸ ἐν Μυκάλῃ (sc.
τρώμα), or the two sc. *ἐμφοίτοι*, or *ἐν*
ιμμάται, or the *παρὰ* is governing the
verb: *συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι* is, however,
a common and constant form for an
occurrence, or event, taking place.

9. μῆνος τε τοῦ αὐτοῦ is a very fixed

addition. Or would Hdt., then, have
regarded it as possible for two events to
take place on the same day in different
months? But it is a thousand times
more likely that he did not happen to give us the
Attic date, 15 month, and 1 day of the
month, for the victory. If it had taken
place in Boedromion, and about the
time of the Eneas, it would not tradi-
tion have more clearly emphasized the
festive fact?

The actual and precise day is given
by 1. 1. 34 *τὴν ἡμέραν*, 19 as Boedromion 4
= Panathenion 27, but in *Demosthenes* 19 and
Men. 349 as Boedromion 3 = Panathenion
26, a curious discrepancy. In any case
the date may be that of the *Παναθηναῖαι*
not of the battle. Hdt. a data do
not enable us to fix the date of the
final battle at Plataea with precision.
Bunsen, *Gr. Gesch.* 1. 2 (1895) 726, 742,
places Plataea 'at the beginning of
August,' and Meyer 'about the middle
of August,' denying the synchronism.
I should be inclined to adopt the
synchronism, or an approximate syn-
chronism, and to place the battle
somewhat later, early in September, cp.
Appendix VII. § 6, VIII. § 2 (1). The
fact that other striking synchronisms
are less trustworthy, cp. 7. 186 *supra*,
does not entirely discredit this one.
What is damaging to Hdt. as credit
as historian is the insistence on the
synchronism, as a mere witness to the
complete cessation of its significance
from a strategic point of view.

1. ὅτι περὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν this
generous self-oblivion might at least
attest the sense that strategically the

ἑτέρω κέρει [ἔτι] καὶ δὴ ἐμάχοντο. ἕως μὲν νῦν τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι ὄρθα ἦν τὰ γέρρα, ἡμύνοντό τε καὶ οὐδὲν ἔλασσον εἶχον τῇ μάχῃ· ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν προσεχίων ὁ στρατός, ὅπως ἐωντῶν γένηται τὸ ἔργον καὶ μὴ Λακεδαιμονίων, παρακλευσάμενοι ἔργον εἶχοντο προθυμότερον, ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη ἑτεροιοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα. διωσάμενοι γὰρ τὰ γέρρα οὕτω φερόμενοι ἐσέπεσον ἄλλες δὲ τους Πέρσας, οἱ δὲ δεξάμενοι καὶ χρόνοι συγχὺν ἀμυνόμενοι τέλος ἔφειγον ἐν τῷ τείχει. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Σικυωνιοὶ καὶ Τροιζήνιοι (οὗτοι γὰρ ἦσαν ἐπεξῆς τεταγμένοι) συνεπισπόμενοι συνεσε·

π. κεραὶ B. || ἐτι col. Schaefer, Steinh., Holder: ante παρέσαν totiat Steiner, van H. ad ἐτιχον προτεριστες καὶ δη! 7 ὅτε Steinh., Holder, van H. ὄρθα S. ὄρθα | γέρα S. | οἱ δ' ἡμύνοντο? Κίτις, 8 ἐπὶ τε δὲ S. || τῶν αὖτε προσεχίων σιν, S. 9 γένοντο 1. 11 γὰρ δὲ B. || γέρα S. || οὕτω Naber, Gomperz, Holder, Steinh., οὕτοι 12 ἐπέπεσον Maass. ἄλλες A: ἄλλες B. || καὶ σιν C. 13 ἀμυνόμενοι van H. 15 οὗτοι B, Holder, Steinh. οὕτω || ἔσαν 1. || οἱ ἐπεξῆς S. ἐπισπόμενοι Cobet, van H. || συνεπισπόμενοι B

(ἐπαισφίοντο) or ἐτιχον προτεριστες, Steinh. takes καὶ δὴ as it stands to be—
ἦδη.

α. ἕως. τὰ γέρρα: the shield is having been erected in a. 99 ad f.

7. οὐδὲν ἔλασσον εἶχον: cp. a. 70 σίματα (αὐτοὶ εἶχον). Only Persian armor is suggested.

8. τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν προσεχίων ὁ στρατός: treated as quite a distinct and separate unit, a rather strong, or even a strong, the names are still within the fold.

9. ὅπως ἐωντῶν. . . καὶ μὴ Λακεδαιμονίων: the negative μή shows that this is given as in the minds of the Athenians, it is, indeed, a genuine motif of Athenian legend and reality, and in the hands of Isokrates (op. Hdt. 11-12, n. 194 f.), became a guide to the reconstruction of the past. It betrays, or suggests, the character of the source from which it has arisen: the story of Mykale: Athenian, or phil-Athenian.

10. παρακλευσάμενοι: encouraging one another with shouts, cp. a. 15 ἔργον εἶχοντο, cp. a. 11 σίματα.

11. ἑτεροιοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα, "the affair took a fresh turn, aspect", cp. 7 σίματα.

διωσάμενοι γὰρ τὰ γέρρα: this phrase marks the second stage in the

struggle: they pushed their way through the ravings of Persian shields or passed the shields apart, as to open a way for themselves—and then charged (φερόμενοι) on the Persians behind the shields, who had doubtless been paying them with arrows, doubtless in a more general sense: a. 98 supra.

12. of δὲ: the δὲ is demonstrative, or emphatic: the sentence might otherwise have been καὶ σιν τε.

13. χρόνοι συγχὺν ἀμυνόμενοι τέλος ἔφειγον—cp. a. 99 οὕτω τέλος δὲ ἔφειγον. A rather lax use of the present, or imperfect, participle.

14. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Σικυωνιοὶ καὶ Τροιζήνιοι: at this point the entry is won for our contingent on the left wing are accurately named, besides the Athenians.

15. ἦσαν τεταγμένοι: how little this construction is a mere temporal plus perfect apposite from the passage, they were what they had been all along, armed against Athenians, in the given order (order).

συνεπισπόμενοι συνεστήσαντο: they entered the fortified camp or camp (i.e. without breaking from one another), and at the same time as the Persians, whom they were pursuing, i.e. pursued and pursued & entered together, συνεστήσαντο, by the way, throws some light

τῶν τε Σαμίων οἱ στρατευόμενοι ἴοντες τε ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ
τῇ Μηδικῇ καὶ ἀπαρρημένοι τὰ ὄπλα, ὥς εἶδον αὐτίκα κατ'
ἀρχὰς γινόμενῃ ἑτεραλκείᾳ τὴν μάχην. ἔρδον δὲ ἴδυνάτο
προσωφελεῖν ἐθέλοντες τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι. Σαμίους δὲ ἴδυντες οἱ
ἄλλοι Ἴωνες ἀρξάντας οὕτω δὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀποστάντες ἀπὸ
Περσίων ἐπίθοντο τοῖσι βαρβάρουσι. Μιλησίοισι δὲ προσε- 104
τίτακτο μὲν <ἐκ> τῶν Περσίων τὰς διόδους τηρεῖν σωτηρίης

3 τε δὲ 3, Holder, van H || στρατευόμενοι Cobet, van H || ἰνόντες
Ask. | τε οὐκ Kz || 6 καταρχὴς ABPz || 7 ἑτεραλκεία 3 || ἔρδον P,
Stein, Holder. ἔρδον AB. ἔρδον || ἠδύναντο SV (indef.) || 104. 1
μιλησίοισι SR: μιλησίοισι V || 2 μὲν ἐκ 3 || ἐκ συρρί Vcl kenauw, Stein?
van H.: πρὸς Cobet, Holder || τηρεῖν Lortz, Holder, van H.: εὐρ, Stein

of all in Sikyon, Samian or Athenian tradition may have preserved the bare name of the only general who fell on this occasion.

Δ. τῶν τε Σαμίων: this great though unknown vague service of the Samians is very lightly and easily introduced, in fact H. it. has nothing concrete or definite to report on their behalf, of στρατευόμενοι cp. 7. 61 *supra* ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, not necessarily ἐν τῷ τε γε., cp. c. 16 *supra*. But what of the Samians on the Greek side, of whom there should now have been some? Or were there as yet no Samians serving? Cp. c. 92 *supra*.

Ε. ἀπαρρημένοι τὰ ὄπλα, 'deprived of their heavy arms,' cp. c. 89 *supra*. ἀπαρρημένος takes double acc., cp. c. 3 *supra*.

αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς: cp. 7. 88 *supra*; it would go better here with ἔρδον.

Ζ. ἑτεραλκεία cp. 8. 11 *supra*. ἔρδον δὲ ἴδυνάτο. the first verb is rather epic (cp. 7. 33 *supra*). What did they 'do'? They might have set fire to the camp? or they might have pulled it partly to pieces, or they might have done anything but this testimony lacks provision.

Θ. προσωφελεῖν with the dative Stein regards as 'poetics'; it is need with the acc. c. 68 *supra* in a more poetic or poetic context.

οἱ ἄλλοι Ἴωνες: not the using the Milesians, as the next c. shows. There were thus Ionians besides the Samians and the Milesians serving with the Persians; they would be the sons of the ships.

Θ. ἀρξάντας: cp. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

ἀποστάντες ἀπὸ Περσίων. this

phrase is aptly to be taken in the physical sense suggested by the immediate context, viz. stood off separated from the Persians there and then, but rather in the political sense: threw off their allegiance to Persia. The meaning of the active and the last sentence of the next c. support this view. Cp. c. 90 *supra*.

ΙΟ. ἐπίθοντο τοῖσι βαρβάρουσι. This attack on the barbarians goes beyond anything actually recorded of the Samians in the context, but it at least leaves something to be desired in the way of concrete definiteness. How much of *ἐπίθοντο* is that? It is never very favourable to the Ionian-Greeks and may have given them on this occasion some credit than they deserved. Aug. Diodorus (Ephorus) is kinder; cf. Appendix VII. § 7 (c. 2. And that writer the story of Makeda before his visit to Samos, where the fame of that island grew dearer to him cp. 3. 60. And did he leave what he had written unaltered?

104. 1. Μιλησίοισι δὲ προσετίτακτο. the phrase is in strict line, cp. c. 90 *supra*, but the two reasons a ready given, and here more explicitly repeated are in close contact with each other. If the Persians removed the Milesians to prevent their creating a disturbance in the camp, they distrusted their loyalty. If they distrusted their loyalty, they did not entrust to them the custody of the camp, or expect them to act as their

εἵνεκά σφι, ὥς, ἣν ἄρα σφίας καταλαμβάνη οἷά περ κατέλαβη.
 ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνας σφίζονται ἐς τὰς κορυφὰς τῆς Μικαλῆς.
 5 ἐτάχθησαν μὲν νυν ἐπὶ τοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα οἱ Μιλήσιοι τοῦτοι
 τε εὐεκεν καὶ ἵνα μὴ παρίοντες τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τι νεοχρὸν
 ποιήσιν· οἱ δὲ πᾶν τούναντίον τοῦ προστεταγμένου ἔποιον.
 ἄλλας τε κατηγεόμηνοι σφι ὁδοὺς φεύγουσι, αἱ δὲ ἔφερον ἐ-
 τους πολεμίους, καὶ τέλος αὐτοὶ σφι ἐγίνοντο [κτείνοντες]
 10 πολεμιώτατοι. οὕτω δὲ τὰ δεύτερον Ἰωνίη ἀπὸ Περσέων
 ἀπέστη.

105 Ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ Ἑλλήνων ἥριστευσαν Ἀθηναῖοι
 καὶ Ἀθηναίων Ἑρμόλυκος ὁ Εὐθόλου ἀνὴρ παγκράτιον

3 ἀρά AB 4 σφίζονται van H., στενδ³· σφίζονται C σφίζονται
 α, Stein¹, Holder: σφίζονται B¹ pr. Mara π || (μικαλῆς H) 6 τε
 γε α οὐκ B εἵνεκα Mara: ἐν τῇ B, Holder, van H 7 το
 εἰναντίον B 8 δὲ ἔφερον π: διέφερον 9 αὐτοῖς R αἰνούντες
 del. Gomperz, Holder, van H., Stein² 10 ἰωνίη τὸ δεύτερον B
 τοδεύτερον B 105. 1 ἥριστευσαν Mara 2 εὐθόλου CP:
 εὐθόλου α: εὐθόλου B, Valla, Gaisford

guides to safe places of retreat, in case of a disaster occurring, such as actually occurred.

3. ἀρα here, as frequently, may be taken to express the unexpected. The historian speaks *propria personarum* of οἷά περ κατέλαβη: ἣν καταλαμβάνη being of course future in force, νεοχρὸν (l. 6) is imported from c. 99.

7. of δὲ the demonstrative (article), with δὲ, remains in no part of the sentence, and so lends it additional emphasis. Cp. note to 7. 21. 3, etc.

8. of δὲ the relative, emphasized.

ἔφερον δὲ, 'led into,' among; φέρειν ἐν is emphatic, same c. 33 *supra*. But cp. App. Crit.

10. τὸ δεύτερον Ἰωνίη ἀπὸ Περσέων ἀπέστη Ἰωνία threw off the Persian yoke for the second time. (Cp. ca 103 90 *supra*.) This statement involves an implicit reference to the first or former revolt, and so might seem to take the revolt given in Bk. 5 for granted. But the fact of that revolt was no doubt notorious. Hist. might even have found the revolt of 479 B.C. already noted as the *διεξοδὸς* σπένταρ, and it is not even necessary to suppose this little sentence (or the words τὸ δεύτερον) a gloss, or an insertion of the second draft by the author, in order to reconcile it with the

theory of the prior composition of Bks. 7-9. Cp. Introduction, §§ 7, 8.

105. 1. ἥριστευσαν Ἀθηναῖοι, 'the Athenians obtained the medal of valor.' Cp. 8. 17 *supra* for the formula.

2. Ἑρμόλυκος ὁ Εὐθόλου. The latter name is correct in the best MSS. cp. App. Crit. *euthouos* looks like a corruption of *euthouos*. *Euthouos* is a common name at Athens than *Euthouos*, which is, however, found on Inscriptions. 'Hermolykos' is mentioned again as pankratiast with a notice on the Akropolis Inscriptions. 1. 23. 10). Whether the Hermolykos son of Euthouos was connected to Hermolykos son of Diotryphon, who dedicated a statue of his father (cp. Pausanias 1. 23. 2, apparently the general Diotryphon well known from Thucydides 1. 24. 1, 8. 64. 1), is a much debated question. cp. Preller, *Pausanias* iii. 275 f., 280; Hitz, *Inschriften*, *Pausanias* 1896, notes ad B.C.

παγκράτιον ἐπακρότης, 'who had practiced (excellence) in' etc. as a pankratiast. The *pankratium*, a combination of boxing (*πύγμα*) and wrestling (*μαχη*), was first introduced at Olympia in 688 B.C. Ol. 24. Pausan. 5. 8. 2, cp. Clinton, *Fasti*, i. p. 108, and victories in the pankratium are celebrated in several of Pindar's *Epigrams*: e.g. *Nem.* 3, 3, 5 *Anth.* 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.

ἐπασκήσας. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Ἑρμόλυκον κατέλαβε ὑπερὸν
τοῦτον, πόλιμον εὐντος Ἀθηναίοισι τε καὶ Καρυστίοισι, ἐν
Κύρῳ τῆς Καρυστίας χώρας ἀποθανόντα ἐν μάχῃ κείσθαι,³
ἐπὶ Γεραιστῷ. μετὰ δὲ Ἀθηναίους Κορίνθιοι καὶ Τροιζήνιοι
καὶ Σικινῶνιοι ἡρίστευσαν.

Ἐπεὶ τε δὲ κατεργάσαντο οἱ Ἕλληνες τοὺς πολλοὺς τοὺς¹⁰⁸
μὲν μαχομένους τοὺς δὲ καὶ φεύγοντας τῶν Βαρβάρων. τὰς
«τε» νέας ἐνέπρηνσαν καὶ τὸ τείχος ἅπαν. τὴν λήϊν προεξ-
αγαγόντες ἐκ τὸν αἰγιαλόν, καὶ θησαυροὺς τινὰς χρημάτων
εἶδον· ἐμπρήσαντες δὲ τὸ τείχος καὶ τὰς νέας ἀπέπλεον.³
ἀπικύμενοι δὲ ἐς Σάμον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐβουλεύοντο περὶ ἀνα-

4 τοιούτων 2 6 γραύστιν RSV 108, 2, 3 τὰς «τε»
van H., Stein³. τὴς 3, 6 νῆεν (us) 2 4 καὶ «γὰρ» van H.
5 τό «τε» van H. || ἀπέπλεον idem 6 περὶ τῆς Μαν., ἀναστάντες 2

3. κατέλαβε ὑπερὸν τοῦτον: for the verb cp. esp. 93, 104 supra, 'overtook.' The general date places the event in the *Pentekontakteira*, but unfortunately without a precise year. The war between the Athenians and the Karystians is, however, presumably that one commemorated by Thuc. I. 98, 3 about 472 B.C., cp. Boudh., *loc. cit.*, 1497, 140.

4 ἐν Κύρῳ: this Kyros is Euboea, in the territory of Karystos, as not else where mentioned. The nominal coincidence with the island Corsica (cp. 7, 165 supra) was not perhaps accidental. On Karystos cp. 5, 121 supra. On Coraius, 8, 7 supra.

5 Κορίνθιοι . . Τροιζήνιοι . . Σικινῶνιοι: the order of merit differs slightly from their order in battle-array c. 102 supra, but all contingents on the left wing obtained prizes. The right Lakadaimonians, etc. was quite left in the shade. This story is hardly of Spartan origin.

108, 1 ἐπὶ τῷ . . ἀπενεργάσαντο, cpn *unperformed battle*. They seem to have taken no punishment on this occasion.

3 τὴν λήϊν προεξαγαγόντες, 'though not until they had brought (led, out the prey).' It was apparently a spo, at least some of it. Thuc. 2, 94, 3 ἀνδρώτους καὶ λίαν λοβώτας.

4 καὶ θησαυροὺς . . εἶδον is not in strict construction. Stein regards it as an addition from the author's hand, cp. Introduction, || 4 χρημάτων apparently = money, but might cover plate.

5 ἀπέπλεον: Obviously the Greek forces at Mykale had not defeated, had

not even encountered, the *corps d'armee* ascribed to Themistocles c. 98 supra: had they done so, the road to Mykale was once more open to them. The battle of Mykale was evidently a *πρωκρονισμός* *παρὰ τοὺς Βαρβάρους*, a raid a *hot hand* (no doubt, but not a great victory, and the Greeks at once retired, before the Persian land force came up, and advanced the matter to its end.

6 περὶ ἀναστάσεως τῆς Ἰωνίας: At Mykale, after their return from Mykale, the Hellenes, i.e. the naval *δυναστεία*, cp. c. 90 supra, discussed the question of 'the evacuation of Ionia.' This was an old idea, started by Bias of Priene, cf. I. 173 may be traced; some of the Ionians in 414 B.C. *ἐν δουλείᾳ ὄντες ἀπεχόμενοι ἐρχόμενοι τὰς πατρίδας* (I. 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000).

στῆσις τῆς Ἰωνίης, καὶ δεῖα χρεὼν εἶη τῆς Ἑλλάδος κατοικίαις
τῆς αὐτοὶ ἐγκρατέες ἦσαν. τὴν δὲ Ἰωνίην ἀπείναι τοῖς
βαρβάροις· ἀδύνατον γὰρ εἶναι εἶναι ἐωυτοὺς τε
10 Ἰώνων προκατῆσθαι φρουρέοντας τὸν πάντα χρόνον, καὶ
ἰωνῶν μὴ προκατημένων Ἰωνας οὐδεμίαν ἐλπίδα εἶχον χαίροντας
πρὸς τῶν Περσέων ἀπαλλάξειν. πρὸς ταῦτα Πελοποννησίω
μεν τοῖσι ἐν τέλει εἶναι ἐδόκεε τῶν μηδισάντων ἐθίων τῶν
Ἑλληνικῶν τὰ ἐμπολαία ἐξαναστήσαντας δοῦναι τὴν χώραν
15 Ἰωσὶ ἐνοικήσας, Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ οὐκ ἐδόκεε ἀρχὴν Ἰωνίην

7 ὅστις α. ὅστις β. ἴποι | Marc. | χιῶν (H., van L.) κατοικίαις β.
9 ἔστιν: εἰρήνην? Siem. ὁπταίνω β.: ἀφείναι θ. ὁπταίνω τε β.
van H. 10 φρουρέων R(S)V 11 οἷδε μίαν AB: οὐδέποτε: |
ἔχον: 12 τέλει AB: τέλει: 14 ἐμπολαία Siem.: 'niet loutre
ἐπὶ τῇ ἰσθμῷ? van H.: ἐμπόλια αC Marc.: ἐμπόρια ἐπαναστήσαντας β

αὐτοὶ φέρει ἐξαναστῆσαντες ἐκ τῆς γῆς
ἐπὶ τῇ

7. δεῖα . . τῆς Ἑλλάδος . . τῆς αὐτοὶ
ἐγκρατέες ἦσαν. If Ionia was to be
evacuated and abandoned to the 'bar-
barians,' some place (or the Ionians
would have to be found in Helles-
pont. This problem appears to take the
control or possession of Hellespont
or the greater part of it for granted.
It assumes the truth of the *phrygia* of the
day before (a night will presumably have
intervened); or has the *phrygia* (of c. 100)
by this time been officially confirmed
by *compulsio* to *basileus*? Or may this
deliberation be taken, as an understood
confession that the victory in *Boeotia*
had been fully reported to the Greeks
at *Samos* or over they advanced on
Mykale? Ἑλλάς here comes very nearly
to 'Greece' in our sense of the word.
ἐγκρατέες in unad. similarly 8.49 *οὐκ*.
The imp. *ἰσθμῷ* ἦσαν in *τοιαύταις*
- *εἰς* l.c.

10. προκατῆσθαι: as in 8.30 *εὐρεται*,
and *cp.* also 7.172.

τὸν πάντα χρόνον, 'for ever,' α.
73 x

11 μὴ as in a conditional sentence
παρὰ and .

χαίροντας πρὸς τῶν Περσέων ἀπαλ-
λάξειν, 'will get off with impunity go
unpunished at the hands of Persians.'
cp. 8.69 *οὐκ* μιν . . δι' χαριστοῦ
ἀπαλλάσσειν. The negative is *cp.*
usually *cp.* and with *χαίρων* e.g. 8.28
ἀπορ τὰ ὅμοια γὰρ χαίροντες τῇ
ἐπὶ θύρῃ, *Νεωροῖ*, *ἀπορ* 5. 8. 32
διασπαρῆντες δ' ἐν . . οὐκ χαίροντες ἐν
ἀπαλλάσειν

12. Πελοποννησίω μὲν τοῖσι ἐν τέλει
δοῦναι *primarily* *τοιαύταις*, the
ἀρχὴν king and *πατρίδα*, and in the
second line the *ἀρχὴν* of the *ἀρχὴν*
ἀρχὴν, *ἀρχὴν*, *ἀρχὴν*. This
points to the *ἀρχὴν*. (1) Could the
king or the *ἀρχὴν* have been
off hand so *ἀρχὴν* and far reaching a
question? (2) Would the *ἀρχὴν*
at that have *ἀρχὴν* to *ἀρχὴν* the
'Ionian' element in *Central Hellas*, and
in *Peloponnesus* itself, by *ἀρχὴν*
ἀρχὴν a *ἀρχὴν*? or *ἀρχὴν* as in 3.10.
Then 1.10 4 *ἐν* τῇ *ἀρχὴν* καὶ τῇ
μάλιστα ἐν τῇ 5. 47 ὡς ἐν τῇ
ἔχοντες (official term at *ἔχον*) 1. 10 1
τῇ τῇ *ἀρχὴν* καὶ τῇ, *cp.* 4. 5. 1, *cp.*

13 ἐδόκεε: a *ἀρχὴν* *ἀρχὴν* 1. 10
ἀρχὴν did not become a *ἀρχὴν*.

τῶν μηδισάντων ἐθίων τὴν Ἑλ-
a preliminary list of them has been
given 7.102 *ἀρχὴν*, but the list is not
complete, omitting the *ἀρχὴν* (p. 8
73) and some *ἀρχὴν* (*ἀρχὴν*, *ἀρχὴν*,
ἀρχὴν, etc.).

14. τὰ ἐμπολαία ἐξαναστήσαντας
The *ἐξαναστῆσαι* in this case was *ἀρχὴν*
to be accomplished without violence.
ἐμπολαία is a conjectural emendation,
cp. *ἀρχὴν* but *ἐμπολαία* but the *ἀρχὴν*
ἐμπολαία is not common and *ἀρχὴν*
mean (in the *ἀρχὴν*) not 'masks,'
but rather 'commonplace.'

δοῦναι . . ἐνοικήσας: exactly as
in Thuc 2.27 2 *ἐπὶ* *ἀρχὴν* *ἀρχὴν*
ἀρχὴν of *ἀρχὴν* *ἀρχὴν* *ἀρχὴν*
ἀρχὴν. (Exegetical and *ἀρχὴν* of
ἀρχὴν.)

16. ἀρχὴν, 'at all'—in the first
instance; they moved in fact the

γενέσθαι ἀνίστατον οὐδὲ Πελοποννησίοισι περὶ τῶν σφετερέων ἀποικιέων βουλευέιν· ἀντιτενόντων δὲ τούτων προθύμως, εἶβαν οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι· καὶ οὕτω δὴ Σάμιους τε καὶ Χίους καὶ Λεσβίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νησιώτας, οἱ ἔτυχον συστρατευόμενοι τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, ἐκ τῶ συμμαχικῶν ἐποίησαντο, πῶστι τε 20

18 Πελοποννησίους Schwaighanser, Holder, van H. 'An deest errou-
ηκεν?' Stein² | σφετερέων libri, Holder, van H. 17 ἀποικίων B ||
τούτων : 19 καὶ ἡπειρώτας καὶ νησιώτας Schwarz νησιώτας
& καὶ τοὺς ἡπειρώτας Stein² and cf. Kassel III 1 39 || συστρατευόμενοι B
20 ἐποίησαντο Kraeger, Stein² || πῶστι ('Mare. | τε om. C)

previous question, and had also a formal or constitutional objection to urge, viz. against interference between a metropolis and its colonies. The metropolitan claim of Athens had been recognised and urged from the other side as early as 493 B.C., cp. A. 97—and probably dated back at least to the days of Peisistratos (cp. c. 97 *supra*), but perhaps only referred to Miletos, and some of the mainland towns at first. It was, of course, a part of the basis of the Delian symmarchy just afterwards, and was then perhaps more widely asserted, on that note.

18 καὶ οὕτω δὴ there might perhaps seem to be a *non sequitur* in these words, which throws doubt, not upon the fact here stated so much as upon the previous report of the debate in the Synedrion at Samos (cp. 80, 81). If Peloponnesians were not to be allowed βουλευέιν περὶ τῶν Ἀττικῶν ἀποικιῶν and yielded the point—the metropolisation of the 'Samians' and 'Chians' (which appear on the *Marmor Par.* 27 as colonies from Athens) might seem to be inconsistent therewith. But was the Ionian settlement in Samos right y ascribed to Athens? The Ionians of Samos were ultimately traced back to Epidaurion, cp. Pausan. 7. 4. 2 (cp. *supra*); see Ep. *supra* Hdt. I 146). The case of Chios is even more obscure, according to the native historians, Ion, a contemporary of Hdt. I, the island was populated by Abantes from Euboea (cp. Hdt. I. 116), and by immigrants from Histiaia; their 'Ionization' they owed to a king Hektor, in the third generation after Ion failed to account for the Chians being reckoned Ionians (cp. *supra*); *ἀπὸ γε γένους καὶ φύσεως ἄλλων Ἰων ἰσχυρόν ἐστιν ἔσθαι, Pausan.* 7. 4. 16). Possibly Samos and Chios, at least in 479 B.C.,

were not yet accounted 'Athenian' colonies; and even the passage in Hdt. I 146-7 distinguishes among the Ionians between αἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ πρωτογεννοῦ τοῦ Ἀθηναίου ὁρμηθέντες καὶ νομιζόμενοι γενομένους εἶναι Ἰωνας and the rest. (The passage in c. 47 making the Apaturia the test of Ionian status—that the Ephesians and Milesians did not observe it; but the passage is very like a gloss. The Athenians might protest against any intervention between themselves and their settlements at all, and yet allow the enrolment of Samos and Chios in the Hellenic alliance without a murmur (aving at this time at least, no metropolitan claim over these islands any more than over the Aeolian Ionians. But the whole story of the dedication is, of course, highly suspicious, the proposed *ἀσπασμοί* would have meant a civil war, and the admiral could hardly have settled such a question.

19 καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νησιώτας cannot refer to the islands enumerated in 8. 46 *supra*, for they already belonged to the Symmarchy, the Greeks at Mikale, at Samos, at the Hellespont (cp. c. 114 *supra*) had Samians, Chians, Lesbians, and a good many others 'natives with them, συστρατευόμενοι τοῖσι Ἕλλησι (sic), who are completely ignored in the narrative of the actual operations, and only come into account in this highly suspicious passage on Ephesian and constitutional points. 'The islands' were understood to be half the price of Mikale, c. 101 *supra*.

20. ἡ τὸ συμμαχικὸν ἐποίησαντο, 'admitted them as members of the alliance': τοὺς συμμάχους Hdt. has συμμάχους . . . (τοῖσδε I 77 *ἐλλήσιν* . . . *ἐπ' ἑσπερίῃ συστρατείᾳ* I 103. Cp. Thuc. 2. 2. 4 τοὺς ἄλλους . . .

καταλαβόντες καὶ ὀρκίοισι <ἢ μὲν> ἰμμενέειν τε καὶ μὴ ἀποστήσασθαι. τούτους δὲ καταλαβόντες ὀρκίοισι ἔπλεον τὰς γεφύρας λύσαντες· ἔτι γὰρ ἐδόκεον ἀτεταμένως εὐρησεῖν. οἱτοὶ μὲν δὴ ἐπ' Ἑλλησπόντου ἔπλεον.

- 107 Τῶν δὲ ἀποφυγόντων βαρβάρων ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τῆς Μυκάλης κατεληθέντων, ἑόντων οὐ πολλῶν, ἰγίνετο κομὴδὴ ἐς Σάρδεας πορευομένων δὲ κατ' ὁδὸν Μασίστης ὁ Δαρείων παρατυχὼν τῷ πάθει τῷ γεγυότι τὸν στρατηγὸν Ἀρταύτην ἔλεγε πολλὰ ; τε καὶ κακά, ἄλλα τε καὶ γυναικὸς κακίᾳ φὰς αὐτὸν εἶναι τοιούτα στρατηγήσαντα, καὶ ἄξιον εἶναι παντὸς κακοῦ τὸν βασιλέος οἶκον κακώσαντα, παρὰ δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι γυναικὸς κακίᾳ ἀκούσαι δένιος μέγιστος ἐστὶ. ὁ δὲ ἐπεὶ πολλὰ

21 ἢ μὲν add. Krieger, van H., Stein², ἰμμενέειν Stein, Hölzer ἰμμενέειν vel ἰμμενέειν 22 ἀποστήσασθαι 25 Ἑλλησπόντου R (ἐπ' αὐτῶν van H. 107. 1 ἄκρα τε B, Hölzer, Kallenberg μυκίλλῃ δ 2 ἰγίνετο R || σάρδεας R ὁ τε καὶ van Marc. εἶναι van Marc. 7 βασιλέος 8 πολλὰ <τε καὶ κακά> ? Krieger, van H

εἰ φυλάξῃ ἀποστήσαντα, R. 1. 8 τὰ τῶν ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ ἀποστήσαντα. Hölzer, van H., Stein², ἰμμενέειν Stein, Hölzer ἰμμενέειν vel ἰμμενέειν 22 ἀποστήσασθαι 25 Ἑλλησπόντου R (ἐπ' αὐτῶν van H. 107. 1 ἄκρα τε B, Hölzer, Kallenberg μυκίλλῃ δ 2 ἰγίνετο R || σάρδεας R ὁ τε καὶ van Marc. εἶναι van Marc. 7 βασιλέος 8 πολλὰ <τε καὶ κακά> ? Krieger, van H

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21. ἰμμενέειν τε καὶ μὴ ἀποστήσασθαι. This formula seems to presuppose a formula of ἀποστήσασθαι. The right of ἀποστήσασθαι is surrendered. This formula and the story may have been useful precedents for the Delian alliance, which no doubt was easily unlimited in time ep. 19 πολ. 23, 61.

22. ἔπλεον τὰς γεφύρας λύσαντες. Rawlinson (ad 1) suggests that the destruction of the bridges (8. 117) must have been already known by Xerxes, for example; and that Hölzer has misapprehended the motive of the move to the Hellespont, which was "only to reconnoitre." The Greeks will have heard at once that—presuming revolt, cutting off remanents and so on. But it is not certain that they knew the bridges were no more, or might not be restored.

107. 1 ἀποφυγόντων· κατεληθέντων· ἑόντων: the string of participles is an elision, but ἀποφυγόντων is more than an adjective; it might very well be disjoined with κατεληθέντων. Hölzer seems to mean "crowded" "concentrated" "packed" ep. 8. 119, x 27 σ. 31. 70 supra (κατεληθέντων). If there were so few of them, one would have thought a Mykale promy enough for them.

τὰ ἄκρα ε. Hölzer, van H. 107. 1 ἄκρα τε B, Hölzer, Kallenberg μυκίλλῃ δ 2 ἰγίνετο R || σάρδεας R ὁ τε καὶ van Marc. εἶναι van Marc. 7 βασιλέος 8 πολλὰ <τε καὶ κακά> ? Krieger, van H

2 κομὴδὴ ep. 8. 103 supra.

3 Μασίστης ὁ Δαρείων: he was the brother to Xerxes, c. 7. 82 supra, and had been one of the six generals, or their marshals, of the army in 480. It is odd to find him here as a commander of the naval forces, or of the corps d'armee in Ionia, not as he? For he has a bodyguard, or detachment of Μασίται infra, was he, not Tagraus, the real commander of the six navies, c. 98 supra? If so he was not present at the disaster when had just taken place (τῷ πάθει, τ. 7. but was probably coming to the support of the lieutenant at Mykale, and naturally fell dead of Artabanus—c. 102 supra).

6 γυναικὸς κακίᾳ· ep. c. 20 supra ὁ τὸν βασιλέος οἶκον ep. 3. 122 supra, 3. 31

8 ἀκούσαι, 'to be called'.

δένιος the verb δεινάζω means twice in Sophokles, Antig. 759, 1100

ἰκνούσῃ, δεινὰ ποιούμενους σπᾶται ἐπὶ τὸν Μασίστην τὸν
ἀκινάκην, ἀποκτείναι θέλων. καὶ μὴν ἐπιθίοντα φρασθεῖς 10
Ξειναγόρης ὁ Πρηξίλειω ἀνὴρ Ἀλικαρνησσέως ὁπισθε ἑστώς
αὐτοῦ [Ἀρταύντω], ἀρπάξει μέσον καὶ ἑξασίρας παῖς ἐκ τῆν
γῆν· καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ δορυφόροι οἱ Μασίστην προέστησαν.
ὁ δὲ Ξειναγόρης ταῦτα ἐργάσατο χάριτα αἰτῶ τε Μασίστην
τιθέμενος καὶ Ξέρξῃ, ἐσφάζων τὸν ἀδελφεὸν τὸν ἐκείνου· καὶ 15
διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον Ξειναγόρης Κελδικῆς πάσης ἤρξε δυνστεύων
Βασιλεὺς. τῶν δὲ κατ' ὁδὸν παρενομένων οὐδὲν ἐπὶ πλέον
τούτων ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ὑπικνέονται εἰς Σάρδις.

9 ποιηταιμεντες : 10 ακινεκα : 11 οποιουτινι θελω del. van H.
 θελων om. S || φβαν = 11 δ Ηρηξιλω om. R: προσιλω Ask.
 αλακαρυνηεις BC || οπισθεν R(S)VP Marc, Holder 12 Αρταιντω
 del. Stann? | εξαρ'as Brevet, Stein, Holder, van H.: εξ'αρ'as α: εξ'αρ'as :
 εξ'αρ'as 13 οi poster loc. om. S Marc, Holder 14 χαριτω Marc..
 χαριν van H. 15 εμεντω Marc | εμεντων van H, Ste n? εμεντων
 16 Κελικης· Λουκ'ης Ktueger | ηρε Κελικης πατης P: πατης ηρε
 Κελικης : 17 βασιλ'ης : || φορομεντω βαρ,βιρυν B: || επι Wecker,
 Schweghaeuser, Stein', Holder, van H. ετι 18 εμεντω τοιτων
 CP Marc, (τυωνων) : || αλλ' Marc. || σιδηρω Marc.

243 and in Euripides, *Alce.* 923. It is found previously also in Thompson 1211. The substantives (especially, *tant*) is rare
ἐπεὶ πολλὰ ἔσθον, 'when he had
 eaten more than enough.'

9. *ἔσπευον* *ἡμεῖς*, 'we ran'.
ἔσπευον *ἔτι* . . . *ἐν* *ἀκρότητι*
 'I was in the very sword-point of the
 pursuit'. On *ἀκρότητι* cf. I 34 *ἀκρό-*

10. φρασεὶς, never attested outside verba
loquendi; more than the Ἀδιν φωνή
(φρασμένη), but both would be ἀπὸ τῆς

11 Σταυρόφορος is Stavros Δω. Cross-bearer, or Pharos, is a very uncommon name, and nothing more is known of this ἡλικιωμένος παις of Σίμων ἡ Παύλου, 2. 13. 5, to an entirely ἄγνωστος, or Actinagoras, in less rate. Of this man nothing more is known than is here by Μετ recorded, but the record is significant. ο There were Greeks with the Persian forces after Μιχαήλ. This must, to be sure, would be a subject of Αθηναίων (as probably an exile, or adventurer). ο His appointment as "eventuator" of ἡλικία is remarkable, and probably the first instance of the investiture of a Greek an ἄνθρωπος with a Persian government. ο This fact (which belongs to the history of the Πενδεκάστης) may be regarded as more certain than the cause of ἡλικία alleged by Μετ, or ο of Ἀθηναίων.

an Bureau of a Hongkong and Shanghai Bank, and
have had special interest in the construction
in regard to it is felt as a loan.

The predecessor of Aeginarone in Ikyia was Eudamoras, or his successor, son of Otramond, was feoned 7, 10, 11, 12, who seems long to Amaret. *Scen* 211 lost his life at the battle of Karamon, leaving presumably no son to succeed him. This 114. Eudamoras may have founded a dynasty in Ikyia, the next governor of Ikyia known to history is the *Amaret* of the *Amaret*; *ep* i.e. *Amaret*. *Kawlinson* continues to say that "Aeginarone can only have occupied a subordinate position" thus a entirely change of field in this case with a serious and apparently wild exaggeration of his position and greatness. Kruger's emendation shifts the verse to Ikyia 1

12. ἀρτίην μίσην: cp. Tertul. Ad. 3.
2. 14. μυστήριον μυστήριον μυστήριον
ἀρτίην μίσην: cp. Tertul. Ad. 3.

ἡσυχίας in hanc qualem interius
 intensius; et Xenophon de Rep. 2. 4. 14
 εὐστροφίας εἴησις ἀσπασίτη ἀσπασίας
 ἡδὺ ἀπὸς ἀσπασίας εἰς τὸ ἡσυχίαν
 ἡσυχίαν (Val. Max. 2. 1. 1).

14. ταῦτα ἐργάζεσθαι χάριτα . . τιθί-
μηναι: χάρις τιθέναι, ἐπ. α. 40 εὐχρη;
22; inverted: τιθί ται αὐτῇ - ταῦτα ἐργάζο-
μενοι χάρις τιθέμεν

17 οὐκ ἔστι ἐπὶ πλῆθος τούτων α ἱεροσ

108. 1 Ἐν: ἐνὶ δὲ ὁ σάρδισιν R Marc.

confession of ignorance? For the formula *ep. c. 41 supra*. One would like to know what happened to Artayntes.

108. There follows here, by way of digression (see 128-113, a story of the King's Amour or the Death of Masiates, which exhibits Hdt. at his best. A story could hardly be better told, or present more artfully the elements of a domestic tragedy, of a palace intrigue, started in passion and jealousy, culminating in torture, rebellion, death. One great defect the story, indeed has from the moral point of view: it is the innocent who suffer, or who suffer most, the guilty king, the jealous and cruel queen, come off best free. Two considerations may mightily relieve this objection from an aesthetic standpoint. Artaynta, the daughter of Masiates, has a good deal to answer for, she is the root of the mischief. Again, 'rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft,' and Masiates and his sons rise with arms in their hands against the king. But it cannot be said that Hdt. makes anything of these *misdeeds*. As a historian he might plead though it is not his way! that the facts were as he stated them painfully immoral, and aesthetically distressing. As a moralist he might plead that the true moral lay outside the story, in the suggestion of it, that Helios had been spared by the successful romance to the Oriental despot, which had made such tragedies possible in Lydia. Hence, the ever impossible in Helios! And, again, that he thus dismisses Xerxes, to go to his own place, the acute and decision of all good men, with his lawless passions and his slavish submission to 'the law of the Medes and Persians, his childish vanities (*ἡβητοὺς περιπαλλέρας*) and his primitive passions (*παλαιοὶ θεοὶ καὶ τιμῆς*), his humorous caprices (speeches to Masiates) and his capricious wrath (*ἀναιδέως*). The domestic narrative falls into five acts.

(i) The scene in Sardis: Xerxes' passion for his brother Masiates' wife, her faithfulness and virtue! and the king's rise to win her, by wedding his son Darius to her daughter.

(ii) The scene in Asia: the king's still fouler transfer of his affections from his brother's wife to his son's wife, Artaynta.

(iii) The fatal gift: the robe of Amestris the queen: her jealousy and error, destruction to the wife of Masiates, the mother of Artaynta.

(iv) The king's birthday feast: the queen's request: the despot's involuntary humiliation.

(v) The catastrophe: wreck of the house of Masiates. Masiates rejects his king's overtures: the mutilation of his wife: the rebellion, and its defeat.

It is an omission that Artaynta does not expressly share the fate of her family.

This story might almost rank with the Hebrew story of *Ruth* as an illustration of life at the Persian court. But except for the external references above indicated, it lacks the national and popular setting, the political purpose, and therewith the ethical contents which ennobles the Jewish tale. The Greek interest in this tale is purely reflexive. No Greek, whether man or woman, figures in this drama: the virtues of the wife of Masiates are pure domestic, her husband as the *deus syphax*, good man, husband, father, and yet rebel without, prepared to work 'the end of it' to the king, his brother, united to some extent the roles of Mordecai and Haman: the king himself cuts no great part in either tale but here he is less of a puppet and more of a curse, while behind him over all rises the terrible figure of Amestris, 'a very alarming flame,' a barbarian fiend incarnate. (If Alcibiades - Xerxes, rather would Amestris, but that cannot be, if we accept the stories which Hdt. tells of Amestris, and which the Jews tell of Esther.)

1. *ἐν δὲ τῇσι Σάρδισι*: *ep. c. 117 supra*, it is, however, questionable whether Xerxes was in Sardis at this time, and not rather engaged, in upper Asia, in the reduction of the revolted satrapy of Babylon; *ep. C. F. Lehmann, 'Xerxes und die Babylonier, Wochenschrift f. Alterth. Philologie, 1891, 959-965, Ed. Meyer, G. & A. 41, p. xiv., Appendix VII. § 2.*

ἐτύχανε εὖν marks a coincidence, which is not causally related to the antecedents, or rather concomitants. Xerxes, as we are here given to understand, spent the winter of 480-79 B.C., and at least the whole of the ensuing

τοῦ χρόνου, ἐπεὶτε ἐξ Ἀθηναίων προσπταίσας τῇ ναυμαχίῃ
φυγῶν ἀπίκετο. τότε δὴ ἐν τῇσι Σάρδισι εὖν ἦρα ἦρα τῆς
Μασίστew γυναικὸς εἰούσης καὶ ταύτης ἐνθαῦτα. ὡς δέ οἱ
προσπέμποντι οὐκ εἰδύνατο κατεργασθῆναι, οὔδε βίῃ προσεφέρετο,
προμηθεόμενος τὸν ἀδελφεὸν Μασίστην· τὸντὸ δὲ τοῦτο εἶχε
καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα· εὖ γὰρ ἐπίστατο βίης οὐ τειχομένη·
ἐνθαῦτα δὴ Ξέρξης ἐργόμενος τῶν ἄλλων πρήσσει τὸν γαμον
ταύτου τῷ παιδί τῷ ἐωϊτοῦ Δαρείῳ. θυγατέρα τῆς γυναικὸς
ταύτης καὶ Μασίστew, δοκίω αὐτὴν μᾶλλον λήμψασθαι ἢν
ταῦτα ποιήσῃ· ἄρμόσας δὲ καὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα ποιήσας
ἀπῆλυνε εἰς Σούσα· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖ τε ἀπίκετο καὶ ἡγήγετο ἐς

2 ἀθηναίων BCRSV: 3 δὴ RS(V): δὲ | ἦρα del. Cobet, Holder,
van H. | ἦρα B. 'an ἡμέσθη? Stein' b. βίῃ Stein'; βίῃ, , πρω-
ίφαρι B, Holder, van H. 6 προμηθεόμενος Marc. || ἀδελφὸν Marc.
Pisidian 18. 283: τοῦ ἀδελφίου van H. Μωύστη, del. van H. | ταῦτο C
|| εἶχε a: 'an ὄχε? Stein' 7 εὖ γὰρ B, Holder' ἡγίστατο Marc.
τειχομένη B' 8 πρήσει. C' 10 λήμψασθαι C' 12 ἐκεῖ τε ac
ἐκείσε B etc.: ἐκείνῃ τε van H., Holder

summer, in Sardes, presumably waiting for the issue of the campaign in Greece. Atabekian (*Fortuna*) holds that Artaban returns direct from Athens to Susa.

3 *φυγῶν* accepts the representation of the king's return as a *φυγή*.

τοῦτε δὴ: at the time of the battle of Mykale, or perhaps more generally throughout the period from his return to the battle of Mykale.

ἦρα cp. v. 104 3 *εὖν* *ἦρα ἦρα* looks unfortunate. Stein compares the position of *ἦρα* here and in c. 9 *εὖν* and in 4 134 (i.e. construes it with *εὖν* as *Σάρδισι* and 1).

τῆς Μασίστew γυναικὸς: that this line is anonymous in the story does not make for its credit. Was not possibly like her daughter, an *Ἀρταύστη*, and possibly again a relative, a sister, of the Artaban who has figured above? Maspeter apparently throughout has only one wife. She had not accompanied her lord on the march to Greece (cp. 7, 187). But had probably come down to meet him on his return to Sardes with Xerxes.

5 *προσπέμποντι* = ἀγγέλοντι. The subject of εἰδύνατο may be ὁ γίγνη van H. takes it to be ὁ *εὐνομένης*.

6 *προμηθεόμενος*, out of respect for . . . , a point we might be expected,

εἶχε, 'supported, 'upheld.'

7 εὖ γὰρ κτλ. 'for etc. we know that violence would not be employed against her.'

8 *ἐργόμενος* is middle, cp. 7, 187 21 *αἰνέει*.

τοῦ γάμου τοῦτου refers to the following *θυσία*. The verb *πρήσει* has, perhaps, a suggestion of intrigue. He indeed was hoping and to get hold of the mother *λήμψασθαι* *ἀφαισθῆναι* cp. *Myth*, *Ion* 8 20, p. 136.

9 *Δαρείῳ*: this *ἡσυχία* was the eldest son and on the assassination of his father in 465 he was falsely accused of the crime and executed by his youngest brother Artabanus; *Hellenica*, *Fort* 20; *Herodotus*, p. 124 f. Had all this happened when this story was first composed?

12 *εἰς Σούσα*: the scene shifts to the capital; cp. 8 28, 7 161 *εὖν*, cp. 5 54.

ἡγάγετο: the middle is generally used of the bridegroom, here of the father-in-law. This word marks the actual marriage, the *πρόστα* (*πρόστα*) and the performance of the actual ritual, *κατακλίσματα* *καύματα*, at Sardes previously, only amounted to a betrothal (*ἀρμόσει*). The crown prince lives apparently in his father's palace even after his marriage is this improbable?

ἐωυτοῦ Δαρεῖφ την γυναῖκα, οὕτω δὴ τῆς Μασίστειν μεν
 15 γυναῖκός ἐπέπαντο, ὃ δὲ διαμειψόμενος ἦρα τε κοῖ ἐτύγχαν
 109 τῆς Δαρείου μὲν γυναῖκός Μασίστειν δὲ θυγατρός· οὕτωμα δὲ
 τῇ γυναικὶ ταύτῃ ἦν Ἀρταύτην. χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος
 ἀνάπυστα γίνεται τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. ἐξυφύνασα Ἀμυστρὶς ἢ
 Ξέρξῳ γυνὴ φῆρος μέγα τε καὶ ποικίλον καὶ θεῖς ἄξιον
 διδοῖ Ξέρξῃ. ὃ δὲ ἡσθεὶς περιβάλλεται τε καὶ ἔρχεται παρὰ
 τὴν Ἀρταύτην. ἡσθεὶς δὲ καὶ ταύτῃ ἐκένευσεν αὐτὴν αἰτῆσαι
 ὃ τι βούλεται οἱ γενέσθαι ἀντὶ τῶν αὐτῷ ὑπουργημένων
 πάντα γὰρ τεύξεσθαι αἰτήσασαν· τῇ δὲ κακῶς γὰρ ἔδιδε παν-
 οικήν γενέσθαι, πρὸς ταῦτα εἶπε Ξέρξῃ "δώσεις μοι τὸ ἂν σε
 αἰτήσω;" ὃ δὲ πᾶν μᾶλλον δοκέων κείνην αἰτήσαι ὑπεσχεύετο

14 <εἰρών> ἐπέπαντο I van H 15 μεν om. Marc. μασίστειν B
 109. 2 ἐξυφύνασα Gaisford 3 φῆρος BR Marc 4 κοίλιον Marc
 4 πρὸς Ask 5 ταύτῃ· αὐτῇ B || ἐκένευσεν Incipit 6 ὃ βού-
 λεται R || οἱ om. ac Marc (S) || οἱ . . ὑπουργημένων om. S Gaisf. || ὑπουργ-
 μένων RV 7 αἰτήσασα Marc 8 εἰσαι = || αὐτ B 9 πάντα
 S. πᾶν <ἀν> Madvig || ἐκένευσεν S; | αἰτήσασθαι B. αἰτῆσαι Cobet, van H
 || ὑπεσχεύεται B: ὑπεσχεύετο van H.

13. οὕτω δὴ . . ἐπέπαντο. the pre-
 posit is really rhetorical, and not
 need of strict temporal sequence. ὃ δὲ
 the subject is temporal and the de-
 cision, for the sake of emphasis; c.f.
 106. 7 *οὕτω*.

14. διαμειψόμενος ἦρα. 'transfused
 his affection'. perhaps the *ἦρα* (i.e.
 comp.) marks the completion of the
 change, ἦρα τε καὶ ἐτύγχανε the
 rapidity of his success. For τεύξεσθαι
 cp. 6. 23 (l. 14) and τεύξασθαι *οὐρα*,
 τεύξεσθαι c. 106. 14 *αὐτῷ*.

16. Ἀρταύτην: the true identity of
 name with Artaxias, c. 107 *οὐρα*, is
 not, of course, sufficient to prove any
 connexion between the house of Mithras
 and that of his colleague and successor,
 but the name is of ill omen for the house
 anyway and perhaps for that reason
 the daughter of Mithras bears it.

109. 1. χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος: an
 interval occurs ἀνάπυστα γίνεται: cp.
 6. 51 *ἔδιδε δὲ καὶ τοιαῦτα ἀνάπυστα γινόμενα*
ταῖς ἀρταύταις ἀμυστρῶν τῇ βασι-
λειᾷ. The moment of 'discovery' is
fatal.

2. Ἀμυστρὶς ἢ Ξέρξῳ γυνή: she
 hardly requires the description after 7.
 61, 114 *οὐρα*, but the passage is, of
 course, independent of those, the second,
 indeed, of which is of later composition

than the and the former, perhaps a
 gloss).

3. φῆρος . . ἡσθεὶς ἄξιον: the latter is
 advocate of the extension of time a
 subject, and that and advocate is
 general will in any venture to enter
 from the phrase that H. had actually
 won the field or not why then join
 the phrase 'whatsoever' (cp. ex. 20, 71
οὐρα).

4. ἡσθεὶς . . ἡσθεὶς: words are a
 decision 'pleasure'. Cp. note to
 108 *οὐρα*. There is some homopho-
 ny here, in the repetition.

5. ἀντὶ τῶν αὐτῷ ὑπουργημένων,
 reason for her services to him cp.
 ὑπουργέει 8. 110, χρῆσθαι ὑπουργέει 1
 143, ὑπουργέει 7. 56 (of the subject
 in 106. 1).

7. τεύξεσθαι: absolute 'she I should
 her servant'. πάντα with *αὐτῷ* =
 'whatever she asked, even if she asked
 anything'.

τῇ δὲ κακῶς γὰρ ἔδιδε πανοικίαν
 γενέσθαι. The δὲ is of course rhetorical
 (as we were to read 8. 61). πάντοτε
 7. 50. *ἔδιδε κακῶς γενέσθαι* is too casual
 of fatalistic origin, cp. 1. 32. It does
 not clearly appear what the fate of this
 woman was.

9. πᾶν μᾶλλον δοκέων κτλ. cp. 7.
 58 *οὐρα*.

καὶ ὤμοσε. ἡ δὲ ὡς ὤμοσε ἀδώς αἰτεῖ τὸ φάρος. Ξέρξης δὲ παντοῖος ἐγένετο οὐ βουλόμενος δοῦναι, κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οἶδεν, φοβούμενος δὲ Ἀμυστριν, μὴ καὶ πρὶν κατακαζούσῃ τὰ γυνήμενα αὐτῷ ἐπευρεθῇ πρήσσιον· ἀλλὰ πύλιν τε ἐίδου καὶ χρυσὸν ἄπλετον καὶ στρατὸν, τοῦ ἐμελλε αὐδεῖς ἄρξαι· ἀλλ' ἡ ἐκείνη Περσικὸν δὲ κάρτα ὁ στρατός οὔρων. ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἐπειθε, δίδοι τὸ φάρος, ἡ δὲ περιχαρὴς τοῦσα τῷ δαίρῳ ἐφόρεε τε καὶ ἀγάλλετο. καὶ ἡ Ἀμυστρίς πυθνάνεται μιν ἔχουσαν· μαθούσα δὲ τὸ ποιούμενον τῇ μὲν γυναίκί ταύτῃ οὐκ εἶχε ἔγκοτον, ἡ δὲ ἐλπίζουσα τὴν μητέρα αὐτῆς εἶναι αἰτίην καὶ ταῦτα ἐκείνην πρήσσειν, τῇ Μασίστῳ γυναίκί ἐβόλευε δλεθρον. φυλάξασα δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἐωντῆς

10 ὤμοσε α LxP φάρος BR Marc: 11 ἐγένετο I: 12 κατακαζούσα B ἡ ἐκείνη C Ἀμυστριν C καὶ οὐ B κατακαζούσα α Macc, van II κατακαζούσα δλεθρον ταυτοῦ κατακαζούσα 13 γυνήμενα Marc II ἐπευρεθῇ B: I πολεῖ Cα 15 ο στρατός κάρτα B ο στρατός (ante κάρτα) del. van II. 16 φάρος R Marc: 17 ἀγάλλετο R ἡγάλλετο P Marc: 110 2 ἔχουσα C ταύτῃ, αὐτῇ B 3 ἔχε:

10. ὤμοσε, 'confidently,' sure of the result.

11. παντοῖος ἐγένετο: cp. 7, 10, 30.

12. ἐπευρεθῇ: the detection would follow upon (ἐπ-) her previous (πρὶν) suspicions, strong (εὐρ-) suspicion: the dative participle κατακαζούσα is observable, a dat. of the agent, instead of ἐπὶ with genitive, cp. Macc. 1 § 34 p. 37, 'when the institution began much to be desired.'

πρήσσειν refers here to deadly misdeeds: Cp. c. 108.

πόλιν cp. 1. a settlement of the city of Amythe to the wife of the Satrap of Egypt for 'shoe-money,' 2. 98; the accusations in Themistokles, Thuc. 1. 134. 5, etc.

εἶδεν, 'offered,' kept offering a strong imperf.; cp. 8, 114 supra.

14. ἄπλετον = standing opposite of ἡμῶς: cp. 1. 14, 59, 23. 3, 108 (two with ἀπὸ γὰρ α ἡ, α 90, c 24 supra, εἶσα γ 12, αὐτ 4, 53) - 'good beyond the dreams of avarice,' good riches.

στρατὸν seems the least likely to appeal to a lady: what would she do with it? Perhaps it is only introduced for the sake of the next learned remark. Or were Persian princesses too titular soldiers at times?

15. δίδω, 'is giving' 'gives,' seems a little weak after the εἶδεν just above:

a perfect or pluperfect form would do nicely.

110. 1. πυθνάνεται ly beamen

2. μαθούσα: by native wit she led me, however, quite not at the facts.

τὸ ποιούμενον cp. c. 23 supra. τῇ μὲν . . . οὐκ εἶχε ἔγκοτον: she did not consent to suspect the intrigue between Xerxes and Artabazus (the younger), the son-in-law, but thought perhaps that her visits to the king far covered an intrigue with the mother, and that the mother had betrayed the secret on the daughter. She therefore planned the destruction of the wife of Xerxes. The satrap depends upon the third act of this tragedy.

3. ἔγκοτον α Macc.

4. δὲ 'but the . . .', the examined suspect accuses the partner, cp. c. 108. 13 supra.

ἐλπίζουσα rather 'believing than 'hoping' cp. Index, sub. e.

5. ταῦτα ἐκείνην πρήσσειν 'that she was at the bottom of the whole business' = 'intrigue.' The εἶσα is to note, strongly speaking necessary than the 4 just before, but its introduction makes for emphasis and variety πρήσσειν as above.

6. φυλάξασα δὲ . . . προσέειπεν, 'she waited her own husband's bidding a royal feast,' i.e. a royal feast had to be her own husband's bidding. φυλάσσειν, cp.

Ξέρξην βασιλῆιον δείπνον προτιθέμενον· τοῦτο δὲ τὸ δείπνον
 παρασκευάζεται ἅπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἡμέρῃ τῇ ἐγίνετο <ὁ>
 βασιλεὺς· οὐνομα δὲ τῷ δείπνῳ τοῖτῳ περισσιτὶ μὲν τυκτῇ
 κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν τίλειον· τότε καὶ τὴν
 10 κεφαλὴν σμάται μοῦνον βασιλεὺς καὶ Πέρσαις δωρίεται.
 ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἡμέρην φυλάξασα ἡ Ἀμνηστρίς χρηίζει τοῦ
 Ξέρξεω δοθῆναι οἱ τὴν Μασίστῳ γυναῖκα. ὁ δὲ δεῖνόν τε
 καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἐποιέετο τοῦτο μὲν ἀδελφοῦ γυναῖκα παρα-
 δοῦναι, τοῦτο δὲ ἀναιτήν ἐοῦσαν τοῖς πρῆγμασι τούτου·
 111 συνῆκε γὰρ τοῦ εἵνεκεν ἔδεστο. τέλος μέντοι ἐκείνη τε
 λιπαρευούσης καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου ἐξεργόμενος, ὅτι ἀτυχῆσαι
 τὸν χρηζόντα οὐ σφί δυνατόν ἐστι βασιλῆιον δείπνον προ-

7 ἐν ἡμέρῃ B, Holder, van H. || ἐγίνετο A || ὁ βασιλεὺς B· articulum
 om. Steiu, Holder, van H. || 8 τυκτῇ S || 9 τὴν om. B || τίλειον
 τίλειον Holder, van H. || ('τὴν om. B' Steiu'?) || 10 τοῖτῳ πέριος S
 Πέρσαις z || 11 χρηίζει P: χρηίζει Marc.: χρηίζει B (ap. Holder
 δεεται & ap. Gail)· χρηίζει z || 111 1 μόνον
 γε B, Holliv || κείνης C || τε om. C || 3 χρηζόντα P || χρηζόντα B? ||
 Marc.: χρηζόντα z, Gaisford

1. 68 φυλάξας τὴν αἰρήν τῶν ἡμερῶν.
 δείπνον προτιθέσθαι, of the king, cp.
 ζῆναι προτιθεῖν I. 20

7 τῇ ἐγίνετο <ὁ> βασιλεὺς, 'on the
 king's birthday': a strong ἐγίνετο, cp.
 I. 133 τῇ δεκάτῃ ἐγίνετο (Not a mere
 Anniversaries celebration, on the day when he
 became king)· <ὁ> βασιλεὺς, cf. ὁ οὐκ B.
 I. 111 illustrates the importance of birth-
 day feasts among the Persians, who were
 no polytheists, like Thracians, cp. B. 4.

8 τυκτῇ (mht): not from τυκτός
 The n in the g is phonetical note, even if
 from the same root, will not convince
 any one that hdt. was deeply versed in
 Etymol.: cp. B. 65 μῦθος

9 τὴν κεφαλὴν σμάται· cp. 4 13
 σημεῖον τὰς κεφαλὰς (εἰσὶν B. 148).
 The meaning here must be that on his
 birthday and on his birthday alone (τὴν
 μόνον) the king appears without his
 diadem, or crown (Steiu) his hair glister-
 ing with the oil of gladness.

12 δεῖνόν τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἐποιέετο.
 'thought at shocking and monstrous
 deeds or n. 37 supra, for two reasons.
 τοῦτο μὲν, to find over his brother's
 wife to certain torture and death (she
 knew what was in store for her), τοῦτο
 δὲ, she being innocent in the whole affair

15. συνῆκε γὰρ τοῦ εἵνεκεν ἔδεστο.
 he knew with what object she was
 making the request of him.' There had
 probably been previous words on the
 subject between Amestris and Xerxes.
 συνῆκε is the Attic form (cp. ζυνῆκε).
 ἔδεστο, cp. B. 3.

111 ὡς λιπαρευούσης· cf. supra.
 ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου ἐξεργόμενος· cp.
 ἀνάγκη η ἐξεργεῖται I. 96, 139 supra. As
 to the νόμος, Xerxes was not equal to the
 occasion, or his wishes and commands
 would have come to the rescue; cp. the
 Response of the Royal Justice I. 21
 τῷ βασιλευσσι Περσῶν· εἰς αὐτὸν τὸ
 δὲ βασιλῆος. The two cases are not,
 indeed, precisely the same· but the
 moral is that the king was not bound
 by any law. δεῖνόν, τὸν χρηζόντα
 (masc.) might have given him a whole
 hole

ἀτυχῆσαι, 'to fail', the opposite
 of τύχειν, cp. c. 114 supra.

3. σφί· cf. τοῖς Περσῶν.
 δυνατόν, cf. I. 149 supra. 'O
 fate, give courtesy to great kings'
 (Henry F. v. n. 293). But Xerxes
 still was king of the king of kings' cp.
 B. 38.

κειμένου, κάρτα δὴ ἰάκων κατακείει, καὶ παραδόντες ποίει
 ὀδε· τὴν μὲν κελεύει ποιεῖν τὰ βούλεται, ὃ δὲ μεταπεμφά-
 μενος τὸν ἀδελφεὺν λέγει τάδε. "Μασίστα, σὺ εἰς Δαρείου
 τε παῖς καὶ ἐμὸς ἀδελφεός, πρὸς δ' ἐτι τοῖτοισι καὶ εἰς ἀνὴρ
 ἀγαθός· γυναῖκί δὴ ταύτῃ τῇ νῦν σινοικίεις μὴ σιτοῖκες.
 ἀλλὰ τοι ἀντ' αὐτῆς ὄγῳ δίδωμι θυγατέρα τὴν ἐμὴν. ταύτῃ
 συνοῖκες· τὴν δὲ νῦν ἔχεις, οὐ γὰρ δοκέει ἐμοί, μὴ ἔχε
 γυναῖκα." ὃ δὲ Μασίστης ἀποθαρμύσας τὰ λεγόμενα λέγει
 τάδε. "ὦ δέσποτα, τίνα μοι λόγον λέγεις ἄχρηστον, κελεύων
 [μοι] γυναῖκα, ἐκ τῆς μοι παιδὸς τε νεηνίας εἰσι καὶ θυγατέρες,
 τῶν καὶ σὺ μίαν τῷ παιδί τῷ σκωτοῦ ἡγάγῃς γυναῖκα, αὐτῇ
 τέ μοι κατὰ νόον τυγχάνει κάρτα ἰούσα· ταύτην με κελεύεις
 μετέντα θυγατέρι τὴν σὴν γῆμαι· ἐγὼ δὲ βασιλεὺς μεγάλα
 μὲν ποιεύμαι ἀξιόεμενος θυγατρὸς τῆς σῆς, ποιήσω μόντοι

ὃ ὀδε P || μεταπεμφόμενος Marc. 8 σὺ γὰρ εἶμι Stein¹,
 τετερ. van II. 8 δὲ B Marc. 2 γὰρ AB 9 ἀλλὰ . . συνοῖκες
 om. R || θυγατέρι δίδωμι S 10 δοκέει R | μοι B | μέντοι van II.
 11 ἀποθαρμύσας Pz, Stein¹ 12 λόγον μοι A 13 μοι σCz etc
 Stein¹: με S, Stein², Holder, van II. om. Stein² || τε καὶ τεταῖα Bz,
 Stein¹, Holder || εἰς τῶν S 14 καὶ om. B || μία Bz H. μέν S ||
 τῷ προτερ. L om. C Marc. || ἡγάγῃς R S H: ἡγάγῃς Marc. | αὐτῇ CP
 15 τυγχάνει κατὰ νόον C || με om. CP: με R S H 16 μετέντα B
 μεθίοντα || τὴν om. B || σὴν: σκωτοῦ S, van II. || μέγα S, Holder, van II
 17 ἀξιόεμος Marc.

4. κατακείει, frequent in Homer, but
 rare in prose (Plato, *Ap.* 350 E, seems
 to use the word literally. Here it may
 be used metaphorically: 'assents').

ποίει ὀδε 6 δὲ: the euphu-
 istic use of the last act of the tragedy,
 the desperate effort of Aeneas to make
 things right with his brother the her-
 oism of Amestris in her revenge, the
 melodramatic of Mnasithea, and the stoic
 that just anticipates the reasonable
 success. 6 δὲ, cp. c. 104. 1. 1. 1. 1.

5. ποίειν after ποίει is rather than.

6. Δαρείου: i.e. the son of Hystaspes
 (Mazaeus is not meant here, but cp. 7. 1. 2.)

7. εἰς ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός: i.e., perhaps,
 that he could say for all his brother's
 Masiates words, scarcely have returned
 the compliment with truth.

8. δίδωμι θυγατέρα τὴν ἐμὴν, 'I offer
 you my daughter, in marriage'; she is,
 therefore, given to Masiates, such near
 πατρίαν were not known even in Syria
 (cp. 7. 1. 239 *supra*), much less in poly-
 gamous Persia.

10. ἔχεις ὄγῳ 'have to wife'; cp. 7.
 81. 13.

δοκέει, 'seems good'.

11. ἀποθαρμύσας: 'when he had re-
 covered from his amazement'; cp. κ
 86 *supra*.

12. ἄχρηστον: a misnomer, 'injudicious,
 unexpedient'.

13. αὐτῇ μοι κατὰ νόον ἰούσα: 'in
 the story of Amestris (cp. 5. 30), who
 was allowed to ransom her first wife
 Mnasithea might be justified in Persian to
 know her marrying the king's daughter
 should involve putting away his first
 wife and might have suspected Xerxes
 often personal interest in the matter);
 but even if the Persian story is a chief
 wife or mistress and the fact is perhaps
 taken for granted in the story.

14. γῆμαι, of the ordinary γῆμαι
 εἶναι or the later γῆμαι 11.

μεγάλα μὲν ποιεύμαι: 'account it
 greatness,' and perhaps 'honor,' the
 plural is appropriate, cp. 1. 1. 239 *supra*
 ποιεύμενος.

τούτων οὐδέτερα. σὺ δὲ μηδαμῶς βίω πρηγματος τοιοῦδε
 δεόμενος· ἀλλὰ τῇ τε σῇ θυγατρὶ ἀνὴρ ἄλλος φανήσεται
 10 ἐμεῦ οὐδὲν ἦσσαν, ἐμὲ τε ἑα γυναικὶ τῇ ἐμῇ συνοικεῖν." ὁ
 μὲν δὴ τοιούτοις ἀμειβεται. Ξέρξης δὲ θυμωθεὶς λέγει τάδε.
 "οὕτω τοι. Μασίστα, πέπρηκται· οὔτε γὰρ ἂν τοι δοίην
 θυγατέρα τὴν ἐμὴν γῆμαι, οὔτε ἐκείνη πλεῦνα χρόνον συνοι-
 κήσεις, ὥς μάθης τὰ διδόμενα δέκεσθαι." ὁ δὲ ὡς ταῦτα
 15 ἤκουσε, εἶπας τοσόνδε ἐχώρες ἔξω "δέσποτα, οὐ δὴ κού μὲ
 112 ἀπώλεσας;" ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ διὰ μέσσω χρόνῳ, ἐν τῷ Ξέρξης
 τῇ ἀδελφῷ διελέγετο, ἡ Ἀμηστρι μεταπεμφαμένη τοῦς
 δορυφόρους τοῦ Ξέρξεω διαλυμαίνεται τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ
 Μασίστεω· τοὺς τε μαζοὺς ἀποταμούσα κυσὶ πρόβαλε καὶ

18 τοιούτων· οὐδέτερον B || τοιοῦτον R/S ὅV 20 ἦσσαν· ἔσσαν
 Schwafer, van H. || συνοικεῖν R/S V, van H. 21 τοιούτοις ἀμειβετο B
 22 οὕτω τοι· οὕτω δὴ τοι· | δοίην ἔτι R/S ὅV, Holder, van H. | δώην α
 δώην CP Marc. 23 γῆμαι, γυναῖκα B, Holder, van H. | ἐκ πλεῖνα B.
 24 ὥς pr l ou. Marc. || ἤκουσε ταῦτα B 25 κού Schwafer, van H.
 26 ἀπώλεσας; Schwa: v alio | unctum ponitur 112 l ἐν ὧ B 2
 ἀδελφῷ Marc. | ἀμηστρι Ank. hic et alibi 3 τοῦ. τοὺς Krueger | τοῖ
 τῷ B, Holder, van H. 4 μαζοῖται B || μαζοῖται B

14 μηδαμῶς βίω . δεόμενος, 'do not
 prove (desist on) thy request.

22 πέπρηκται: *de sane (obscu) potest
 est de se (Bachr); ignitur hoc profectus
 (Schweighauser); déne Sache steht jetzt
 en (Mion, taking obse to refer to what
 is low).*

24 ὥς μάθης τὰ διδόμενα δέκεσθαι.
 'that you may learn to accept what is
 offered to you.' This must be almost
 a proverbial expression; cp. S. 26, 137
supra.

25 ἔπας τοσόνδε ἐχώρες ἔξω, 'as I ha
 said before going as I was .

ὁ δὲ κού μὲ ἀπώλεσας; 'can it be
 thou hast not lost me?' The v l. *eo*
 gives a good sense: *quidnam sane me
 perdidisti* (Bachr). 'thou hast not yet
 taken my life' Rawlinson, i.e. there is
 still light left in me. I am not at the
 end of my resources (of course with a
 period, not an interrogative); this well
 accords with the sequel.

112 l ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ἐπὶ the second
 pitiable scene in this act of the tragedy;
 non tamen utus | d yna ge i promise in
 senonem, multaque tollis | ex oculis, quas
 non potest facilius praeponere (Hor. *de*
A p. 182 ff.). What a meeting between

the faithful wife and her fond husband.
 What vows of vengeance by the stalwart
 son, what tears and lamentation of the
 daughter, over the mother's lying bed.
 What self-tormentures of the guilty one
 before her self-indulgent end! It is in
 a way strange that in Greek literature
 over almost the material lying to the
 hand in the pages of H II

11 Διαλυμαίνεται, the unique verb
λυμαίνεσθαι in classical Greek. 26 *supra*
 the prep., of course, strengthens it. The
 perfect past tense is rare.

4 τοὺς τε μαζοὺς 4 202 11 the
 ἀποταμούσα is taken to extend down as
 far as χυθεῖς, and the ἀποταμούσα is
 applying only to γλώσσας, there is
 grammatically a suspension, possibly
 the end after ἀποταμούσα connects first with
 with ἀποταμῆται and ἀποταμούσα γλῶσσαι
 πῖνα, ὥσα. χυθεῖς as well as γλώσσας
 but the sentence is intelligible from every
 point of view. It sounds barbarous
 enough in the Greek ear; but it only
 reminds the throat of Antiquity
 to read, *ἐπὶ τῇ κείνῃ στήθῳ αὐτῆς
 πόνδρ, πάλιν ἐν τῇ μέλει αὐτῆς* *ἐπὶ* ἔλατο
 μυσθῆτα θνήσκω δηλῶματα παρῶν, δι' αὐ
 ἀπὸ πνευ ταμῆσι καὶ ὁλοτα ὑλῆσι χαλαρ
 μηδὲ τ' ἐξέρχεται ὡρ ευρεὶ ὡρ δασαθαι

ρίνα καὶ ὦτα καὶ χεῖλεα καὶ γλῶσσαν ἐκταμοῦσα ἐς οἶκόν
 μιν ἀποπέμπει διαλελυμασμένην. ὁ δὲ Μασίστης οὐδὲν καὶ 113
 ἀκηκοὺς τούτων. ἐλπίμενος δὲ τί οἱ κακὸν εἶναι, ἐσπύπτει
 δρόμον ἐς τὰ οἰκία. ἰδὼν δὲ διεφθαρμένην τὴν γυναικα, αὐτίκα
 μετὰ ταῦτα συμβουλευσάμενος τοῖσι παῖσι ἐπορεύετο ἐς
 Βάκτρα σὺν τε τοῖσι ἑαυτοῦ υἱοῖσι καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῖσι καὶ
 ἄλλοισι ὡς ἀποστήσων νομὸν τὸν Βάκτριον καὶ ποιήσων τὰ
 μέγιστα κακὸν βασιλέα· τὰ περ αὖ καὶ ἐγένετο, ὥς ἐμοὶ

6 μιν οἱ. Marc.

113. 1 καὶ οἱ. Marc.

2 δὲ τι δ' ἐτι.

B(8) || οἱ B.

5 Βάκτραν C || τον Marc.

6 νομον CR Marc.

7 κακὸν Marc. || βασιλῆα =

113. 2 ἀκηκοὺς . . ἐλπίμενος, the former participle is clearly stronger than ἀκούσας, the latter is clearly not 'hoping'.

4 διεφθαρμένην, 'utterly ruined' (but not necessarily 'dead'; cp. I 34 οὐτέρου μὲν διεφθάρτα, ἢ γὰρ δὴ αὐροί, 38 τὸν γὰρ δὴ ἴτερον διεφθαρμένον τῆς ἀκοῆς οὐκ εἶναι μοι λογίζομαι. But obviously the masculine woman could not long survive such treatment.

αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα, it is clear the last scene shifted to Bactria, where, after consulting with his sons, Masiates raised the flag of revolt in his capital, and first, his twelve boys fighting round him at the head of an army of devoted adherents, it is the against the all too young sons of the rebels act.

5 Βάκτρα, the city of Bactra, capital of the Bactrian satrapy, or Bactrian satrapy (X 123 of which he was governor ἐπαρχος τῶν Βακτριῶν = Βακτριανῶν, etc.). The city is mentioned D. 9 (as a son of ulama Thule of the Persian Empire from the Greek point of view, but cp. 4. 203). On the Bactrians cp. 7 64 supra, where the Zoro are connected with them, as here.

7 τὸ περ αὖ καὶ ἐγένετο, but did not, for Xerxes took measures to crush him. Hit implies that Masiates did not reach Bactra or the Bactrian land, but was overtaken on the way thither and came to an end. The mention of his army, however, and the strategy ἐνέταται, seems hardly consistent with that view, which is also not in itself probable. Masiates and his sons would have reached Bactra long before the army collected and sent against them by Xerxes. Hit. is led into the inconsistency and error apparently by his own

notion (ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ) that, if Masiates had once succeeded in raising a revolt in Bactria, he would have wrought the king on side of war; in other words, the case with which Masiates was supposed convinced that he had not actually raised a rebellion in Bactria, and as the Bactrians were devoted to Masiates, he cannot have reached Bactra, or he would have raised a rebellion.

Probably Masiates, as a traitor of Bactria, did cause the province, and fell fighting at the head of the eastern forces of the empire. The gruesome story just related was an attempt to explain the cause of the revolt in terms acceptable to Hellenic readers. There may have been a lot of more political factors at work. There was a constant proximity in the Achaemenid Empire of a rupture between the eastern and western halves, the Iranian highland and the older centres and areas of acclimatization. The weakness of Xerxes and the ignominious failure of the Persian expedition, were calculated to provoke adversely Masiates, his brother, was hit + crushing the revolt of Bactria, the son of Xerxes the eldest, Xerxes, or his servants, succeeded as Kallimachos, or again as Darius had succeeded, in transferring the unity of the empire. Masiates, who like Xerxes had not united with anyone in the Achaemenid pedigree cp. 7 11 supra was a very formidable Persian, and a far better man evidently than his brother. Rawlinson (ed. 1852) is to underestimate the possibilities of a Bactrian movement, or Hellenic rule movement, though he is justified in correcting the statement of Masiates in the other direction. The loyalty of the Bactrians to Darius and their general loyalty to the Achaemenid

Ἑλλάδα, Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ καὶ Ξανθίππῃ τῷ στρατηγῷ αὐτοῦ ὑπομείναντας πειράσθαι τῆς Χερσονήσου. οἱ μὲν δὲ ἀπέπλεον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀβύδου διαβάντες ἐς τὴν Χερσονήσον Σηστών ὑπολιόρκειον. ἐς δὲ τὴν Σηστών ταύτην, ὡς ἱόντος 115 ἰσχυροτάτου τείχεος τῶν ταύτη, συνήλθον, ὡς ἤκουσαν παρῆναι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, ἐκ τε τῶν Ἀλλείων τῶν περιοικίδων, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐκ Καρδίας πόλιος Οἰόβαζος ἀνὴρ Πέρσης, ὃς τὰ ἐκ τῶν γεφυρέων ὅπλα ἐνθαῖα ἦν κεκομικάς, εἶχον δὲ ταύτην ἐπιχώριοι Λιόλεες, συνήσαν δὲ Περσαι τε καὶ

6 χερρονήσου CP 9 διαβαλόντες B, Hader || χαμικύμνον CP
115. 3 Ἀλλείων Strabo Ἑλλαν J τῶν om S, Ask. 4 οἱ καὶ δὴ B ἡ
οἰόβαζος B 6 ἱόντος

7 Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ καὶ Ξανθίππῃ 'the Athenians and their strategos, Xanthippos, decided to try and attempt the recovery of the Chersonese. Hdt. does not make clear what this i.e. extremely weakly that the new allies—οἱ δὲ Ἰωνεῖς καὶ Ἑλλήσποντον ξυμῆτοι. ἄλλ' ἀφασταστοὶ ἀπὸ βασιλέων—remained with the Athenians and assisted them. Xanthippos is less natural for the first time since 5. 131 but without his patronym, not much credit is given him for the victory of Mykale.

αὐτοῦ, not quite strictly 'on the spot, for they move across to Sestos; it refers perhaps rather to 'the Hellespont' than to 'Abydos.'

8. ὑπομένειν has four meanings or ones in Hdt. 1. 'To remain behind, as here; cp. τὸ ὑπομένειν ἐν Στάτῃ 7. 209. 2. 'To await, sustain, an attack,' a defensive attitude cp. 4. 2 οἱ καὶ ὑπομένοντες τὰς ἐπαινοὺς cp. 7. 101, 120, and c. 23 αὐτοῖς. 3. 'Simply 'to await' (as a friend). 4. ὡς ἐπαινοὶ ἐπιδόνα τὸν Καμύστιον στρατὸν (as friends). 5. 'Absoletely, 'to abide,' to survive; 4. 149 αὐτὸν γὰρ ὑπομένοντα τὰ εἶδη.

9. τὴν Χερσονήσον: the Chersonese on the Hellespont' last mentioned 7. 38 (cp. 7. 34 3. where it should have been noted that the name had occurred previously at 22. 3 without further explanation, a fact pointing to the independence of the two passages. Thucyd. speaks of it always as Ἡδ. here, simply as 'the Chersonese'. Our oldest authority for the designation ἡ χερσονήσος Χερσονήσος appears to be Strabo 92, etc. Cp. 6. 38 αὐτοῖς.

10. Σηστών: last mentioned in 7. 24; cp. 7. 33. It was an old pronunciation of the

Athenians, cp. 4. 141 αὐτὸν δὲ 34, and Sestos was or was to be called, φρουρίον καὶ φρούριον τοῦ παρὰ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον cp. Thuc. 4. 62 34.

115. 1. ταύτην there was only one Sestos; the identification is rather tentative, pointing to the previous non-mention.

ὡς ἱόντος 'H being as a matter of fact (cp. ὡς ὑπερῶς αὐτοῦ 8. 62 αὐτοῦ) the gender is determined by τείχεος.

2. συνήλθον ac. of περιόισιν (cp. τὸν περιόισιν, or, more probably, ἄνδρες Περσῶν, out of ἄσπερ Περσῶν αὐτοῖς, just as ἄλλων or πολέμων out of πολέων) but has a word or two dropped out before καὶ δὴ καὶ' (Cp. α. 131. 14. 2. 6 αὐτοῖς).

3. Καρδίῃ cp. 7. 58 αὐτοῖς. Οἰόβαζος on this name cp. 7. 63 αὐτοῖς.

4. ἐνθαῖα ἦν κεκομικάς is this ex. position merely equivalent to ἐνθαῖα ἐκομίσαντο? If so, why not ἐκομίσαντο instead of ἐνθαῖα? The aorist-passive auxiliary verb has at least attracted the adverb! But ἐνθαῖα ἦν is a complete statement in itself, since that τα [α] τῶν γεφυρέων ὅπλα remains a present p. verb. Moreover, ἐνθαῖα might be Καρδίῃ if it is a, αἰνῶς—ἐκαστοῖς. In fine ἐκαστοῖς is not a more temporal phrase, used indifferently with the thematic form, or the aorist. It records an action, just indeed, but of still abiding effect. In this case perhaps even something more. 'he was in Sestos whether he had conquered the town.'

5. ταύτην ac. τῶν Σηστών ταύτην αὐτοῖς. 'Abdians of the locality' were in action, possession of the town, but

- ἔλεγε νοέων τοιαῦτα· τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν νομίζουσι ἰωντῶν εἶναι Πέρσαι καὶ τοῦ αἰεὶ βασιλεύοντος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδύθη, τὰ <τε> χρήματα ἐξ Ἐλαιούντος ἐς Σηστόν ἐξεφόρησε καὶ τὸ τέλειος 10 ἱσπεύρε καὶ ἐνέμετο, αὐτὸς τε ὅπως ἀπικούτο ἐς Ἐλαιούντα ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ γυναιξὶ ἐμίσγεται. τότε δὲ πολιορκίετο ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων οὔτε παρεσκευασμένος ἐς πολιορκίην οὔτε πρὸς- 117 δεκομένος τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἀφίκτως δὲ κως αὐτῷ ἔπεπσον. ἐπεὶ δὲ πολιορκουμένοις σφί φθινοπωρὸν ἔπεγίνετο, καὶ ἤσχαλλον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς ἰωντῶν ἀποδημιόντες καὶ οὐ δύναμει ἐξελεῖν τὸ τεῖχος. ἐδέοντό τε τῶν στρατηγῶν ὅπως ἀπύγοιεν 5 σφέας ὡπίσω, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἔβασαν πρὶν ἢ ἐξέλωσι ἢ το Ἀθηναίων κοινὸν σφεας μεταπεμψῆται· οὕτω δὲ ἔστεργον τὰ 118 παρόντα. οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ τείχει ἐς πᾶν ἤδη κακοῦ ἀπυγμένοι ἦσαν, οὕτω ὥστε τοὺς τόνους ἔψοντες τῶν κλινῶν ἵστικεοντο. ἐπεῖτε δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἔτι εἶχον, οὕτω δὲ ὑπο βίκατα οἰχόντο

17 νοέων. ποιῶν B || ἄπικουτο RBHV 17, 18 πέμπας εἶναι P. |
 ἔπειτε van H | - τε - ad l. Stein³ 19 ἔλειοντος αB 20
 ἔλειοντος αB 23 ἀφίκτως (φ) B, Holder, van H. | ἐξ. τί B
 117. 1 ἐπειτε van H. 2 πολιορκουμένους Schweighauser, Krieger
 ἔπεγίνετο B καὶ em. B, vcl. van H. ἤσχαλλον Aait B: ἡσχαλλον
 Apr. B² 3 τε om. B 4 ἀπαγαγοῖεν B 5 σφέας αB, |
 Stein¹, Holder: σφέας Stein¹, van H. 6 κοινὸν σφέας: 118. 1
 B AR: || ἐς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρτίων ἐς B. | ἔδω. δὴ B 2 ἔπειτε
 οὕτως ABR | ἔψοντες R: ἐψόντες Marc. 3 εἶχον: | δὴ om. B
 οἰχόντο B, Krieger, Stein¹, Holder, van H. οἰχόνται

Ἡρόδ. ὁ φησὶ, ὡς πατέρων των ἐμὸν δουλὸς εἶναι. Cp. 1. 4 τὴν γὰρ Ἀσίην καὶ τὰ Ἰωνιόεντα ἔθνη οἰκουνοῦσι οἱ Πέρσαι.

17. Ἐλεγε νοέων. 'in saying this he thought as follows.

18 αἰεὶ 'for the time being' 'from time to time,' cp. 2. 86, 168 τοιαῖ αἰεὶ δορυφοροῦσι. i. 102 αἰετα τοιαῖ αἰεὶ δορυφοροῦσι.

20. ἱσπεύρε καὶ ἐνέμετο, αὐτὸς τε κτλ., he cultivated and dined it. Haskins interprets τῶν ἰωντῶν in such a way that Artaxerxes converted the Ionians and Persians into a parasite and parasite. The end of Protespous was perhaps especially an original one for women. Cp. p. 823 a.

21. τότε δὲ: cp. v. 114 αἰετα.

23. ἀφίκτως δὲ κως like late the Delians. Bacher doubts ἀφίκτως with out sufficient reason: the α. l. is found in Simonides, Pindar, Anaxyl., Soph., Plato, etc. Cp. App. I nt.

117 2 πολιορκουμένοις σφί φθινοπωρὸν ἔπεγίνετο. the verb is passive;

the persons are the men in Samos; the autumn (then October) began September 18 early rising of Arkturus. φθινοπωρὸν: 1. 42; Thuc. 2. 31. ἡσχαλλον. ἀπὸ φθινοπωρ., 3. 104.

4. τῶν στρατηγῶν. Xanthippus was not in Asia certainly, this was perhaps the first instance of the forces of the democracy being employed through the winter and on foreign service: 'the generals' had perhaps a heavy horse of Themistokles, who was certainly in Athens; cp. Thuc. 1. 10. 3.

5. πρὶν ἢ ἐξέλωσι. if conditional, it might be expected, if merely temporal, the infinitive μεταπεμψῆται, 'would.'

6. οὕτω δὲ marks the ἀρτίων.

στέργειν different, c. 113 οὕτως 118. 1. ἐς πᾶν ἤδη κακοῦ ἀπυγμένοι ἦσαν. cp. 7. 118 ἐς π. α. ἀνίστατο οὕτω ὥστε. . . ἔγχετο. But ἀπυγμένοι ἦσαν here is not perhaps a mere equivalent to ἀνίστατο ἦσαν. The phrase here is more extensive (e.g. 689). Cp. c. 117 οὕτως.

2. τόνους: purely economic and no

ἀποδράντες οἳ τε Πέρσαι καὶ ὁ Ἀρταύκτης καὶ ὁ Οὐόβαξον,
 <τὸ> ὅπισθε τοῖς τείχεσσι καταβάντες, τῇ ἡν ἐρημότατον τῶν
 πολεμίων, ὥς δὲ ἡμέρη ἐγένετο, οἱ Χερσονησίται ἀπὸ τῶν
 πύργων ἐσήμηναν τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι τὸ γεγονός καὶ τὰς πύλας
 ἀνοξάν. τῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν πλευνες ἐδίωκον, οἱ δὲ τὴν πόλιν
 εἶχον. Οὐόβαξον μὲν νυν ἐκφεύγοντα ἐς τὴν Θρηάκην Θρήικας 119
 Ἀψίνθιοι λαβύοντες ἔθυσαν Πλειστόργῳ ἐπιχωρίῳ θεῷ τρύφῃ
 τῷ σφετέρῳ, τοὺς δὲ μετ' ἐκείνου ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ ἐφόνευσαν.
 οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀρταύκτην ὕστεροι ὀρμηθέντες φεύγειν, καὶ
 ὥς κατελαμβάνοντο ὀλίγον ἔοντες ὑπὲρ λίγος ποταμῶν, ἀλεξό- 5

4 ὁ ante Οὐόβαξος om. αP Marc. 5 <τὸ> Stein⁽⁵⁾ || ὅπισθεν
 RS JV || τοῦ ἡν ἐρημότατος R || τῶν om. z || 7 ἐσημνάντο R || 8
 πλεῖνες om. P¹ Marc || εἶχον z: ἔσχον I Krueger || 119 I ἐαφί-
 γοντο S, Holder, van Il. || Θρηάκην Θρήικας LSJ || 3 ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ del.
 Gumpert || 4 ἐπιχωρίῳ C || ὕστερον BC || καὶ om. z, van Il., see.
 Holder || 5 ὀλίγοι S || ποταμοῦ S: || ἀλεξάμενοι S

doubt of leather—*ἐκαστος* δ. 26. Cf. Aristoph. *Eq.* 223, *Eq.* 333 (cp. 7. 34).
 5. *ὅπισθε τοῖς τείχεσσι*: on the side of
 the wall away from the Athenian lines,
 which did not surround the city. *τῶν*
πολεμίων, sc. τῶν Ἀθηναίων. Could this
 turn over it in an Aith sense?

8. οἱ Χερσονησίται: the inhabitants
 of the Chersonese ἀπὸ τῶν τῶν πόλεων,
 cp. 4. 147 & 34, 35. The names of
 upwards of forty places are mentioned,
 cp. Early Maccab. iii. 2247 f. Of these
 about half are found in H II., viz. Ἀγορή
 7. 58, Αἰγὸς ποταμοῖς c. 119 κατὰ
 Ἑλλάδος c. 116 κυρτοῖς, etc. Ἑλλήσι τόποις
 7. 58, καρδίῃ c. 115 κυρτοῖς, etc. Ἀσπὴ
 ἀπὸ 7. 26, Μάδοντες 7. 23 & 120 κατὰ
 Πάριον c. 16, Σητόν c. 114 κυρτοῖς, etc.]

9. εἶχον, 'mounted guard on —,' a
 very strong term.

119. 1. Θρήικας Ἀψίνθιοι: these were
 old enemies of the Δωλοταὶ Θράκες the
 occupants of the Isterianus—cp. ii. 34)
 and the wall from Kardia to Iakto was
 built by Mithridates I. to keep them out
 (id. 30). Stein, II. sub c. Αἰών gives
 Ἀψίνθος as another name, cp. 7. 58
ἔσχατον, *ἐκαστος* vel. *ἐκαστος* them as
 the *Periostes* of Aina; cp. Strabo 331
 fr. 58, ἡ μὲν γὰρ Αἰών ἀπὸ αὐτῆς αὐτῆς
 πύργου Ἀψίνθου συν δὲ Κορινθίου
 Ἀρπυγίου, ἡ δὲ τῶν Κισσίων ἐφείκει
 πρὸς δούρει. The word *Arpynthos*, or
Arpynthion, belongs to the group of proper
 names in -nth of which *Korinthos*,
Zakynthos, *Perinthos* (in Thrace) are

only the best known examples, cp.
 Ovid *Metam.* *Alkestis* 1847, p. 58.
 The termination appears on the Asiatic
 side in names formed with -nth cp.
 Kretschmar cp. c. 295 ff.). Whatever
 be the positive significance of this
 observation, it confirms the opinion that
 the whole group of names belongs to a
 non-Greek, a pre-Hellenic population.

2. ἔθυσαν Πλειστόργῳ ἐπιχωρίῳ θεῷ:
 this Thracian deity is perhaps the
 Thracian *Areus* of 5. 7. The method of
 human sacrifice (τῷ τῷ σφετέρῳ)
 will have resulted from the use as
 practiced by the Thracians (4. 103), and
 perhaps resembled that of the Getae, in
 the east of Bithynia (4. 94) (cf.
 further 7. 114). The occupations of
 Ovidianus were put to death in another
 fashion, and also not as a religious
 sacrifice.

4. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀ., Ἀρταύκτης
 and his followers, cp. c. 104 περὶ

ὀρμηθέντες of physical motion;
 cp. *ibid.*

5. κατελαμβάνοντο ὀλίγον ἔοντες ἐπὶ
 Ἀλγὸς ποταμῶν: 'were overtaken when
 they were a little way beyond Aigos-
 potamos.' The participle is not strictly
 necessary, and suggests itself therefore
 as predicative. They were not far
 beyond Aigospotamos when they were
 overtaken. Xenophon *Hell.* 2. 1. 21
 describes the place as 'opposite Lam-
 praia. Kaiman will not allow that
 Aigospotamos was more than an open

μενοι χρόνου ἐπὶ συχνόν οἱ μὲν ἀπέθανον οἱ δὲ ζῶντες
ἐλίμφθησαν. καὶ συνδήσαντες σφέας οἱ Ἕλληνες ἤγον ἐν
120 τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ. καὶ τῶν φιλασσόντων λέγεται ὑπο
Χερσονησιῶν τάριχους ὀπτῶντι τέρας γενέσθαι τοιόνδε· οἱ
τάριχοι ἐπὶ τῇ πυρὶ κείμενοι ἐπάλλοντό τε καὶ ἡσπαιρον
ὅπως περ ἰχθύες νεοάλωτοι. καὶ οἱ μὲν περιχυθέντες ἐθώμαζον,
5 ὁ δὲ Ἀρταύκτης ὡς εἶδε τὸ τέρας. καλέσας τὸν ὀπτῶντα τοῦς
τάριχους ἔφη "ξίῳε Ἀθηναίε, μηδὲν φοβέο τὸ τέρας τοῦτο·
οὐ γὰρ σοὶ πέφηνε, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ σημαίνει ὁ ἐν Ἐλαιούντι
Πρωτεσίλειος ὅτι καὶ τεθνεὼς καὶ τάριχος ἰὼν δύναμιν πρὸς
θεῶν ἔχει τὸν ἀδικεῖντα τίνεσθαι. νῦν ὦν ἀποιναί μοι ταῦδε

7 ἐλίμφθησαν S | ἤγαγον B, Holder, van H. | ἐς: ἐπὶ Marc B
αὐτῶν · || δεδεμένον secl. van H. 120. 1 τῶν τῶν παῖδι van H.
2 χερσονησιῶν C: χερσονησιῶν ε. (χερσονησιῶν R) | τάριχους B ||
τέρας τε B 3 ἡσπαιρον (SV) Marc. 1: ὑπερον B 4 οἱ ἰχθύες B ||
νεοάλωτοι B, Holder, van H | ἐθώμαζον B, Stein¹ 6 φοβέο τὸ B:
τὸ om. S 7 ἰλεούντι B 8 πρωτεσίλειος AB 9 σινεσθαι B ||
moi de Pauw, Stein, van H.: οἱ

instead even in 105 n.t. But the passage appears to prove the contrary, cf. Hdt., *Hist. Num.* p. 222, and perhaps the plural form of the word might support the correction. Xen. *Ec.*, Diodor. 13. 105, Strabo 287, Plutarch. *Luc.* 2.

7 ἐλίμφθησαν, 'were captured', cp. c. 114, 2 *supra*. (The artist of the simple verb has a fuller sense than the imperfect of the verb in composition just above.)

συνδήσαντες, 'after binding, or chaining them together,' one to another. οἱ Ἕλληνες perhaps covers of Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ σωμαχοὶ whose presence has not been expressly recognized.

120. 1. λέγεται ὑπὸ Χερσονησιῶν: the express notice of the source is perhaps a disclaimer of responsibility for the story of the τέρας (her).

2. τάριχους (τ), cp. 4. 53 etc. The neuter form of this word (p. L. & S.) predominate in Attic: Hdt. uses it only as masculine.

3. ἐπάλλοντό τε καὶ ἡσπαιρον for ἐπάλαντο cp. 7. 110 *supra*; ἡσπαιρον, cp. 3. 5 *supra* (an Ionic word).

4. ὅπως, 'as' comparative. Contr. the use of ὅπως above, c. 116 ὅπως ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ, c. 117 ὅπως ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ, ἐθώμαζον, νεοάλωτοι appears to be an

hapaxlogismos. Everything turns on this. That happens should dance when land on the fire is not in itself miraculous.

τάριχοι: probably guards or soldiers lying round the fire: cp. 1. 12. 7. σοί, 'for thy benefit', dat. obj.

ὁ ἐν Ἐλαιούντι: it was indeed wonderful that Proteus in Elis should reveal a sign at Seston. He here appears as not a god himself, but a hero, dead and departed, but with power, by help of the gods to atone his wrongs: δουρὶς πρὸς θεῶν ἔχει, but cp. τὸ θεῶν just below. τίνεσθαι, a verb contrary in order. The speech of Artaktes so far might read as a fresh evidence of his devotions and devotedness even though the verb τινεσθαι is used by Hdt. himself (2. 86 ff., apparently without the least comic reference for minimization. It wld. hardly follow from this passage that the edict at Knos actually contained a punning Artaktes ἡμᾶς πεταφθεῖν).

9 ἀποινα cp. 6. 18 ἐπιδείναι. Artaktes acts as judge and jury in his own case: p. δικὴν τῶν ἐπιδείκας 1. 145. He offers a fine, 100 talents, instead of the objects of value robbed from the temple (what of them? had they been

ἐθέλω ἐπιθεῖναι, ἀντὶ μὲν [χρημάτων] τῶν ἔλαβον ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ 10
 ἑκατὸν τάλαντα καταθεῖναι τῷ θεῷ, ἀντὶ δ' ἑμῶν τοῦ καὶ τοῦ
 παιδὸς ἀποδώσω τάλαντα διηκόσια Ἀθηναίοισι περιγεγυμένους.¹
 ταῦτα ὑπισχόμενος τὸν στρατηγὸν Ξάνθιππον οὐκ ἔπειθε· οἱ
 γὰρ Ἐλαιοῖσι τῷ Πρωτεσίλαῳ τιμωρόντες ἐδέοντό μιν
 καταχρησθῆναι, καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ταύτῃ νόος ἔφερε. 15
 ἀπαγαγόντες δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν ἀκτὴν ἐς τὴν Ξέρξης ἐξεῖξε τὸν
 πόλιος, οἱ δὲ λέγουσι ἐπὶ τὸν κολωνὸν τὸν ὑπὲρ Μαδύτου
 πόλιος. <πρὸς> σανίδας προσπασσαλεύσαντες ἀνκρέμασαν·
 τὸν δὲ παῖδα ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσι τοῦ Ἀρταύκτεω κατέλευσαν.
 ταῦτα δε ποιήσαντες ἀπέπλεον ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τὰ τε ἄλλα 121
 χρηματα ἄγοντες καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ ὄπλα τῶν γεφυρέων ὡς
 ἀναθήσαντες ἐς τὰ ἱερά. [καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἔτος τοῦτο οὐδὲν ἐπὶ
 πλείον τοῦτων ἐγένετο.]

10 ἐπαχθῆναι 20 ἐπαχθῆναι Ματ. τοῖ . . καταθεῖναι? van H.)
 μὲν γὰρ Ματ. || χρημάτων ecd. Stein². τῶν ἔλαβον χρημάτων? Stein¹)
 1 ἀντὶ δ' om. R 12 ἀποδώσω τάλαντα abesse malit van H.
 Ἀθηναίοισι om. S 13 ὑπισχόμενος Ματ. 2: ὑπισχόμενος S 14
 ἑλαιοῖσι S. Ἐλεούντιοι 1 || Πρωτεσίλαῳ 2 15 ὁ νόος 2, van H.
 18 πόλιος 2: πρὸς Dobree, Stein², Holder, van H. || σανίδα 2, Dobree,
 van H. σανίδι Reiske 19 τοῖ οἷσι an τοῖσι? Köhnenberg
 121 3, 4 glosses notanī: ἐπὶ Weisf., Stein², Holder, van H. 2: ἐπὶ
 || πλείον om. C || τοῦτων 2

received and restored? and 200 talents to be paid ἀποδῶναι to the Athenians as ransom for son and self.

13. τὸν στρατηγὸν Ξάνθιππον the offer must have been conveyed to Xenithippos by the guard. Artaxktes apparently could speak Greek. The name of Kleon, cf. H. τιμωρόντες, cp. 8. 144 ff., demanded his execution καταχρησθῆναι μιν, cp. ἀνακρίσασθαι mlt. 1, 42 etc., and the general himself inclined to the same view νόος ἔφερε, cp. 8. 100 ἔφερε of η γυνὴ.

17. of 54 λέγουσι: no variant is recognized in 7. 81 *supra*. The absence of a cross reference is significant. It is remarkable that the cross were of the crucifixion was in dispute, but that doubt did not extend to the crucifixion itself. On the ἀκτὴ cp. 10. Artaxktes was crucified, 7. 33 adds *φαντα* which is placing the scene of this *φαντα*. The fate of him and cp. c. 4 *supra* is comparatively well told, but these crucifixions do not exhibit the εἰκόνα πράξης of the Demos. The victims were perhaps

handed over to the Ἐλαιῶνται, or the Χερσωνηταί, though I. st. writes as though the Athenians present were the executioners.

121. 1 ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα: the term here seems used with a very definite and concrete geographical reference, cp. c. 101 *supra*.

2. χρηματα - the spoils, chiefly from Mykaia where they had found the treasure τινὰς χρημάτων c. 108 *supra*.

καὶ δὴ καὶ cp. 8. 132. 10 *supra*. τὰ ὄπλα τῶν γεφυρέων presumably the great cables described in 7. 86 *supra*. They must have been fetched from Kandae, where they had been deposited by Oetizaes c. 116 *supra*. Their fresh destination is not quite clear, the temples of Athens were in ruins, but the city was being rebuilt, Thuc. 1. 90. 3.

3 κατὰ τὸ ἔτος τοῦτο the year here indicated could only be either the Athenian civil year, or the campaigning year, from spring to spring, such as Thucydides employs after its introduction by Hist. in the history of this very war; cp. 7.

- 122 Τούτον δὲ τοῦ Ἀρταύκτου τοῦ ἀνακρεμασθέντος προπάτερ
Ἀρτεμβάρης ἐστὶ ὁ Πέρσῃσι ἐξηγησάμενος λόγον τὸν ἐκείνου
ὑπολαβόντες Κύρῳ προσήνεκαν λίγοντα τάδε. "ἐπὶ Ζεὺς
Πέρσῃσι ἡγεμονίην δίδοι, ἀνδρῶν δὲ σοὶ Κύρῃ, κατελόν

122. 2 ἔστιν Ἀρτεμβάρης S | τὸν λόγον R 3 λέγον R
- ἐθνῶν μὲν - Πέρσῃσι van H. || σὶ S cod. Pal. 152 | κατελόν Ἀστυάγγῃ
del. Gomperz

37. 8. 131 *cp.* also the history of the *Τρωπαικὴν* (Hdt. 8). This consideration makes it plain that Hdt. has here in view the corresponding year 474-78 B.C. But there are nevertheless two questions which remain: (a) the date of the return of the Fleet from the Hellespont to Athens; (b) the date of the next expedition, under Pausanias, to Cyprus, Thuc. 1. 94. Is there not a reference thereto in this passage?

(a) According to Rawlinson *ἐπ' ἐχθροσύνῃσι* in Thuc. 1. 89. 2 means not that they passed the winter under Scyros (*διαχειμάσαντες*), but that they just reached winter before taking it; *cp.* *ἐπ' ἐχθροσύνῃσι*, *ἐπιχειμάσαντες* inoptives and *ἐπ' αὖ δὲ νύκτι*, in composition with αἰ. (*ἐπ' αὖ νύκτι*, etc.). It is possible that the Athenian Fleet reached home before our New Year (though that cannot be Hdt.'s new *ἔτος*; and the remark here would be in that case correct, though rather otiose).

(b) The expedition under Pausanias certainly did not start before the spring of 478 B.C., i.e. after Hdt.'s 'New Year.' The interpretation of *ἐπ' ἐχθροσύνῃσι* in Thuc. *ie.* as involving the whole winter dated the return of the Athenians to the spring, and led to the start of Pausanias being pushed on into the summer, possibly even over the Athenian New Year. The revision of the meaning of *ἐπ' ἐχθροσύνῃσι* allows an earlier and normal date for the expedition of 478 B.C., and leaves of course this chronological note of Hdt.'s, if it be indeed his, correct, but again otiose.

I doubt the authenticity of this sentence. It has all the air of being inserted by some one with the history of the *Ποτεκωνίδης* before him. It could not, indeed, prove the work of Hdt. to be unfinished, or incomplete, but it lends perhaps some colour to that misconception. Remove it and the story of the war as told by Hdt. attains a finer climax, apart from the conclusion, or concluding anecdote, in c. 122. The

last item in the annals of the war, that great *Πρωπαικὴν* (or *Τρωπαικὴν*), is the dedication of the cables which had bound Eurys to Asia, and paved the way for the barbarian invader of Hellas. The sentence has all the air of a gloss, and it not merely spoils the splendid climax *ἐπ' αὖ ἰσά*, but separates unduly the closing anecdote from the *pro*, upon which it depends, the name and fate of Artayktes.

122. 2. Ἀρτεμβάρης must have been father of Cymonites, and he might just perhaps have been the Artamides whose son (Cymonites?) Cyrus had killed 1114, somewhere about 570 B.C., through the exigencies of that anecdote require Artamides to have been a 'Macedonian' Artayktes, the grandson of Scyros, is not a young man in 478 B.C. His father might have been a boy with Cyrus nearly a century before (two generations and sometimes exceed a century). The whole anecdote has to, however, fall in to consequence. The scene is placed just after the overthrow of Astyages father of Astyages, but the Cyrus of the anecdote is plainly *le bon père*, and the *ἔτος* of *αὐτοχρονία* ascribed to him ought really to be thought of as his legacy and testament to his 'Persians.'

ἔστι δὲ ἐξηγησάμενος. 'Is (scilicet) the real author of a proverbial . . . *cp.* 5. 81 *σὺ δὲ εἰκὼν τὸν βασιλεὺς ἐξηγήθη γυναικὶ προημέτως ἀγῶνα*. The construction *ἔστι δὲ* of course gives no colour to the construction of the substantive verb with *καὶ* partly in *ὑπολαβόντες* here 'look up and . . . as we might say, *cp.* 3. 146, and *καὶ* 7. 101.

8 Κύρῳ προσήνεκαν. Blakeley too ingeniously interprets 'attributed to Cyrus,' and his remarks upon the barbarism of Artamides are directed to the wrong address. The words obviously mean 'reported to Cyrus.'

Ζεὺς. *cp.* 7. 40 *αὐτῷ*.

4. ἡγεμονίην: *sc.* *ἐξέτασιν*, *cp.* 1. 95.

κατελόν Ἀστυάγγῃ (N.B. not *κατε-*

Ἄστυάγην, φέρε, γῆν γὰρ ἐκτήμεθα ὀλίγην καὶ ταύτης
 τρηχίαν, μεταναστάντες ἐκ ταύτης ἄλλην σχῶμεν ἡμεῖν.
 οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ μὲν ἀστυγείτονες πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἐκαστίρῳ,
 τῶν μίαν σχόντες πλείοσι ἰσόμεθα θυμαστότεροι. οἶκός δε
 ἄνδρας ἄρχοντας τοιαῦτα ποιεῖν· κότε γὰρ δὴ καὶ παρέξει
 κάλλιον ἢ ὅτε γε ἀνθρώπων τε πολλῶν ἄρχομεν πάσης τε
 τῆς Ἀσίας· Κῦρος δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας, καὶ οὐ θωμάσας τὸν
 λόγον, ἐκέλευε ποιεῖν ταῦτα, οὕτω δὲ αὐτοῖσι παραινέει
 κελεύων παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς οἰκίει ἄρχοντας ἄλλ' ἄρξομενους·
 φιλέειν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν μαλακῶν χώρων μαλακοὺς γίνεσθαι

3 Ἀστυάγην εἰ γὰρ οἱ. S 6 τρηχίαν B τρηχίην ceteri σχῶμεν
 B, Κτιερεῖ, Σίμης, Holder, van H. ἔχωμεν 7 καὶ οἱ. B || ἐκαστίρῳ
 αἱ· ἐκατέρῳ (SV 8 μὴν εἰ || ἔχοντες B, Holder. σχῶντες C πλείοσι
 C Mare θυμαστότεροι SV, Stem¹: θυμαστότεροι K οἶκός B¹: οἶκος
 9 ἄνδρας ἔχοντας R B¹ κότερα B 10 ὅτε οἶτε B 11 θωμάσας
 R V u Stem¹ 13 παραινέει S, παρήγει 13 κελεύων del. Collet,
 van H. || ἄρξομενους C 14 μαλακοῖς ἄνδρας γίνεσθαι B, Holder,
 van H.: μαλακοῖς γίνεσθαι α etc, Stem¹

Λογῆ). As Astyages had been the representative of the Median ἀρχή the Persians and Artabanus regard themselves now as masters of all Asia (cp. 7 8 supra). That position was not really attained until Lydia and Babylon at any rate had been conquered too. In B¹, 1 the conquest of Lydia, the overthrow of Kroisos, make ΚΥΡΟΣ master of all Asia (cp. I. 149, also I. 71). This anecdote is from a different and less reliable Lydian source.

5. φέρε, an adverbial imperative, 'come' L & S, but v. 3 2.

γῆν . ὀλίγην καὶ ταύτην τρηχίαν· cp. χωρὶς ἔχοντας τρηχίαν I. 71. Hdt. himself nowhere uses even in 3. 97, ἐκαστὸς Περσὶ μὴ γέη αὐτὸν δεῖται. As a general description of the land this phrase here is absolutely accurate, and the later Greek writers on it, cf. Flacc. Satyr. 691, Arrian. Anab. 5. 4. 5. For πλείοσι ἀκούσοντας cp. Curtius, Persica 2 vv (1892) 84 km, Von Thomsen, *Antiquities of Persia* (1892) 84 km, *Antiquities of Monarchies* iv, (1897) 84 km, *History of Asia* bk vi c 1. KT vii v pp. 24, 1891; Pritchard & Chenevix Trench, *Asia* (1891), E.T. 1897 pp. 2-8, Kailas, *Uganda and Geyge*, E.T. vol. ix c. 19, *Encyc. Brit.* xviii, 511, etc. etc. Cp. note I 14 infra.

6. μεταναστάντες . σχῶμεν let us emigrate, and we . . . So σχόντες

just below, cp. 7. 164. 5, and Index for the strong ἔχω.

7. ἀστυγείτονες, adjectivally and without stems on the first word is common cp. d. 94

8. οἶκός, *placitum domesticus* Baeltz in *Arch. Studien* (Stettin). This is not a wholesale and voluntary migration, no doubt, (a constant notion, cp. d. 140, 65 etc.), but a genuine *émigré* as the back of many movements of populations and peoples, cp. 7. 29, etc. But the position here is slightly different. The Persians are supposed already to have dominated over all Asia; they can take tribute and gifts from all their subjects without evacuating their own land. (cp. note I 15 infra).

11. Κῦρος δὲ . . . ἐκέλευε ποιεῖν ταῦτα. ΚΥΡΟΣ, of course, was called an *emigré* by Curtius. 'As an *emigré* and without subjects, removal of subjects, αὐτοῖσι παραινέει ἐκέλευεν is a translation of Curtius' οὕτω δὲ αὐτοῖσι of his speech - *οὕτω δε συγκατατα*.

13. οὐκίει ἄρχοντας ἄλλ' ἄρξομενους the same antithesis in a more restricted sense 7. 162 supra.

14. φιλέειν γὰρ . . . τε πολλῶν. The relation between Πόλις and Πολίτης occupied a large space in the minds of Greek thinkers. Hdt.'s own work is

15 <ἀνδρας>· οὐ γάρ τι τῆς αὐτῆς γῆς εἶναι καρπὸν τι
 θωμναίου φύειν καὶ ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια. ὥστε
 συγγένετες Περσαι οἰχόντο ὑποστάντες, ἐσσωθέντες τῇ γνώμῃ

15 <ἀνδρας> - Stein⁸ || τῆ: το: V Marc.; Holder 16 θωμναίου B
 17 οἱ πέρσαι S

saturated with the assumption of a connexion between race and place, between climate and institutions. His interest in the varieties of humankind makes him the father of Autarepology, as his sense of the unity and continuity of human adventure and experience makes him the father of history. Hence his descriptions of the land and river of Egypt as a prelude to his account of the people, their manners and institutions, and so too with Skythians and the Skythians, Libya and the Libyans, the ends of the earth, and the more familiar coasts of the Aegean. Hist. has in a remarkable degree the sense of the relativity of human institutions, it is a part of the supernatural illumination of the age, just begun. It had done something to correct the exaggerated notion of the omnipotence of the *νομοκράτες*. It attains formal expression in the work of his great contemporary Hippocrates of Kos. *de aere aqua et loco Hippocratis*, vol. I of Kochenour, 1866, and the philosophy of the relation, with its practical concern for the ideal city state, does not fail to remind us that for the πόλις and *εἰσέτις* a new climate, a new ear of *εἰσέτις* must also be planted. Thucydides (more clearly than Hist. indicates the action of physics on politics through the economic conditions as in his *Archologiai*: this profound analysis was not lost in the asperses. Aristotle, for example, not only generalizes (or provincializes) the generalization on the relation between *πολις* and *τοῖς* *Polites* 1. 8 = 1276a) but traces in a fashion the merits of the Greek nation to its happy position between the barbarous extremes of cold and heat of Europe and Asia (*Pol.* 4 71. 7 = 1287 b). It stands to reason that the lesser differences between one Greek folk and another might be in part traceable to differences in the physiogeographical environment, and as a matter of fact the popular philosophy of Greece early ascribed the superiority of the Attic race to the advantages of its climate traced the genesis of political parties to features in the Asiatic landscape—

the shore, the plain, the mountain or ascribed the development of the democracy somewhat superficially, to the growing importance of the sea, and sea-power in the life of the city. Livy (38. 17) puts a speech into the mouth of Cn. Manlius (A.D.C. 505) on the Galatians, which might be taken as a commentary on this text, but in general the Roman conqueror believed in race (*fortes creantur fortibus*), and under the cosmopolitan rule of Rome, whatever imperial or political touch of the sense of the relativity of human institutions passed out of consciousness, to be rediscovered and reintroduced with the revival of Greek letters and the return to nature. The idea is now a constant place of every history of civilization or philosophy of history; but an important place in the bibliography of the subject must always be reserved for Montesquieu's *Esprit des Loix*, 1748 (*Letter* XIV. av. 1748), as also for Buckle's *History of Civilization in England*, 1857, c. 1. The *regnum hominum*, inasmuch as it has advanced in our own day has not yet succeeded in completely emancipating Man from the physical-geographical conditions of politics, climate, sea, agriculture, position, and even physical aspect, are permanent though modifiable factors in the life and character of the race.

17 συγγένετες ὑποστάντες ἐσσωθέντες the ruling of these parties is a little clumsy. With the text of συγγένετες also 7. 13 *supra* (*indivertit*, Stein), or συγγένετες or *ἀγέρας ἀλφειά* 4 43 (Bieber). The *ἀσπασίας* here is merely a retirement from the presence. The defeat *ἡσσαν* is purely dialectical, and precedes or comes with the *εὐνοία*.

18 ἀρχαὶν τοῖς αἰσχροῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀσπασίας As history, this statement is hardly correct, the Persian folk may have retreated in Persian proper but the nobles certainly came down into the richer and civilized portions of the empire to a considerable extent; and the dynasty retired as a mere loss in barbarian Persia proper than in Susa (Elam).

πρὸς Κύρου, ἄρχειν τε εἶλοντο λυπρὴν οἰκίοντες μᾶλλον ἢ
 πεδιάδα σπείροντες ἄλλοισι δουλεύειν.

ΠΡΟΔΟΥ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ Ὁ Ϊ ΧΗΗΗΗ ΑΒ. ἡροδοτὸν ἱστοριῶν
 ἐνέστη C: ἡροδοτὸν ἱστοριῶν θ' R: τέλος ἡροδοτοῦ ἱστοριῶν θ' Marc.
 ἡροδοτοῦ βιβλὸς καλεῖται πύρας λάβειν ὡδ. 8

or Eklatana (Modia), or Babylon. As geography, the description of Persia proper is hardly worse, though *Sore* might compare ill with Babylon, or even Susiana (cp. K. Meyer, *St. d. Alterth. m.* (1901) p. 18). As argument, the conclusion looks, at first sight, oddly infelicitous for the last word of a record, which has exhibited in unparaphrasing colours the attempt of the Persians to extend their empire over Hellas: an attempt ending in failure and flight: the promise to further power and fortune. But something else is in Hdt.'s mind. *Mutatio nominis fabula narratur*. He is too delicate to hint to the Greeks, or it may be to the Athenians; but the lesson is there for those who have ears to hear. It is at once the rationale of the Greek success, and a call to future expansion. The man *λυπρὸν αἰσάσσει*, the hard edge of poverty (7. 142) and hard fare (9. 82) there is the victory and there the empire, if they win: what the Persians had done in the days of Cyrus, why should not the Greeks do in the days of Xerxes, or of Pericles?

Such a moral belongs to a period long before the Peloponnesian war, and he, weighed with the many other evidences that the story of the Great Invasion of 480-49 B.C. was composed early in the period of Hdt.'s literary labours. This anecdote which conveys in dramatic form, the rationale and the moral of the war: no doubt in the first instance was

designed as the conclusion of Bks. 7, 8, 9, though it now serves as the hardly less appropriate colophon to the whole work. It is an anecdote which is hardly consistent with the representation of Cyrus in Bk. 1, and especially of his end: it seems to belong to one of those other cycles of stories on the later years of Xerxes which Hdt. rejected when he came to deal with the passing of Cyrus as itself an integral portion of his work (cp. 1. 213 *ad f.*).

It might even have been this design to his work, as originally conceived and drafted, which led Hdt. back to the investigation, *τὰς τε Κίρον ἀρχὰς καὶ τὴν Κροσσὸν ἀρχὴν ἀντιλεῖ καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας ἀπὸ τῶν πρὶν ὑπάρχοντα τοῖς Ἀσίοις*, which now bulk no large in Bk. 1. And thus, indeed, to use Hawthorne's simile, 'the tail of the snake is curved round into his mouth' in the completed work of Hdt., which forms a whole mass, with a clear beginning, middle, and end. Historically and artistically the work is complete and concluded, though not, need equally or evenly finished throughout: a phenomenon which the prior genesis of the latest portion, and the subsequent addition of the earlier introductory and disjunctive parts, go some way to explain. Hellenists who, while recognizing the earlier composition of the last three books, nevertheless hold the work to be incomplete, question the authenticity of this chapter.

END OF VOL. I PART II

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